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Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Report of the House Majority Leader on the Legislative Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARL ALBERT

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere pleasure and great privilege to review the legislative performance of this 1st session of the 89th Congress. The accomplishments that this session has recorded in the annals of legislative history are numerous and far-reaching—many are monumental and even historic. Spanning the horizon of age-old issues that have plagued generations of concerned Americans, they speak to a victory in casting aside the bonds of poverty, ignorance, disease, and oppression that have persecuted men since the beginning of time. They speak also to the challenge of improving the quality of life for all of our people.

Labeling Congress as "the education Congress" or "the conservation Congress" is an irresistible temptation experienced by most students of the legislative process. Too often, however, it creates a false or misleading impression of the record of a Congress—emphasizing one area of national interest and congressional accomplishment and simultaneously subordinating all other spheres of legislative activity. The value of this manner of assessment is, therefore, extremely limited.

As leader of the majority in the House of Representatives, I can say with unrestrained pride that this Congress, with its overwhelming Democratic majority, has heard the clear mandate of the American people and responded with vision and foresight in realizing their concept of an American society that is a Great American Society.

In his efforts to build a Great American Society, President Johnson has fulfilled the promises made by the Democratic Party to the American people and has demonstrated his determination to "serve all the Nation, not one section or one sector, or one group, but all Americans. These are the United States—a united people with a united purpose." The creation of a Great Society is, therefore, the united purpose of a united people.

Henry Ward Beecher observed that "greatness lies not in being strong, but in the right use of strength."

No actual or potential source of strength within our society has been bypassed in these efforts "to enrich and elevate our national life, and to advance the quality of our American civilization." Who would deny that this is not the legitimate or right use of our strength?

Before I review some of the major legislative achievements of this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I wish to pay tribute to the gentleman from Massachusetts, the Honorable JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who enjoys the deepest admiration of his colleagues for his wisdom and ability, his kind counsel, and his unceasing devotion to the duties of the speakership and to the welfare of his Nation. His leadership during this session has placed his name among those of the great Speakers of all time.

My praise and gratitude go out to my distinguished colleague from Louisiana, HALE BOGGS, for the manner in which he has efficiently and responsibly discharged his duties as majority whip and also to each Member—for each has persevered relentlessly in executing the legislative task and responsibilities entrusted to him by the voters of this country.

In contemplating a job well done, may we be reminded of the sage words of the late Adlai Stevenson who said:

> We shall lead in that degree to which we build a vital and healthy society. As we solve our own problems, economic, social, and above all, moral, we shall help other people solve theirs. By demonstrating the limitless powers of a free society which knows how to liberate the full creative energy of man, we shall fulfill the destiny that history has assigned to us.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND MILITARY PREPAREDNESS

This same great American and outstanding humanitarian whose courage, fortitude, and tireless dedication to the creation of a world order in which peace prevails, earned him the deepest respect of men everywhere, also once remarked that intolerant power respects power, not weakness.

In an age which finds hostile forces determined to destroy American security, and the security of all free and peaceful nations, military weakness and unpreparedness are luxuries we cannot afford. The costs of national security and military strength are high—high in terms of human suffering and loss of life—high in terms of equipment, hardware, and construction.

We are now engaged in the defense of South Vietnam—in a struggle in which the Communist forces of aggressive world conquest pose a genuine threat to the

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existence of South Vietnam as a free nation and to the security, peace, and national survival of the United States and our allies.

In response to President Johnson's request for additional funds to meet the rising costs of our commitment in southeast Asia, the House and the Senate, as one of its first legislative actions of the session, approved supplemental funds totaling $700 million for the 1965 fiscal year. It was anticipated that $275 million would be allocated for ammunition, $180 million for helicopters, other aircraft, and aircraft parts, $100 million for the construction of supply-storage facilities, and the construction of equipment, and $10 million for miscellaneous costs.

That these supplemental defense funds were speedily approved by almost unanimous rollcall votes in both Chambers of the Congress is a clear indication that a vast majority of the Members of Congress and a vast majority of the American people support our President and our fighting men in their firm stand against wanton disrespect for the rights of those who seek only the enjoyment of peace, freedom, and self-determination.

On August 21, President Johnson signed into law Public Law 89–132, a bill which seeks to effect a fair adjustment in the rates of compensation for members of our uniformed services. To military personnel assigned the awesome responsibilities of protecting the Nation's security, to military personnel from whom we demand a total commitment to duty and advanced skills to direct our increasingly complex and sophisticated weapons systems, and whom we expose to the hardships and hazards of combat and command, we must be willing to offer an annual income and a standard of living comparable in attractiveness to those enjoyed by their counterparts engaged in the various economic activities of civilian life. Effective September 1, 1965, Public Law 89–132 authorized an appropriation of $1,048,029,000 for pay raises for more than 505,000 retired personnel, 1 million reservists, and more than 2,500,000 active-duty members of the Armed Forces. Basic pay adjustments for active-duty members of the Armed Forces counted for $809,855,000 of the total authorization. Within this category, a 6-percent increase, totaling $136.6 million, was granted to officers with more than 2 years' service; $28.8 million was approved for a 22-percent hike in the salary of officers with less than 2 years' service. Four hundred ninety-three and one-tenth million dollars were allocated for enlistees with more than 2 years of service, as well as a 17.3-percent increase totaling $151.2 million for enlistees with less than 2 years of service.

Additional provisions include: an increase from $55 to $65 monthly in "hostile fire" pay for military personnel serving in regions which the President specifies as combat zones; free first-class postal services for servicemen stationed in combat zones; allowances by the Department of Defense of reenlistment stipends of up to four times the present stipend for personnel possessing "critical skills"; immediate increases in pay for retired personnel compensating for rises in the Consumer Price Index since 1963 and future increases should the Consumer Price Index rise 3 percent for any 3 consecutive months.

Public Law 89–149, a legislative recommendation of the Department of Defense, authorizes an increase in the monthly pay of enlisted personnel and officers who are engaged in dangerous assignments on the flight decks of aircraft carriers. Enlisted men will receive $55 a month; officers will receive $110 a month in hazardous duty compensation. Justification for incentive compensations for personnel performing hazardous duties rests on statistics which substantiate the high number of fatalities among aircraft carrier flight deck crews. Moreover, the rate of reenlistment for personnel of flight deck crews is considerably below the overall Navy reenlistment level. This authorization will serve to maintain highly qualified and experienced men on our flight decks.

The Congress has placed its stamp of approval on H.R. 3043—Public Law 89–26—which amends title 37 of the United States Code to authorize payment of special allowances and dislocation allowances for dependents of members of the uniformed services to meet the expenses incident to their ordered evacuation from an overseas danger zone. Under previous law, dependents could receive per diem payments and cost-of-living allowances prescribed for the oversea "safe haven" only when they were evacuated to another oversea area; no special allowances were granted when dependents were returned to the United States. This legislation, now Public Law 89–26, was proposed by the Department of Defense in an effort to alleviate the serious financial hardships which emergency and unexpected evacuations can produce in the way of high-cost, short-term living accommodations, the necessities of housekeeping, and clothing appropriate for the climate of the new post.

Public Law 89–151 amends titles 10 and 37 of the United States Code to authorize the survivors of a member of the Armed Forces who dies while on active duty to receive the monetary value of his unused and accrued leave at the time of his death. The need for this legislation arises from an inequity in the statutes. Presently, other Federal employees' beneficiaries receive the monetary value of accrued leave in the event of the employee's death. Similarly, most industries pay their employees basic pay for unused vacation time and unused leave upon termination or in the event of death. This is a benefit that has been long overdue widows and children of American service personnel who have made the supreme sacrifice.

Public Law 89–150, part of the Department of Defense legislative program, amends section 1485 of title 10 of the United States Code relating to the transportation of the remains of deceased dependents of members of the Armed Forces and authorizes the transportation of such dependents even if death occurs within the continental United States. Under previous law, authority for the transportation of the deceased at Government expense was limited to those situations in which the death occurred while the dependent was outside the United States. This legislation recognizes the financial hardships that can befall armed services personnel stationed in remote areas and the fact that, although stationed within the United States, the deceased may be farther from the place of final rest than some stations outside the United States.

Public Law 89–140 amends title 10 of the United States Code and authorizes transportation, at Government expense, of dependents accompanying members of the uniformed services at stations outside the United States who require medical attention, excluding elective surgery, unavailable locally or below standard in quality. This enactment attempts to provide equal benefits for all dependents and afford them access to first-class medical care regardless of their service location.

Public Law 89–152 amends the Universal Military Training Act of 1951 and makes it a crime knowingly to mutilate or destroy a draft card. Conviction may bring a maximum fine of $10,000 or a maximum prison sentence of 5 years. Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from South Carolina, L. MENDEL RIVERS, expressed the sentiments of many Members of the Congress when he said that this legislation is "the least we can do for our men in South Vietnam fighting to preserve freedom, while a vocal minority in this country thumb their noses at their own Government."

The House and the Senate have appropriated $46,887,163,000 for the 1966 fiscal year expenditures of the Department of Defense. This defense appropriation seeks to maintain and update our military forces so that they will be capable of effectively supporting our basic foreign policy objectives. In addition to authorizing the Commander in Chief to allocate whatever funds may be required to set into operation an airborne alert, this appropriation measure empowers the Secretary of Defense to increase the moneys in the Defense Department's emergency fund by no more than $150 million. This additional $150 million may be drawn from other DOD funds, with no single fund subject to more than a 7-percent reduction in its appropriations. Of the total $46,887,163,000, $1,700 million has been approved for the southeast Asia emergency fund, $14,658,391,000 for military personnel, $12,555,272,000 for operations and maintenance, $11,404 million for procurement, and $6,569,500,000 for research and development.

Appropriations of $1,090,789,000 have been earmarked for the construction of domestic and overseas military installations. An additional $665,846,000 was allocated for use in the building of some 8,500 family housing units for our military personnel and their families.

Chapter 31, title 38 of the United States Code has been amended to include an authorization for a 10-year extension, through June 30, 1975, of the period during which veterans seriously disabled in World War II or the Korean war are

eligible for vocational rehabilitation and training. This legislation offers aid, similar to that authorized for blinded veterans by Public Law 87–591, to disabled veterans whose service-connected disability has become progressively worse and consequently prevented the pursuance of occupational activities for which they had been prepared previously. What is more, favorable action by the Congress on this legislation offers hope to veterans who have been hospitalized for long periods of time but who are now capable of participation in rehabilitation and training programs.

Public Law 89–137 authorizes an increase in the subsistence allowance granted to disabled veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation and training under chapter 31, title 38 of the United States Code. Children of permanently or totally disabled or deceased veterans receiving an education under the war orphans' educational assistance program, also will be eligible for increased cost-of-living allowances. In spite of the fact that the cost of living has risen approximately 30 percent since the setting of these allowances in April of 1948, no readjustments have been forthcoming. This legislation, therefore, is long overdue and seeks to provide a realistic revision in subsistence allotments.

One of the last actions of the session was the enactment of a bill providing an average 10-percent increase in the monthly compensation payments for veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents. Veterans who are 50 percent or more disabled receive the largest increase in monthly rates. The first-year cost of this increased compensation is estimated at $175,826,663. This bill also authorized 4,000 nursing-care beds for veterans.

SERVICEMEN'S INSURANCE

Legislation—Public Law 89–214—was enacted which authorizes the purchase of group life insurance for all active duty members of our armed services. With the deduction of premiums from monthly pay, each active duty member will be insured against death in the amount of $10,000. Individuals may waive all coverage or select insurance in the amount of $5,000. This life insurance protection will terminate 120 days after severance from the armed services or release from an active duty status. Protection will expire automatically 31 days after a member has been away without leave. Active duty personnel will enjoy full conversion rights to permanent, regular insurance protection without undergoing any medical examination.

Widows, widowers, children, or parents of armed services personnel who died in the course of hostile action, as a result of military or naval accidents, or the extra hazards imposed by military or naval operations will receive a death gratuity payment of $5,000. This death gratuity clause is retroactive and covers deaths occurring—in the circumstances stipulated above—on or after January 1, 1957, through the date when the terms of the group life insurance protection became operational.

COAST GUARD AUTHORIZATIONS

Functioning as an integral part of the U.S. Navy in time of war and as a protective force in time of peace, the U.S. Coast Guard is credited, during the past 10 years, with rescuing more than 21,000 persons in distress and saving property valued in excess of $15 billion. Public Law 89–13 incorporates appropriations of $114,250,000 authorized for the procurement of helicopters and other aircraft, ships, and the construction of shore and off-shore establishments. The constant and harsh abuse inflicted by the sea makes replacement and improvement of many Coast Guard facilities imperative, if this unheralded but faithful service is to continue to carry out its missions with dispatch and efficiency.

Public Law 89–21 authorizes for the 1966 fiscal year additional moneys totaling $6,260,000 to be used for the procurement of 17 small patrol cutters for the Coast Guard. This legislation allows for the replacement of those cutters ordered transferred to the U.S. Navy for activities off the coast of Vietnam by President Johnson.

SPACE

The Congress continued to support and to promote the highly successful program of the United States. Public Law 89–53, the NASA authorization legislation, and Public Law 89–128, the appropriations legislation provided $5,190,305,200 for the space program for fiscal year 1966. This includes facilities construction, administrative operations, and research and development, including solid rocket fuel and nuclear solid-powered systems for spaceships.

In the Department of Defense appropriations legislation—Public Law 89–213—we earmarked $150 million of the Air Force research and development funds for a manned orbiting laboratory to conduct defense-related research in space.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, 1965

No one will refute that the mid-20th century is an age characterized by perpetual peril to the national self-determination of peace-seeking and freedom-loving nations everywhere.

And there are few among us who would assert that our national security is divorced from the national security of each peace-seeking and freedom-loving nation, for, in a very real sense, our future security depends on the evolution of a world society of strong and independent and free nations.

To hasten the coming of an age characterized not by perpetual peril but by perpetual peace, not by subversion and aggression but by national self-determination, not by a yoke of oppression but by a full measure of individual freedom, we have appropriated for the 1966 fiscal year, $3,218 million to finance economic and military assistance programs and $714,188,000 in other funds for allied programs.

In the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 we renew our pledge to offer strength to those who would be free; hope for those who would otherwise despair; progress for their who would help themselves.

ARMS CONTROL AND DISARMAMENT AGENCY

In a never-ceasing effort to avert a senseless nuclear holocaust and incalculable human destruction and suffering, the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency was established as a permanent agency in 1961. This Agency has devoted its efforts to the formulation and acceptance of international agreements and understandings halting the proliferation of nuclear weapons and preventing the escalation of limited conflicts into an all-out nuclear exchange.

The late President Kennedy stated our goal as the realization of a "world free from war and free from the dangers and burdens of armaments in which the use of force is subordinated to the rule of law and in which international adjustments to a changing world are achieved peacefully."

Under the terms of Public Law 89–27, $30 million have been appropriated for the fiscal year beginning in 1966 and extending through 1969. No investment that furthers the realization of this goal can be too great. Our continued support of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency underscores our commitment to world peace and hopefully will serve as a beacon to guide other nations of the world along a course that will bring international understanding and the advancement of mankind out of peaceful negotiations among men of good will everywhere.

UNITED NATIONS CHARTER AMENDMENTS

President Johnson has said that the United Nations should serve simultaneously the large and the small, the rich and the poor—for the peace of one area is but part of world peace, and the prosperity of one country is but an element of the world's well-being.

The Senate has consented to the ratification of two important amendments to the United Nations Charter—amendments which will allow this association truly to involve more of the nations of the world in its work as a genuine force for peace.

The first of these amendments would increase the representation on the Security Council from the present 11 nations to 15 nations, with an accompanying increase from 7 to 9 in the number of member nations necessary to constitute a voting majority. The second charter amendment would enlarge the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members.

When founded 20 years ago, the United Nations represented 51 countries; today this institution serves 114 nations, 61 of whom are from the African and Asian continents. Remaining steadfast in its dedication to the advancement of world peace and the realization of liberty and dignity for mankind, the responsibilities of this world organization for peace have expanded. Representation on governing councils and bodies has not, however, reflected overall changes. The continued strength and success of the United Nations will depend on how fully it meets the needs of all members, especially the newer nations—alive with

the hopes and aspirations of national independence and national freedom.

Adoption of these two proposed amendments will strengthen the foundation by assuring a greater voice and more vital participation to the African and Asian nations. What is more, U.S. support of these two charter amendments will underwrite our faith in this world assembly of sovereign states which, in the words of the late President Kennedy, "is our last best hope in an age when the instruments of war have far outpaced the instruments for peace."

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

The Congress has authorized a 25-percent increase in the U.S. quota to the International Monetary Fund. Created at the Bretton Woods Conference of 1944, the IMF was established as a permanent institution working to build a world in which economic cooperation prevails among all countries. By providing the milieu in which participating nations may strive for viable solutions to international monetary problems, the Fund has written an impressive record since its operations commenced. Great strides have been made in mitigating specific problems relating to fair and stable currency and exchange convertibility policies, the fluctuations of inflation and deflation, and restrictive practices affecting international trade transactions. The International Monetary Fund must be recognized as an invaluable mechanism for the extension of international credit facilities. Credit facilities provided consist of currency quotas assessed to and paid by each member nation. Borrowing nations may draw out the foreign currency of which they have a temporary shortage and, within a specified period of time, transfer to the currency reservoir an equivalent amount of a specie acceptable in repayment terms to the Fund. The financial assistance which the IMF offers to its members is of a relatively short-term nature and is afforded to ease temporary currency pressures and temporary imbalances in their balance-of-payments situation. This financial respite permits the country in question to implement economic policy revisions designed to restore a balance-of-payments equilibrium.

Based on the recommendations of the Executive Directors of the International Monetary Fund, all of the 102 member nations have been asked to increase their quotas by 25 percent. These additional funds will bring the total IMF pool to the $21 billion level—an increase of $5 billion from its present $16 billion and will allow the IMF to continue to meet the credit demands, especially the convertibility of currencies, imposed by present and projected increases in the volume of international trade negotiations.

The general 25-percent increase authorized by the Congress and signed into law—Public Law 89–31—amounts to $1,035 million, bringing the total share of U.S. contributions to the IMF to $5,160 million.

INTER-AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK

The Inter-American Development Bank now functions as the major cooperative banking instrumentality of the Alliance for Progress and is therefore an essential link in a vast partnership for progress—a partnership that unites the developed and the underdeveloped free nations of this hemisphere in a coordinated program of social, economic, and political development.

Convening in Panama City in the spring of 1964, the Board of Governors of the Inter-American Development Bank recommended major revisions affecting the Fund for Special Operations lending "window." The Fund for Special Operations—FSO—offers low-interest, long maturity loans for economic development programs; the Special Progress Trust Fund—SPTF—offers easy repayment loans for social development projects. Cognizant of the fact that Latin American social and economic objectives are interrelated and interdependent, the Board has strongly urged member approval of a consolidation of the Fund for Special Operations and the Social Progress Trust Fund with FSO expanding its financing to incorporate programs relating to higher education, housing, sewerage, water supplies, and similar endeavors heretofore the exclusive interests of the Social Progress Trust Fund. If the FSO is to experience no interruption in its record of solid accomplishments, its capital resources level must be raised. As of December 31, 1964, only $48 million in FSO funds remained available and the exhaustion of these uncommitted funds appears inevitable in the near future. The Board recommended a total increase of FSO funds amounting to $900 million for the 1965–67 calendar years. The United States was asked to contribute $250 million annually; the Latin American nations were asked to contribute a total of $150 million over this time period. If this proposal is approved, American financing of SPTF operations will automatically terminate. Passage of Public Law 89–6 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury, in his capacity as U.S. Governor of the Inter-American Development Bank, to vote in support of the resolution calling for the additional assessment of $900 million for the Fund for Special Operations.

Authorization of a $750 million U.S. contribution to the proposed overall increase also received congressional approval. American representatives to the Bank were instructed to vote against approval of any FSO loans to nations who, after January 1, 1962, have expropriated U.S. properties without making adequate compensation arrangements. Quick enactment of this authorization measure and acceptance of the Board's recommended structural revisions mark an important step in strengthening the objectives of the Alliance for Progress and reflect our sincere determination to support our commitments to bettering the lives of our Latin American neighbors.

INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT

The House and the Senate passed, by overwhelming rollcall votes, an Administration-sponsored measure which would allow the United States fully to assume its responsibilities and obligations as set forth in the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

Representatives of more than 50 nations vitally interested in coffee import-export transactions signed the agreement on September 28, 1962. Subsequently, the Senate gave its advice and consent to the ratification of the International Coffee Agreement; it became operative October 1, 1963. U.S. compliance with the terms of this agreement was contingent upon the successful enactment of enabling legislation. In the last session of the Congress, the House set aside a conference report which would have authorized active participation by the United States. The 88th Congress adjourned before further consideration could be given to this matter.

The International Coffee Agreement must be placed in its proper perspective. It must be viewed as a concrete measure designed to implement one of the major goals of American foreign policy; it must be viewed as a constructive effort to further the development of social and economic progress in the developing nations of the world.

The need to eliminate the constant threat of sharp price fluctuations on the world coffee market is apparent if we consider carefully one of the major premises set forth by the Honorable George W. Ball, Under Secretary of State, in his testimony before the Senate Finance Committee in January of this year. Secretary Ball said, and I quote:

Coffee is the single most important agricultural commodity in the trade of most of the developing countries, particularly in Latin America. Coffee exports account for more than 50 percent of all exports in 6 Latin American countries and an average of 25 percent in all the 14 Latin American exporting nations. Seven new African countries receive from 30 to 50 percent of all foreign exchange earnings from coffee.

About 20 million persons in the world depend on coffee for their livelihood; more than 60 percent of them are in Latin America.

In a very real sense, therefore, coffee is the lifeblood of the developing nations of the world.

Clearly, coffee is a primary commodity which plays and will continue to play a dominant role in the lives of millions of persons in whose future well-being we have a vital interest. Instability of worldwide coffee prices poses a serious obstacle to the evolution of social and economic betterment within each and every one of the developing nations of the world.

A bipartisan appreciation of this truism has been often expressed. Many of my Democratic colleagues in the House and fellow Democrats in the Senate wholeheartedly subscribe to the sentiments voiced by the late President Kennedy in March of 1961. In outlining his administration's program for Latin American development, popularly referred to as the Alliance for Progress, the late President said, and I quote:

The United States is ready to cooperate in serious, case-by-case examinations of commodity market problems. Frequently violent changes in commodity prices seriously injure the economies of many Latin nations—draining their resources and stultifying their growth. Together we must find practical methods of bringing an end to this pattern.

Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, of New York, expressed similar thoughts when he commented:

A sharp decline in the price of one commodity can wipe out in one afternoon our combined efforts to raise standards of living in Latin America via public and private investments.

What are the provisions of the enabling legislation passed by the Congress and now included in Public Law 89–23?

First, the President is authorized to place a limitation on the amount of coffee imported into the United States from nations who are not active participants in the International Coffee Agreement. Moreover, the Chief Executive is authorized to place a ban on the importation of coffee shipments not accompanied by proper certificates of origin or of reexport. Exports of this commodity from the United States must also be certified as to their country of origin.

Second, the President is directed to maintain a dossier of pertinent statistics and facts releating to coffee prices, consumption, distribution, and import-export patterns. Annually he is to forward to the Congress a report detailing world coffee prices together with an evaluation of the status of American consumers vis-a-vis policies implemented by the International Coffee Council.

Third, the President must judge whether or not the workings of the International Coffee Agreement will affect any unwarranted increase in the cost of coffee to U.S. users. The terms of the act will go into effect only if, in his judgment, no unwarranted increase in coffee prices to be paid by the Nation's homemakers is imminent. The continued participation of the United States in the Coffee Agreement is extended through October 1, 1968, or until the Congress adopts a concurrent resolution expressing its opinion that unwarranted increases in coffee prices make future U.S. participation unfeasible.

Fourth and finally, we have authorized an appropriation of $150,000, or 20 percent of the total contributions per fiscal year as our share in the overall costs of this agreement's operations.

Surely the 89th Congress, in passing legislation bolstering the respective positions of the International Monetary Fund and the Inter-American Development Bank and in approving enabling legislation paving the way for American participation in the International Coffee Agreement, has shown to our friends and our enemies alike that the United States continues to act in good faith in her efforts to build a hemisphere—and a world—where all men can hope for the same high standard of living, and all can live out their lives in dignity and in freedom.

PEACE CORPS APPROPRIATIONS

Nearly 14,000 trainees and volunteers have asked not what their country could do for them but rather what they could do for their country and for mankind. These 14,000 men and women, from all walks of American life, are now a part of the Peace Corps.

Engaged in the broad fields of public health, education, agriculture, and community development, Peace Corps personnel is presently serving in 46 countries. The success of the original concept of deploying highly trained, first-quality Americans to swell the trained manpower resources of foreign nations is evidenced by the continuing and increasing demands for additional volunteers at a rate which exceeds the number available.

In partial recognition of the fine work performed daily by this dedicated group of Americans, the Congress has given final approval to several amendments to the Peace Corps Act of 1961—Public Law 87–293. These amendments will expand a variety of measures relating to the health needs of our volunteers and will effect a unification of Washington and overseas personnel operations under the provisions of the Foreign Service Act. Appropriations of $115 million have been authorized for the 1966 fiscal year expenditures of the Corps. We recognize fully that in assisting in the economic and social development of others in all corners of the globe, we are furthering our own national interests by promoting good will and understanding between the United States and host countries while advancing a higher standard of living for our free world allies.

UNITED STATES-CANADIAN RELATIONS

Our good neighbors to the north, Canada, must also know that we seek to maintain and strengthen the goodwill and understanding that have allowed our two great nations to live side by side in peace and cooperate one with the other in the interests of mutual prosperity. The Congress and the Johnson administration have examined carefully several potentially troublesome issues—issues which, if not amicably and equitably resolved might erupt into tensions disruptive to harmonious United States-Canadian relations. One of these problem areas involved tariffs levied on automobiles and auto parts shipments. In January of this year, Prime Minister Pearson of Canada and President Johnson signed the United States-Canada Automotive Parts Agreement. The major objective of this agreement was the removal of artificial barriers whose imposition has impeded the expansion of the American and Canadian automotive trade and prevented the full integration of American and Canadian auto markets and industries into a single North American automotive industry and market.

While producing essentially the same vehicles as their U.S. counterparts, Canadian manufacturers have not yet achieved economies of scale. As a consequence, lower volume of output, accompanying higher per unit costs, and a smaller consumer demand have brought to Canada a smaller share of the overall North American automobile market. A Commonwealth content stipulation of 60 percent, Canadian customs duties of 17.5 percent on incoming motor vehicles and up to 25 percent on auto parts have served to "protect" Canadian manufacturers but have restricted the expansion and growth of the industry. In a concerted effort to increase production and export levels, the Canadian Government introduced the concept of "import duty rebates," in November of 1962.

To Canadian manufacturers substantially increasing their auto export quota, an import duty rebate was promised on all automotive parts. Convinced that they were now in a disadvantageous competitive position, American parts manufacturers responded by demanding that the Federal Government, under section 303 of our Tariff Act, impose similar duties on incoming Canadian parts shipments.

Interested parties on both sides of the border were aware of the potentially devastating impact that such retaliatory actions could have on the fine trade relations existing between the two countries as well as on the continued friendly relations between the United States and Canada. Their negotiation efforts bore fruit in the United States-Canada Automotive Products Agreement. Canada has already implemented this agreement. Full workability required the enactment of enabling legislation by the Congress. Public Law 89–283 authorizes the President to eliminate the American tariff of 6.5 percent on Canadian autos and the 8.5 percent tariff on original parts destined for use in the production of new vehicles. This agreement is expected to permit a more economical and efficient use of production facilities, price reduction, rising sales, and a more complete integration of American and Canadian automobile interests into one North American industry.

Earlier this session the Senate ratified the Gut Dam Claims Agreement establishing a three-man international tribunal with the authority to settle property damage claims brought by American citizens against the Canadian Government. Composed of one American member, one Canadian member, and a mutually agreed upon chairman, this tribunal will seek equitable settlements for damages caused by rising waters on Lake Ontario which the injured parties allege resulted from the construction, operation, and maintenance by Canada of the Gut Dam.

EXPORT CONTROL ACT

The power of the President to place needed controls on American exports has been extended through June 30, 1969—Public Law 89–63. By extending and amending the Export Control Act of 1949, the Congress has reinforced the authority of the President of the United States to guide American export transactions along paths paralleling defined domestic economic goals, foreign policy objectives, and national security interests. The terms of the act were written with the purpose of offering national decisionmakers a comprehensive yet flexible set of alternatives to effect a safeguard against potential threats to our national welfare. Policymakers have concluded that the best interests of our national security demand the imposition of export controls on specified categories of equipment, supplies, raw and processed materials, and certain technological information to unfriendly nations.

Our NATO allies have joined us in a multilateral effort to exclude sensitive supplies and information from the Communist nations of Eastern Europe and of Asia; the United States has instituted a unilateral export ban on similar car-

goes destined for Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Communist China. We do not wish to further the efforts of those who would employ their full economic and military might to bring to pass our ultimate destruction.

In a concerted endeavor to underscore the importance of this act and in a deliberate effort to foster strict adherance to the terms of this act, the Commerce Department has been authorized to impose yet another penalty on violators. This Department is now empowered to punish infractions by the assessment of fines of $1,000 for each offense. As a means of collecting the equivalent of this assessment, export licenses may be revoked for a 1-year period.

We also stated, in Public Law 89–63, the opposition to the United States to any boycott or restrictive trade practices of any country against any other country with which we are friendly.

GOLD RESERVE REQUIREMENTS

In a special message sent to the Congress in February, President Johnson proclaimed:

> The state of the dollar in the world today is strong—far stronger than 3 or 4 years ago. Clearly, those who fear for the dollar are needlessly afraid. Those who hope for its weakness, hope in vain.

While the President noted that the prospects for the continued stability and prosperity of our economy are indeed favorable, he took cognizance of the fact that certain aspects of our monetary policies were in need of revision in light of present and projected financial trends. Mr. Johnson reiterated his concern over our chronic balance-of-payments deficit and the possible ramifications it may have in relation to the international financial posture of the United States.

Although considerable progress has been made in reducing this deficit, American dollar expenditures abroad still exceeded American dollar earnings from foreigners by more than $3 billion in 1964. The persistent balance-of-payments deficit, together with somewhat outdated domestic monetary policies, could combine to introduce impediments to the maintenance of the gold value of the dollar at the current exchange rate of $35 an ounce. Should the nations of the world come to doubt the future of the free convertibility of the American dollar to gold at the current ratio, the preeminent economic position of this country could be endangered.

A fundamental relationship exists between the balance-of-payments accounts concept and the status of the Nation's gold reserves. Quite simply stated, any transaction which results in a flow of American dollars out of the country contributes to a balance-of-payments deficit; any transaction which results in a return of American dollars to the country, contributes to a balance-of-payments surplus.

Beginning with our efforts to aid those nations ravaged in the holocaust of World War II, a steady stream of American dollars has gone abroad. With each passing year, we have realized an unfavorable balance of payments because we have spent more money overseas than the rest of the world has spent or could spend in the United States.

Since the stability of the U.S. dollar is recognized by all free world governments, it is not difficult to understand why many international business transactions are settled by an exchange of American dollars. Eventually, foreign businessmen, investment brokers, and bankers may accumulate more dollars than they need or desire to retain for working balances or for immediate investment purposes. Should a foreign receipient feel that he possesses an excess of dollars, he may surrender them to a central bank in his country. The central bank, in turn, may elect to choose either of several alternatives: it may retain the dollars as part of its reserve, or it may exchange its dollars for gold. The Treasury of the United States has pledged that it will convert dollars into gold at an exchange rate of $35 to the ounce.

Related to this discussion are the terms of the Federal Reserve Act as amended in 1945. This act required Federal Reserve banks to maintain gold certificate reserves equivalent in value to at least 25 percent of the notes or currency in circulation and to hold gold certificate reserves equivalent in value to at least 25 percent of the value of deposits made by domestic commercial banks.

Former Secretary of the Treasury, C. Douglas Dillon, pinpointed the serious problem which had developed when he made the following statement before the Senate Committee on Finance:

> At the end of 1964, the volume of Federal Reserve notes in circulation—which make up over 95 percent of our basic currency—totaled $35.3 billion. At the same time, Federal Reserve deposit liabilities amounted to $19.5 billion. Together, these Federal Reserve liabilities required a gold certificate reserve of $13.7 billion, absorbing for that purpose all but $1.4 billion of the gold certificates issued to the Federal Reserve against the Treasury gold stock. And since January 1 the Treasury gold stock has declined by $200 milion as a result of sales to foreigners, with further losses to be expected.

The twin demands of a respect for international pledges and an adherance to legal reserve requirements clearly could not be satisfied within the limits of our relatively inflexible $1.4 billion free gold supply. To bolster world confidence in the future of the American dollar and to foster continued economic growth at home, Public Law 89–3 removed the legal requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain gold certificate reserves equivalent to at least 25 percent of commercial bank deposits and thereby injected an additional $5 billion into our available gold supply.

TOURIST EXEMPTIONS

A perennial factor contributing to our balance-of-payments deficit is the dollar outflow resulting from expenditures made abroad by American tourists. In 1964 alone, foreign travel by American tourists saw an estimated $2.8 billion outflow while the dollar inflow from foreign travelers in the United States totaled only $1.2 billion. Simple arithmetic tells us that the 1964 balance-of-payments deficit was increased by $1.6 billion on account of American overseas travel. A high percentage of American overseas spending takes the form of the purchase of foreign goods and products. On June 30, the President signed into law a bill which makes permanent the temporary $100 limit on the value of duty-free purchases which returning American travelers may bring into the country. Had this legislation, Public Law 89–62, not been signed into law by June 30, the temporary $100 ceiling would have automatically returned to the $500 permanent limit; our program to reduce our balance-of-payments deficit would have received a serious setback. Calculations of exemptions will now be based on the retail value of the goods instead of the wholesale value as will the $10 exemption on mail gifts. The limit on duty-free alcoholic beverages brought into the United States from other than U.S. possessions will be reduced from the 1-gallon maximum to a 1-quart maximum.

INTEREST EQUALIZATION TAX

Executive-congressional study has bypassed no phase or aspect of our economic policy that has a direct relationship to our balance-of-payments posture. President Johnson requested congressional approval of an extension of the interest equalization tax on bank loans. An interest equalization tax is a levy imposed on foreign securities, including foreign stock and debt obligations obtained by Americans from foreigners. Increases in costs to American purchasers will be reflected in higher costs to foreign borrowers. In short, the purpose of an interest equalization levy is to make the costs of acquiring capital in the United States comparable to those prevailing on foreign capital markets. Traditionally, the United States has offered lower interest rates. By alining U.S. and foreign capital interest rates, foreign demands for our capital are expected to decline and thereby effect a reduction in the flow of American dollars out of the country.

Since its initial application in July of 1963, the interest equalization tax has contributed to a substantial curtailment of the dollar outflow. Further savings can be anticipated as a result of the extension and expansion of the interest equalization measure. Public Law 89–243 extends this tax through July 31, 1967, and broadens its coverage to include the purchase of foreign bonds maturing in 1 to 3 years. Prior to this action, only foreign bonds with a maturity period of more than 3 years were assessed.

ANTITRUST EXEMPTIONS

We know that our persistent balance-of-payments deficit will not be brought under satisfactory control until we are able to engage the cooperation of business investors in limiting loans and investments abroad. Full cooperation on the part of our lending institutions requires assurance that the imposition of credit restraints will not result in violation of antitrust laws. Public Law 89–175 assures the investment community that participation in voluntary credit curtailment plans requested and approved by the Chief Executive will exclude involvement in antitrust violation suits.

Revisions in our gold reserve requirements, in the limits of duty-free foreign purchases allowed to returning American tourists, the renewal and expansion of the interest equalization tax legislation, plus antitrust exemptions to American business investors represent sound efforts to alleviate undue pressures on the stability of the dollar and simultaneously effect a reduction in the gap between American expenditures and earnings abroad.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

All phases of our economic policy must be constantly and critically reviewed; every aspect of our economic program must be justifiable in terms of the advancement of our national economic goals.

The decade of the 1960's poses the challenges of "useful employment opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing, and seeking to work, and maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

With the explicit purpose of furthering these aims and aspirations, a major tax cut was introduced in 1964. The consequences of this tax reduction have been favorable; unemployment has steadily decreased, while income, production, and employment levels have increased. Notwithstanding the fact that we are experiencing our fifth consecutive year of unequaled economic achievement, our general prosperity is not shared by all; the doors to self-employment opportunities and satisfying, gainful work are not yet open to all. What is more, the productive capacity of our economic structure falls short of its potential. We cannot be content; we cannot boast of our accomplishments until the fruits of our prosperity and the bounty of our unparalleled economic heights are fully and equally distributed among all Americans.

To stimulate investment and to encourage continued economic growth while maintaining stability, the Federal excise tax schedule has been revamped through Public Law 89-44. This tax revision will phase out most Federal excise taxes over a 5-year period, beginning June 22, 1965, and ending January 1, 1969. Certain general assessments will remain in effect after the latter date and will include the following: a 1 percent manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles, Federal taxes on tobacco and alcohol, and regulatory levies on narcotics, gambling, and firearms. Users' charges will be adjusted in an effort to transfer the cost burden from the generality of taxpayers to the beneficiaries and users of a wide range of special services and facilities provided by our highway, aviation, and inland waterway programs.

Since the excise tax reduction will make its impact felt in households and businesses across the Nation, I wish to outline some of the highlights of the scheduled reduction-repeal schedule.

First-phase changes, effective June 22, 1965, include:

Elimination of retail excise taxes on furs, jewelry, toilet articles, luggage, and handbags;

Reduction of the manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles from the current 10 percent to 7 percent, retroactive on all consumer purchases of autos as of May 15, 1965;

Repeal of manufacturers' excise taxes on business machines, radios, television sets, phonographic equipment, fountain pens, ball point pens, mechanical pencils, matches, lighters, playing cards, and sporting goods, with the exception of fishing equipment;

First-phase changes, effective July 1, 1965, include repeal of excise levies on safe deposit boxes, coin-operated amusement devices, bowling alleys, billiard tables, and membership fees in clubs organized after July 1, 1965.

An estimated $1.8 billion reduction will result from these first-phase changes.

Second-phase changes, effective January 1, 1966, include:

Reduction of the tax on local and long distance telephone service and teletypewriter service from the current 10 percent to 3 percent;

Repeal of excise tax on private communications telephone service including such service when connected with general telephone networks;

Elimination of excise tax on admissions to racing events, athletic events, concerts, movies, theater performances, cabarets, and club dues, effective December 31, 1965, to accommodate New Year's Eve users;

Removal of documentary stamp taxes on issuance and transfer of stocks, bonds, and deeds of conveyance;

Repeal of manufacturers' tax on lubricating oil, with the exception of that used in highway vehicles;

Repeal of manufactures' tax on electric light bulbs, and automobile accessories and parts, with the exception of those accessories and parts used chiefly in trucks;

Repeal of the excise tax on manufactured tobacco;

Repeal of the excise tax on telegraph and wire services.

An estimated $1.6 billion reduction will result from these second-phase changes.

Third through fifth-phase changes, spanning the period beginning January 1, 1967, and ending January 1, 1969, include:

Reduction of the manufacturers' excise tax on passenger automobiles to 4 percent effective January 1, 1967, 2 percent effective January 1, 1968, and to a permanent 1-percent level effective January 1, 1969;

Reduction of the tax on local and long-distance telephone service and teletypewriter service to 2 percent effective January 1, 1967, to 1 percent effective January 1, 1968, and complete elimination of all tax on this type of service effective January 1, 1969;

Elimination of real estate conveyance taxes effective January 1, 1968.

An estimated $1.3 billion reduction will result from the third through fifth phase changes in the excise tax schedule.

Other major provisions of this legislation resulted in the following actions:

Seventy million dollars in highway user charges were transferred from the general revenues to the highway trust fund.

Levies placed on cigarettes, distilled spirits, wines, and beer at the time of the Korean war effort have been made permanent. These Korean regulatory rates were subject to automatic annual reevaluations; the time and cost factors involved in the yearly extension of these revenues all but canceled out the returns achieved.

The 5-percent excise tax on air travel was made permanent. Under current law, this levy was subject to automatic annual review. It has been fixed at the 5-percent level in line with the Presidential objective of guaranteeing that users of the airways bear their fair share of airway costs.

The $14 billion income tax cut of 1964 swelled the volume of consumer purchases by $28 billion; business investments, in turn, increased by approximately $6½ billion. Greater consumer purchases and increased business investments resulted in expanded production schedules and the subsequent creation of 2 million new employment' opportunities.

We are confident that the authorization of this estimated $4.7 billion excise tax reduction will serve as an additional stimulus for greater consumer purchasing and greater business development and expansion. We are equally confident that the excise tax revision represents a worthwhile investment whose returns will be manifold in the advancement of our goal of full employment within the framework of a progressive, dynamic, and healthy economy.

COINAGE ACT OF 1965

The growing shortage in the world's silver supplies has had its impact on the American currency system. The Treasury Staff Silver and Coinage Study revealed that, in the period from 1960 through 1964, the nations of the free world annually consumed an average of 410 million ounces of silver while they annually produced an average of 210 million ounces. In his message to the Congress requesting legislation authorizing measures which would avert any impending nationwide silver crisis, President Johnson announced that we expect to use an estimated 10,000 tons of this precious metal to meet our 1965 coinage needs. This demand alone will exceed this year's free world production of new silver.

Silver is a vital commodity in many industrial, research, and national defense endeavors. In the manufacture of jewelry, silverware, mirrors, and photographic supplies; in the practice of medicine and dentistry, and in the construction and operation of nuclear submarine batteries, supersonic jets, and solid fuel rockets, silver plays an increasingly important role. The dictates of the law of supply and demand left us only one feasible solution and workable course of action; new coinage policies had to be adopted to effect a reduction in the silver content of our coins, thereby freeing greater quantities of the metal for industrial and research usage.

Accordingly, under the Coinage Act of 1965, dimes and quarters with no silver content will be minted and distributed. The new 10-cent and 25-cent pieces will

be composed of a cupronickel-clad alloy. Resembling our familiar dimes and quarters in design and diameter, the new coins will be composite coins containing 75 percent copper and 25 percent nickel bonded to a pure copper core. Presently these denominations contain a 90-percent silver content. Half dollars will be composite coins as well; makeup of the new 50-cent pieces will find the outer layers of high-silver content alloy—80 percent silver to 20 percent copper—bonded to an inner core of low-silver content alloy—21 percent silver to 79 percent copper. As with the dimes and quarters, the outward appearance of these new disks will remain essentially unchanged. The content difference, however, will bring about a reduction from 90 to 40 percent in the silver content.

In an effort to keep national decisionmakers abreast of relevant technological developments and estimates of national and international metal supplies, the Coinage Act of 1965 creates a Joint Commission on Coinage. This Commission will review currency problems as they arise and offer recommendations as to policy revisions which will aid in bridging the gap between silver supplies and demands.

The obsolescence of precious silver as a basis for our Nation's currency system is now common knowledge. A 173-year-old American tradition must yield to contemporary considerations; a pang of nostalgia touches the hearts of millions of patriotic Americans. The prestige of the American silver piece is recognized around the world. We must not blind ourselves to the fact that the prestige of the American silver coin comes from the purchasing power that it represents and not from the percentage of precious metals which it contains. When the new coins join those already in circulation, they too will enjoy the dignity, respect, and prestige of our 173-year-old coinage heritage because their full and equal purchasing power will be as strong as ever.

HEALTH CARE AND FACILITIES

MEDICAL CARE-SOCIAL SECURITY

The gentleman from Arkansas, Mr. WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, described the enactment of the medical care-social security bill as "one of the most significant and far-reaching measures which has been before this or any recent Congress." Successful passage of the so-called medicare legislation drew to a close a decade of frustrated efforts to establish a workable program of insurance protection against the unpredictable and often catastrophic costs of hospital care and related medical services for the elderly.

Former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Anthony J. Celebrezze, pleaded the cause for our senior citizens in the following words:

It is one of the unfortunate facts of life that in old age, when people are living on substantially reduced incomes, health costs are much higher than in younger years. And since, as a general rule, old people have relatively little in the way of resources that can be readily converted into cash and little or no possibility of gaining new income or assets, many find that their high health costs are too much for them. The years of security and independence that they had hoped for and planned for are spent in a losing battle against dependence.

Despite commendable efforts by the private insurance industry, the voluntary health insurance effort has not proved adaptable to the almost universal need of the aged for adequate health insurance; few of the aged can afford to pay the premiums which older people must be charged for broad health insurance protection.

Under the terms of the expanded social security structure, all persons 65 years of age or older, with minor exceptions, will benefit from the basic health insurance provisions of Public Law 89–97. Excluded from this coverage are Federal employees covered by the Federal health benefits program, aliens unlawfully admitted to the United States, and aliens with residence of less than 5 consecutive years in this country. Also ineligible for the expanded benefits are persons judged guilty of subversive crimes against the Government.

Financed in its entirety by increased social security assessments, the basic health insurance section of the medicare program will assume the costs of all ordinary, inpatient hospital services for a maximum of 90 days per single illness. The patient will pay the first $40 of costs and, after 60 days of hospitalization, will pay an additional $10 daily. Psychiatric hospitalization is covered up to a lifetime maximum of 190 days per individual, with no single hospital stay amounting to more than 60 days.

After any illness period involving a minimum of 3 inpatient hospital days, a person is entitled to a maximum of 100 days of nursing home care. The cost to the patient is $5 daily, following the first 20 days in an extended-care facility.

Outpatient diagnostic service expenses are also included in the provisions of the medicare legislation which this Congress has passed. Patients will contribute the initial $20 toward meeting charges incurred and 20 percent of any remaining expenses.

Posthospital home-care visits made by other than a physician are fully included. Within any single period of illness, the patient may avail himself to up to 100 home-care visits by nurses or therapists.

The basic health insurance section of Public Law 89–97 excludes from payment the expenses incurred for the services of physicians, psychiatrists, anesthesiologists, pathologists, and radiologists.

The second major section of the medical care-social security legislation offers supplementary protection against the mounting costs of health protection. Unlike the basic health insurance plan, the supplementary health insurance coverage is voluntary. What this means is that persons 65 years of age or older may elect to pay $3 monthly premiums; the Federal Government, in turn, will match this premium payment. Eighty percent of the cost to the patient is paid after an initial annual $50 payment. No limitation is imposed on the payments made for a variety of services provided by psychiatrists, dental surgeons—subject to certain stipulations—anesthesiologists, pathologists, radiologists, surgeons, and physicians. What is more, these services may be rendered to the patient whether in or out of a medical institution. An additional 100 home-nursing visits, over and above the number provided under the basic health insurance coverage, are allowed. Among other benefits accruing from election of the voluntary supplementary health insurance are the following: rental of some types of medical equipment, the cost of X-rays, electrocardiograms, laboratory tests, stipulated ambulance service costs, splints, iron lungs, artificial limbs and eyes, and some surgical dressings.

Thus far, we have discussed some of the general provisions of the two major medical insurance proposals incorporated in the liberalized social security program. These, however, do not exhaust the improvements that have been made. The significance and the scope of this legislation become apparent if we look at several additional provisos.

Retroactive to January 1, 1965, approximately 20 million retired or disabled workers will receive an increase of 7 percent in their monthly social security cash benefits. This 7-percent increase was granted to afford some relief from the financial burdens of an increasing cost of living. We have also given effective recognition to the needs of young people between the ages of 18 and 22 who are in the process of completing their formal education and who are, consequently, not completely self-supporting. Payment of insurance benefits for eligible young people has been extended beyond the 18th year through the 22d year providing that the individual is attending school as a full-time student.

Disability insurance payments will be forthcoming to workers whose incapacitation has been or may be for a consecutive 12-month period. Prior to this enactment, disability insurance payments were allotted to workers whose recovery was doubtful or who could not anticipate full recovery within the near future. The eligibility waiting period for disabled workers has been shortened from the current 7 months to 6 months.

Limited cash benefits will now be available to aged persons who have worked between three and five employment quarters; current law set the minimum at six quarters.

Under this new authorization, eligible workers or widows of eligible workers who have reached their 72d year would be entitled to a monthly allowance of $35; eligible wives would receive a monthly cash allowance of $17.50.

Widows of eligible workers may now draw upon their benefits earlier. Election of this early payment option will necessarily result in a reduction of the benefits allowed. In other words, an eligible widow aged 60 may now draw approximately 17.5 percent of the benefits her husband would have received at age 65 if living. Should an eligible widow elect to draw benefits upon reaching age 62, she would then receive 82.5 percent of the benefits her spouse would have received, if living, at age 65. The retirement provisions of the present law have been made more flexible. We substituted a $1,200 to $2,400 income range for the

existing $1,200 to $1,700 range. We increased the exemptions on annual earnings of an individual without his sacrificing all or part of his social security benefits. The first $1,500 of annual earnings are completely clear of social security benefit reductions. For each $2 that an individual earns between $1,500 and $2,700, there is a $1 reduction in benefits; above the $2,700 figure, there is a $1 reduction in benefits for each $1 earned.

ADDITIONAL HEALTH LEGISLATION

Legislative action relating to the health needs of our people did not stop with the enactment of the medicare program. Many very successful health programs have been extended and expanded; many very promising measures have been initiated—measures which are certain to aid us in winning our battle against disease and disability.

Let me briefly outline some of the major provisions of the bills which we approved and which were signed into law by President Johnson.

Expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act of Public Law 87–868 were renewed and authorized continued Federal support of a program of mass vaccination protection against a number of diseases which constitute major public health hazards. Through June 30, 1968, local communities and States will be the recipients of grants from the Federal Government for the purchase of vaccine providing immunization against tetanus, poliomyelitis, whooping cough, diptheria, and measles. Prior to these revisions, in the Public Health Service Act, vaccination protection against measles was not included. Immunization benefits were limited to children under 5 years of age; protection will now be available to all preschool children.

Public Law 87–692, providing health services for our domestic migratory workers, has been extended through June 30, 1968. Twenty-four million dollars have been authorized for Federal grants to public and private nonprofit institutions to assist in meeting the costs of operating migratory worker family health centers at which seasonal farmworkers and their families may obtain a broad range of health services including the treatment of illness, injury, and accident, as well as prenatal and postnatal care.

Approval was given to a 1-year extension, through June 30, 1966, of those provisions of Public Law 87–395, or the Community Health Services and Facilities Act of 1961, which authorizes Federal public health grants to public, private nonprofit agencies, local communities, and the States for the completion of studies relating to the best ways of improving outside the hospital care methods for the chronically ill and the aged patient. Those provisions of the Community Health Services and Facilities Act relating to grants to the States for application to general, dental, mental, and radiological health services as well as health services for the chronically ill and the aged will continue in effect through June 30, 1967.

To keep pace with the exciting and lifesaving discoveries being made by our medical research teams, we must provide additional, highly specialized health research facilities. To assure the continued progress of our national research effort, the Public Health Service Act was extended and expanded to include $280 million in authorized funds for the construction of the necessary research accommodations for the fiscal 1966 through 1969 3-year period.

Public Law 88–164, or the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Act of 1963, was broadened to provide for a 7-year program of grants to meet the original costs of manning community mental health centers with well-trained professional and technical staffs. To be awarded by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to public or nonprofit private institutions and agencies, these grants will absorb varying percentages of staffing expenses incurred over a 51-month period, ranging from 75 percent of professional and technical personnel costs for the first 15 months of operation to 30 percent of such costs during the last 12 months. During the fiscal 1966–69 period, $73.5 million will be available for these initial or original grant awards.

The Congress enacted Public Law 89–239, which authorizes a 3-year, $340 million program of grants to establish an estimated 25 regional medical programs in the fields of heart disease, cancer, stroke, and related diseases. These programs contemplate cooperative research by hospitals, medical schools, and physicians clinics.

Public Law 89–290 authorizes $775 million for a 3-year extension of the existing matching grant program for the construction of teaching facilities for physicians, dentists, professional health personnel, optometrists, pharmacists, and podiatrists. This legislation also extends for 3 years the existing student loan program in specified health fields.

Also, it established new 4-year programs of grants to improve teaching programs and of scholarships for needy students in specified health professions.

Public Law 89–291 authorized $105 million in grants to improve medical library services and facilities over a 5-year period.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT OF 1965

It has been said that old age is more to be feared than death. In an era alive with hopes for a Great Society promising a better quality of life for all, the lives of many of our senior citizens offer little more than deprivation, discomfort, and despair.

The Bureau of the Census estimates that our population presently includes more than 18 million persons past 65. Population projections tell us that this number will increase to 25 million within the next 20 years.

A young nation, proud of its youth, its zeal, and its pioneer heritage cannot turn its back on those millions who share this heritage and whose contributions to our Nation's greatness can never be fairly assessed or fully appreciated.

Approximately one-half of our citizens over 65 live in inferior and often substandard housing facilities. Their need for adequate diets, clothing, varied recreational facilities, extended educational opportunities, and retraining programs equipping them to be volunteer or wage earning workers in our communities are suggestive of the multi-faceted tasks lying before us.

The Johnson administration and the Members of this Congress have recognized their responsibility to our senior citizens and have accepted the challenges which a meaningful later life for the aged pose. Legislation has been signed into law which creates within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an Administration on Aging. This new Administration on Aging will coordinate action among Federal, State, and local governments, administer grants, and undertake extensive research studies to develop programs designed to meet the problems of the aging and by so doing repay them in part for their contributions to a society which, in the words of the historian Toynbee, will be rated "by the respect and care given its elderly citizens."

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY EDUCATION

In my report outlining the major accomplishments of the 88th Congress, I stated that the legislative achievements of that Congress in the field of education were unequivocal and exceptional. The annals of legislative history may record the 88th Congress as the "Education Congress." During its lifetime, that Congress passed the Higher Education Facilities Act authorizing Federal loans and grants to our public and private colleges for the improvement and construction of classroom, laboratory, and library facilities. The Vocational Education Act was passed. Federal matching funds were allocated to aid the States in modernizing and enlarging their programs in the teaching of job skills and job training. For a greater number of deserving students, amendments to the National Defense Education Act provided low-interest loans and the financial means for completing educational programs. The life of the impacted areas program was renewed, and scores of communities received partial reimbursement from the Federal Government for any increase in the costs of school construction, maintenance, and operations brought about by an influx of Federal civilian and military personnel.

Although the education measures passed by our predecessor Congress were progressive and far-reaching, its performance is rivaled by the activities of the present Congress. With a strong and sincere dedication to the principle that all children should be able to attain their full intellectual potential, the Elementary-Secondary Education Act was passed, and became law—Public Law 89–10—on April 11. While this act will benefit school districts in an estimated 95 percent of our counties, special emphasis was placed on the provision of full and meaningful educational experiences to young people from culturally deprived backgrounds.

Title I contains a $1.06 billion authorization for the fiscal year 1966 in grants to State educational agencies for payment to local school districts. To benefit from Federal grants, a local educational agency must belong to a school

district in which the number of school-age children of low-income or relief families equals 100 or more or is equivalent to 3 percent of the total number of school-age children. School-age children are defined as those between 5 and 17 years of age; low-income families are families whose annual incomes are $2,000 or less. Qualifying local agencies will receive, at maximum, an amount equivalent to 50 percent of their State's average expenditures per school child times the number of school-age children from the low-income factor families residing in the school district. Beginning in the 1967 fiscal year, eligible local educational agencies may be awarded special incentive grants to be applied to programs consistent with the basic aims of this legislation. The amounts of these awards will be determined by the percentage of increase in current agency expenditures over those for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965.

Subject to final approval by State and Federal educational agencies, local agencies will enjoy a high degree of flexibility in the uses to which these grants may be put.

Title II—School Library Resources and Instructional Materials—institutes a 5-year program for the allocation of funds to local educational agencies, via the States, for use in the acquisition of textbooks and school library resources. One hundred million dollars was authorized under title II for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. Each State's share of the total monetary authorization will bear the same ratio as its number of public and nonprofit elementary-secondary school students bears to the national enrollment in such schools. Federal participation is limited to the role of providing funds for each of the States. State educational agencies, in cooperation with local public school agencies, will determine what types of printed instructional materials and library resources will be purchased. Federal funds will supply nonpublic schools with those books and materials which State educational agencies have approved for distribution in the public schools.

Title III—Supplementary Educational Centers and Services—establishes a 5-year program of Federal grants for supplementary educational centers and services. One hundred million dollars have been authorized under title III for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966. Each State will receive a basic allocation of $200,000. Remaining moneys will be distributed among the States on the following basis: 50 percent according to the number of school-age children in a State—compared to the national total—and 50 percent according to the total population of the United States. This title seeks to provide those educational services and facilities unavailable in quality and quantity in our Nation's elementary-secondary school system. Among the many programs for which these funds may be used are: guidance and counseling, remedial instruction, psychological and social work services to enable persons to participate in educational programs, special educational projects for nonschool session periods, academic and vocational education for adults, specialized equipment and instruction for advanced scientific subjects, foreign languages, and other courses not offered in the local schools, or which could be better taught in one central location, specialized equipment and instruction for the handicapped and for preschool age youngsters, specially qualified personnel for temporary teaching assignments, special programs for persons isolated from normal educational opportunities, including home-study courses, visiting teachers, and mobile education units, and the development of educational radio and television.

Title IV—Educational Research and Training—amends the Cooperative Research Act by authorizing the Commissioner of Education to make grants to colleges, universities, other public or nonprofit agencies, institutions, organizations, and to individuals for research, surveys, and demonstrations in the field of education and for the dissemination of information derived from this education research. Recipients of such grants may utilize these funds to establish and maintain research traineeships, internships, personnel exchanges, and predoctoral fellowships for training and research in the field of education.

Title V authorizes the establishment of a 5-year program of grants to stimulate and assist the States in strengthening the leadership resources of their educational agencies and to assist those agencies in the establishment and improvement of programs to identify and meet their educational needs. Ten million dollars in grants were authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

In his education message to the Congress, President Johnson said:

> In the life of the individual, education is always an unfinished task. And in the life of this Nation, the advancement of education is a continuing challenge.

With the passage of the Higher Education Act of 1965, we have accepted this continuing challenge and renewed our commitment to equality of educational opportunity for all of our young people.

Title I authorizes a program of matching grants to assist the Nation's colleges and universities in continuing and expanding the scope of adult education and extension programs and strengthening their resources to cope effectively with present community problems, including housing, poverty, youth opportunities, and education.

Authorizations of $25 million for fiscal 1966, and $50 million annually for fiscal 1967 and 1968 have been approved.

Title II authorizes a program of basic grants and supplemental grants to assist institutions of higher learning in raising their standards of their library resources.

Appropriations of $50 million annually during the 1966–68 fiscal period have been approved for the purchase of books, documents, periodicals, phonograph records, and similar library resources.

This title also authorizes a program of grants to institutions of higher learning for the training of persons in librarianship. Appropriations of $15 million annually have been approved for a 3-year library service training and research program.

Title III initiates a 1-year program, with funds of $55 million, to improve the academic quality of our Nation's "developing institutions." The costs of cooperative projects including faculty exchange and improvement plans between developing institutions and other colleges and universities and agencies could be covered under this provision.

Title III also authorizes a national teaching fellowship program to encourage outstanding graduate students to join the staffs of these developing educational institutions.

Title IV authorizes a program of undergraduate scholarships of up to $800 per year for academically qualified, needy students.

Annual appropriations of $70 million in first-year grants have been approved for the fiscal 1966–68 period together with necessary funds to continue each grant for the next 3 academic years.

Title IV also authorizes the release of Federal moneys for the establishment of State and nonprofit institution student loan insurance funds and allows the Commissioner of Education to insure against losses loans made to eligible students unable to secure comparable loan terms elsewhere.

Title IV also amends the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to strengthen "critical subject" instruction and broaden institutes for teacher training.

Title V authorizes the establishment of a National Teacher Corps of specially trained experienced teaching personnel to augment existing staffs in schools drawing their enrollments from low-income areas.

This title also authorizes the establishment of a program of fellowships and grants to advance certain graduate study programs.

Title VI authorizes a program of matching grants to colleges and universities for the acquisition of educational equipment and media.

Title VII authorizes a 100-percent increase in current 1966 fiscal year funds for the construction of undergraduate and graduate academic facilities under the terms of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963.

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

June 8 was the date for the signing law—Public Law 36—by President Johnson of a bill establishing a National Technical Institute for the Deaf. In all of the United States there is only one postsecondary liberal arts facility administering to the special needs of our deaf young people—Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C. Postsecondary vocational training and educational facilities are virtually nonexistent. Deaf youngsters are expected to receive their technical training in schools attended primarily by hard-of-hearing students. Generally speaking, such arrangements have proven unsatisfactory because of the serious communications problems which arise. Dropout rates among those suffering from hearing impairments are high and lack of educational

training causes a large percentage of the deaf to join the ranks of the unskilled.

The Congress heard and responded to the pleas of the deaf and of those who have a keen interest in their welfare. We authorized appropriations necessary for the establishment and operation of a postsecondary technical institution for the deaf. After consultation with a 12-member national advisory board, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare may enter into agreement with any institution of higher education for the establishment and construction of this Institute.

The deaf have long been deprived of the educational opportunities which are essential stepping stones to the mainstream of American life. A nation that strives for greatness cannot expect to attain its goal as long as it deprives itself of the valuable contributions of a deserving segment of our national community.

VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AND TRAINING

The Congress passed legislation expanding the program of aid to the States for vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons. We authorized $1,005,000 for 3 years through fiscal year 1968.

Public Law 89–287 provides for Federal insurance of loans to high school graduates, and direct loans by the Government, not to exceed $1,500 per year, to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

CIGARETTE LABELING

The results of months and years of medical studies of the relationship between prolonged tobacco smoking and health were made public in January of 1964 in the "Report of the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Smoking and Health." In this report, Luther L. Terry, former Surgeon General of the United States, voiced the warning that "cigarette smoking is a health hazard of sufficient importance in the United States to warrant appropriate remedial action." Extensive studies produced sufficient corroborating evidence to substantiate the conclusion that the continued smoking of cigarettes is a contributory factor in the high mortality toll taken annually by a host of specific diseases.

It was the consensus of this Congress that concrete measures should be enacted to assure that the American public is adequately and continually informed of the far-reaching consequences inherent in prolonged cigarette consumption.

Effective January 1, 1966, each cigarette package, carton, or similar container must bear the statement: "Caution: Cigarette Smoking May Be Hazardous to Your Health." This warning message must be conspicuous, legible, and readily distinguishable from other printed material appearing on cigarette packages, cartons, or similar containers. While the specific format—size, color, and location—of this warning label will be the responsibility of the tobacco manufacturers, final approval of these specifics will rest with the Justice Department.

Within a year and a half after this legislation becomes operative, and annually thereafter, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is to submit to the Congress the results afforded by present and future study of the causal relationship between specific diseases and prolonged cigarette addiction, together with recommendations for possible legislation. The Attorney General of the United States has been assigned to enforce these measures, violation of which will result in an imposition of a $10,000 fine on the guilty party or parties.

DRUG CONTROLS

The illegal manufacture and distribution of drugs have reached alarming proportions. To protect fully the welfare of the American people from those who are without scruples and without concern for the human misery in which they traffic, national controls must be made more comprehensive and more stringent.

The gentleman from Arkansas, Representative OREN HARRIS, chairman of the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, reported that approximately 50 percent of the 9 billion barbiturates and amphetamine pills and tablets annually produced in the United States are sold illegally.

In an effort to curb the misuse of drugs and to regulate depressant, stimulant, hallucinatory, and counterfeit drugs, the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act has been expanded to include the Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965. In addition to defining broadly the categories of depressant and stimulant drugs and strengthening the powers of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare in this sphere, these amendments prohibit the manufacture, compounding, sale, delivery, or disposal of the delineated categories by other than a carefully specified group of persons. With the exception of licensed practitioners, prescribing, such drugs in the course of their professional practice, those engaged in the legitimate manufacture, compounding, sale, delivery, or disposal of depressant and stimulant drugs must maintain for a 3-year period and make readily available to Health, Education, and Welfare inspectors the required records, stock samples, and quarters used for the above activities.

Tight restrictions relating to prescriptions for barbituates, amphetamines, and other psychotoxic drugs have been made retroactive in their application and prohibit the filling or refilling of prescriptions after 6 months from the original date of issuance. No similar drug prescription orders may be refilled more than five times without the approval and verification of need by the issuing practitioner.

Public Law 89–74 or the Drug Control Amendments Act of 1965 is the legislative embodiment of a commitment by this administration to insure the use of drugs as therapeutic agents to diminish the human suffering of sickness, pain, and disease, and not as debasing masters to increase the suffering of mankind.

SECURITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL

LAW ENFORCEMENT ASSISTANCE

The Nation has witnessed a proliferation in the incidence of criminal acts—acts which have increased at a rate five times that of our population increase since 1958. The problem of preventing and combating crime has reached major proportions. The causes of crime are many and complex; the breadth of the crime problem is nationwide, for the mobility of our criminal element ignores the borders of local and State subdivisions. To cope successfully with the activities of the criminal element within our society, local, State, and Federal authorities must join in a partnership to check and control behavioral patterns endangering the welfare of our citizenry. We feel that the rethinking of all aspects of the cirminal process will be greatly advanced by the provision of the necessary funds for "projects designed to develop or demonstrate effective methods of increasing the security of person and property, controlling the incidence of lawlessness, and promoting respect for law. To this end, the Law Enforcement Assistance Act authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to make grants to public and private nonprofit organizations, agencies, and institutions for studies pertinent to law enforcement problems and to the improvement of the training of law enforcement personnel. Ten million dollars in Federal moneys have been authorized for the 1966 fiscal year.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH OFFENSES CONTROL

Changing social conditions, especially the overall process of urbanization, have spawned socially unacceptable behavior among our youth as well as among adults. In 1961, the Congress passed the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act, which authorized the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to provide grants to public and private nonprofit organizations, agencies, or institutions for the demonstration of "new techniques of delinquency prevention and control, for the training of personnel working with youth and youth problems, and technical assistance to communities seeking to combat delinquency and for the dissemination of valuable information."

It would be naive to assume that the enactment of any single piece of legislation could bring quick and easy solutions to the problems of youthful misbehavior. Nevertheless, difficulty in solution does not justify avoidance, complacency, or inaction. On the contrary it poses a challenge to men and women in many fields of learning to apply their skills and their knowledge in a united effort to develop progressive approaches to an effective counterattack on the social conditions that foster delinquency. Demonstration and training programs that will bring to the foreground such promising and progressive approaches must be initiated and continued.

Public Law 89–69 will enable us to continue the progress that is currently being made by extending through June 30, 1967, the life of the Juvenile Delinquncy and Youth Offenses Control Act and providing authorizations of $6.5 million for the 1966 fiscal year and $10 million for the 1967 fiscal period.

PRISONER REHABILITATION

Our efforts to guarantee the security of the individual will fall short of success if we limit our attention to any one or two phases of the criminal problem. We must extend our support across the en-

tire spectrum—from the causes of crime among juveniles and adults to the all-important questions of methods and personnel employed in correctional rehabilitation.

The objective of prisoner rehabilitation is to return to the community men and women who will again contribute to society in a meaningful and productive way. Correctional rehabilitation techniques must attempt to make first offenders last offenders; correctional rehabilitation techniques which fail to accomplish this goal must yield to new and more effective reorientation methods. Operating within this framework, the Congress favorably acted upon legislation authorizing the trial of several very promising programs in the rehabilitation of Federal prisoners. We authorized the Attorney General of the United States to permit Federal prisoners to take part in community "work release" endeavors. Participants will be allowed to go to training or work locations and then return to their confinement quarters at night or when not actually employed. This new approach is justified in terms of the invaluable employment experience which on-the-job training can offer, the financial support which earnings will bring to the families of these prisoners, and in the community acceptance extended to the individual.

A maximum of 30 days of unsupervised emergency or rehabilitation leave may be granted by the Attorney General to Federal prisoners for legitimate and "compassionate" reasons consonant with the public welfare. By granting furloughs to trusted prisoners in order that they may visit dying or critically ill relatives, attend the funeral services of relatives, obtain medical treatment unavailable within the limits of the penal institutions, and for interviews with potential employers, we are bolstering the rehabilitation process by assuring the individual that, if worthy, he will have the trust of those about him. We are also denying that a man is "marked" for life by virtue of misguided past actions.

Based on our past successful experience in connection with juvenile offenders, we hope that the assignment of adult offenders to prerelease, resident treatment centers of "halfway" houses will ease the period of transition from the rigidity of institutional confinement to the contrasting atmosphere of the home and the community.

CORRECTIONAL REHABILITATION PERSONNEL

To a very high degree, the success of all of our reorientation programs depends on the dedication and training of a sufficient number of rehabilitation personnel. Of their dedication we can well say that it is complete, but all too often forgotten and unappreciated. To reduce the shortage in professional manpower, the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare has been authorized, with the advice of a 12-man Advisory Council on Correctional Manpower and Training, to award grants for a nationwide analysis and reevaluation of the problem and the means of solving the lack of qualified manpower. Appropriations of $500,000 have been authorized for these studies for the 1966 fiscal year; $800,000 has been approved for fiscal 1967 and 1968.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT

The pressing needs of residents of our urban-suburban communities confront us with perhaps the greatest challenge of the day. The onrush of the tide of urbanization has already swelled the number of metropolitan area inhabitants to 70 percent of our population; this tidal wave has not yet reached its peak. In its wake has followed a labyrinth of problems—problems pertaining to mass transportation systems, educational institutions, water supplies, medical care, sewage treatment facilities, and housing units.

In calling upon us to make the American society a Great Society, our President stated that "our society will never be great until our cities are great." I do not think that our cities will be great until the magnitude and complexity of their problems are challenged by all the boldness, determination, and creative energies that we can apply to their solution. Boldness, determination, imagination, and concert in planning characterize the administration-sponsored Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965.

Since this law will affect the daily lives of nearly three-fourths of our people, I should like to discuss some of the significant provisions incorporated in this legislation.

Federal Housing Administration loans, with ceilings of $10 million for individual projects, will become available for private land acquisition and site-betterment undertakings.

Veterans who have not taken part in existing VA mortgage insurance programs will be eligible to apply for Federal Housing Administration home mortgage loans. No downpayment will be required on the first $15,000 of the loan; a 10-percent downpayment will be required for loans between $15,000 and $20,000, and a 15-percent downpayment will be required on loans of between $20,000 and $30,000.

Armed Services personnel may now receive Federal Housing Administration insured loans of $30,000 instead of the previous $20,000 maximum. A 3-percent downpayment will be required on the initial $15,000, 10 percent on amounts between $15,000 and $20,000, and 15 percent down on loans between $20,000 and $30,000.

Federal urban renewal programs will continue over the next 4-year period with the authorization of additional appropriations totaling $2.9 billion.

Two-thirds of the costs of leveling or demolishing unsafe or condemned dwellings in urban renewal areas may be absorbed by demolition grants.

Appropriations totaling $100 million have been authorized for rehabilitation loan funds; termination date for this phase of urban renewal activities was set for October 1, 1969.

Renewal and restoration of nonresident structures will receive increased moneys.

A guarantee of rental payments by small businesses forced to relocate as a result of urban renewal projects or highway construction plans will be forthcoming from the Small Business Administration.

Low-rental public housing benefits will be continued through October 1, 1969; increased authorizations totaling $47 million annually will go to the completion of more than 50,000 units yearly during the lifetime of this program.

Federally owned housing complexes may be sold to nonprofit or local housing agencies if continued use will provide shelter at low-rental rates.

College housing construction funds have been increased by $300 million annually through the 1968 fiscal year. Vocational and technical institutions operating under the auspices of 4-year, accredited, degree-awarding colleges and universities will be eligible for housing construction loans.

Housing and Home Finance Agency grants will be available to qualifying community agencies undertaking the construction of sewer facilities, water storage, distribution, or purficaiton facilities, and health, recreation, social service centers, or related community facilities.

State and local agencies will be eligible for contracts totaling $310 million for the creation of open-land areas in urban communities and for urban landscaping and beautification projects.

Current rural housing programs will be continued for an additional 4-year period through October of 1969. The Secretary of Agriculture has been authorized to establish a low-interest, insured loan program for the improvement of rural dwellings.

The 2d session of the 89th Congress is expected to give further consideration to the feasibility of implementing a program of rent supplement payment to low-income families.

As one of the most comprehensive measures enacted during this session, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 paves the way for cooperative action among Federal, State, and local governments—action that will improve the standards of living within our metropolitan societies.

Passage of this historic legislation is our substantive answer to the challenge of urbanization. In its success lies our vision of the American city as "a place where future generations will come, not only to live but to live the good life."

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

To coordinate all executive department and all Federal agency functions or activities directly affecting urban-suburban problems and to assure planning for the sound development of our metropolitan areas, the Congress enacted legislation establishing a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development. This Department will be headed by a Secretary of Housing and Urban Development appointed by the President and subject to Senate confirmation.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

In the 11-State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation, poverty among plenty is a harsh reality. More than

16 million Americans reside in an area blessed with an invaluable store of natural resources. Yet millions of these Americans have been bypassed by the full rewards of our Nation's economic growth and general well-being. Lack of individual and collective resourcefulness, determination, and concern does not account for the hardship and privation that have plagued generations of Appalachia's inhabitants. A good measure of the blame for this region's retarded economic development may well be attributed to the confinement and isolation imposed by a difficult and rugged terrain. Theoretically within easy access to more than half of the Nation's population, this area has long awaited a constructive program of local, State, and Federal action to provide administrative assistance, technical know-how, and finances for major capital expenditures to enable maximum industrial and recreational development of its vast resources. Such a program has been enacted by this Congress and signed into law by President Johnson on March 9. Public Law 89–4, or the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, authorizes $1,092,400,000 for the cooperative development of the physical resources of 360 counties in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Maryland, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Counties in southern New York may be included in the program at a future date.

Preparation of programs and coordination of development projects to promote the growth and productivity of the Appalachian region rests with the Appalachian Regional Commission composed of the Governor or his representative of each affected State and a Federal Cochairman appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. In addition, the Commission has been designated as a body to foster measures which will result in the formulation of local development districts, encourage private investment in commercial, industrial, and recreational projects. Finally, the Commission will serve as the sponsor of investigations and research studies relating to area redevelopment and as a forum for the consideration of problems and proposed solutions to these problems. Recommendations pertaining to the realization of the goals of the act will be made to the participating States and to the President.

Appalachia lacks adequate major transportation arteries; highways are urgently needed. If the area's abundant natural resources are to be developed, the isolation inflicted by the Appalachian Mountain chain must be ended. New access links with our national highway system must be constructed. An authorization of $840 million has been approved for the construction of 2,350 miles of development highways together with 1,000 miles of local access roads to serve specific residential, recreational, commercial, industrial, or similar facilities. Federal assistance in any highway or road construction project will not exceed 70 percent of the total construction cost. Road sites will be specified by the Appalachian Regional Commission. State members of the Commission will be required to consult with their State highway departments and receive department recommendations before participating in Commission decisions on road sites.

Appalachia knows an abundant annual rainfall; its water resources potential is one of its most valuable assets. Through proper planning and management, winter and spring floods and summer droughts can be avoided, and this all-important resource can help to bring industrial, commercial, recreational, and residential development to fruition. In spite of sufficient quantities of water, more than 75 percent of the area's residents do not enjoy public water supplies or supplies that meet minimum health standards for human use. Pollution from sewage and mine acids now renders large quantities of water virtually useless.

The Secretary of the Army has been authorized to prepare a comprehensive plan for the development and utilization of Appalachia's water resources. Specifically, this plan should encompass recommendations relating to flood control measures, regulation of rivers to enhance their value as industrial and municipal water supply sources, the improvement of rivers for navigation to further industrial development, the prevention of water pollution, and the development of the recreational potential of water bodies in the region. An authorization of $5 million has been approved for this water resources study.

In his inaugural address, Mr. Johnson vowed that "in a land of healing miracles, neighbors must not suffer and die unattended." In Appalachia, however, countless persons suffer and die unattended. Human misery is widespread, because there are too few health facilities to meet the present demands of the residents. Lack of adequate highways and roads make the few existing medical care institutions unavailable to those whose need may be the greatest. A generally low-income level and its accompanying low-taxable base mean that the necessary construction funds for new and needed facilities will not be forthcoming. Stated in somewhat different terms, decent hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and related health facilities are not and will not be available in sufficient numbers to answer the health demands of area residents.

Grants totaling $41 million have been authorized for use in the construction of multicounty demonstration health facilities such as treatment centers, regional health diagnostic centers, and hospitals. These grants may be used for up to 80 percent of total project construction costs. In addition, $28 million has been authorized for use in meeting the operation expenses incurred during the first 2 years of health facilities operations. These funds will be available for the first 2 years of operation and may cover the total operating costs for this time period. During the third year, funds will be reduced to meet a maximum of 50 percent of total operating expenses.

Land stabilization programs have been allotted a maximum of $17 million. More than 8.6 million acres of land have suffered the consequences of soil erosion and must be protected from additional damage. The topography of the Appalachian Mountain area has not been conducive to successful large-scale farming. It is hoped that this land may be made suitable for the feeding and grazing of livestock. Land stabilization programs will take the form of grants, awarded by the Secretary of Agriculture, to landowners for application to mutually agreed upon programs of land improvement and erosion control on individual holdings not in excess of 50 acres.

Appalachia is potentially one of the Nation's finest timber producing centers. Years of poor cutting practices have reduced the area's timber yield to one of inferior quality. Poor highways and poor access roads pose marketing problems and the number of small timber growing enterprises with limited capabilities make the future of the timber industry seem bleak. In an effort to coordinate improvement efforts and implement timber development programs on a scale large enough to be worthwhile, the Appalachian Regional Development Act authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to make loans of up to 50 percent of incurred costs to aid in the establishment of timber development organizations whose goals wil be those of returning quality and quantity to the timber crop and profitable returns to the area's timber producers and processors. Five million dollars in funds have been authorized to assist in the creation of timber development organizations.

Appalachia counts coal as its No. 1 natural resource but suffers from the serious and damaging aftereffects of "deleterious mining practices." Acid drainage from underground and strip mines pollutes many of the water resources leaving them unfit for most uses. Many private residences are now unsafe because of the constant threat posed by surface cavings. The threat is of sufficient proportions as to cause industrial developers to move on and locate elsewhere. Underground mine fires slowly continue to burn spreading noxious fumes endangering lives and property. Piles of refuse now left as monuments to previous mining efforts burn—polluting the air and preventing acres of land from being profitably developed. Acres and acres of valuable land, now in need of backfilling and replanting, lie in waste because of abandoned strip mines. The Secretary of the Interior has been authorized to make financial contributions to the States for filling in the gaps left by abandoned mines, extinguishing underground mine fires, and for use in the restoration of fish and wildlife to the blighted locales. These moneys will be limited to publicly owned lands and may finance up to 75 percent of the costs of restoration and reclamation projects. Finally, a number of existing legislative programs, including the National Defense Education Act, the Vocational Educational Act, and the Housing Act of 1954, have received supplementary authorizations to allow the communities

of Appalachia to share more fully in available facilities and services.

AMENDMENTS TO THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT OF 1964

That the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 seeks to wage an unconditional and unlimited war on the causes of poverty can be readily seen by a quick and cursory review of some of the many programs which its passage launched.

A Job Corps program was established for our young men and women between the ages of 16 and 21, and with it, new hope for a productive and rewarding future. As residents of rural conservation or urban training communities, these young people, most of whom lack the rudiments of a high school education, are given another chance to complete a basic education and to receive the benefits of sound guidance and counseling, together with the valuable experience that comes from on-the-job training.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps or work training program concept provides part-time or full-time work and job training for young people in the 16 to 21 age bracket. In many instances, the modest salaries earned make the difference in whether or not these young adults continue their educational programs. In a wide variety of newly created positions in school libraries, parks, playgrounds, and hospitals, Neighborhood Youth Corps trainees are not only exercising their earning powers, but increasing their employment assets and enjoying the self-respect and individual dignity that come with active and rewarding participation in community life.

College work study programs have been designed to allow college and university students from low-income families to be self-supporting and remain full-time students by devoting part of their energies to on-campus and off-campus jobs sponsored by public and private nonprofit agencies and organizations.

Urban and rural community action programs encourage impoverished localities to avail themselves of Federal technical and financial assistance in the planning and implementation of locally oriented projects of self-help and community betterment.

Adult basic education offers training in reading and writing to those whose only qualification must be their earnest desire to learn.

Through participation in job experience and training opportunities, in basic and vocation education programs, work experience projects promise to chronically unemployed heads of households hope today for a self-supporting tomorrow.

Denied credit and financing due to the lack of necessary collateral, low-income rural families and owners of small businesses may receive loans for projects which have the potential to raise their earning levels.

To improve the quality of life in our Indian communities and in those areas of our Nation where our more than 2 million seasonal workers and their families reside, there are special programs authorized under the terms of the Economic Opportunity Act.

To aid local communities in providing learning experiences and much-needed medical and dental care for preschool youngsters from disadvantaged families, we have initiated Project Head Start.

A massive and unconditional assault on poverty is an ambitious but by no means impossible or unreasonable undertaking. That experience is the best guide and teacher may have much meaning in terms of our antipoverty campaign. We must look at our objectives; we must review our progress in achieving our stated goals; we must re-evaluate our operations carefully. We must be willing to make those revisions in our overall plans which will better solve the problems that we seek to eliminate.

The Congress this year scrutinized thoroughly the working of the antipoverty program and incorporated in the original act a series of amendments which experience dictates are necessary if we are to conquer poverty amidst plenty in our time.

For all titles of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 we have authorized appropriations of $1,785 million for the 1966 fiscal year. The current Federal financing of 90 percent of the costs of the Neighborhood Youth Corps or work-training programs, college work-study, urban and rural community action projects, and adult basic education programs will continue through August 20, 1967, with the States expected to increase their contributions thereafter.

We have now authorized the enrollment of persons coming to our shores from Cuba in the Job Corps and Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity has been empowered to override the veto of suggested community action and work training programs by State Governors.

Changes have also been made in the terms of title 2 authorizing urban and rural community action programs to require that the public be afforded reasonable access to data relevant to community action projects. The number of potential recipients of Federal moneys has been expanded to include private nonprofit organizations separate from the designated community action agencies that are able to justify or show good cause for such financial assistance. Office of Economic Opportunity officials must, however, inform the official or designated community action agency and the State's Governor of such requests and inquiries from private agencies.

Loans and loan guarantees will now be available to State agencies, local public agencies, private nonprofit organizations, institutions, and cooperatives aiding farmers and seasonal workers in the processing and marketing of farm or dairy foods and in programs of education, sanitation, day care for children, and housing.

Farm families earning less than $1,200 annually are deemed unemployed for the purposes of the work experience project, thus entitling these heads of families to receive basic, vocational, and work-training benefits.

For Project VISTA personnel responding to the pleas of their less-fortunate neighbors and giving of themselves in the finest spirit of humanitarianism, we have adjusted the wage base from the previous GS–2 level to a GS–7 level for the determination of death and disability benefits.

MANPOWER AMENDMENTS

The Johnson administration and the 89th Congress are totally committed to the realization of full employment opportunities for all Americans.

We are confronted with a somewhat paradoxical labor situation. While approximately 3 million of our people are not gainfully employed, thousands of jobs go begging annually for lack of qualified and readily available personnel. Our objective, therefore, must be the enactment of vocational training programs which will elevate our unemployed to a level of proficiency in those skills which are and will continue to be valuable employment assets. Those whose skills are no longer useful due to the increasingly sophisticated training requisites exacted by technological innovations must not be forgotten. We are obliged to provide them with the opportunity for retraining. Those who have never possessed truly marketable skills must also be afforded an equal chance to join the ranks of the productively employed. Our task is one of merging well-skilled personnel and available work opportunities. This was the primary objective of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962. Although this legislation focused its initial attention on experienced workers whose skills had been rendered obsolete by the forces of automation and mechanization, it was amended in 1963 to afford more effective relief to the unemployed who are illiterate and to young persons who were ineligible for aid under the 1962 provisions of the act.

Two and a half years of experience with the rehabilitation projects instituted under the Manpower Development and Training Act clearly show that the aspirations of its original sponsors have been more than realized. Through the end of January of this year, 305,000 persons have been approved for vocational training. More than 85,000 persons have successfully completed their training courses, and, of these, 73 percent have been placed and are again an integral and productive part of the American working force. Moreover, our 2½ years of experience have given us insight into the nature of special problem areas which demand our immediate attention if our goal of full employment opportunity for all of our citizens is to be attained.

According to the terms of the Manpower Amendment Act of 1965, the life of the Manpower Development and Training Act has been renewed. The final bill, signed into law—Public Law 89–15—on April 26, extended the act's expiration date from June 30, 1966 to June 30, 1969, and included monetary authorization for fiscal 1966 of $454 million together with such additional appropriations as are deemed necessary thereafter. It has been feared that the financial arrangements contained in the act's original stipulations would place an unbearable burden on the tax structures of the States.

Recall that under the existing law, each of the States would be required to assume one-third of the costs of the Manpower Development and Training Act's administrative and training costs as of July 1, 1965, and one-half of the costs effective July 1, 1966. The States have wholeheartedly endorsed the purpose of the program and are enjoying the benefits which accrue to their residents who are Manpower Development and Training Act trainees. Nevertheless, the dollar demands of the matching funds clause, combined with the mandatory expansion of a wide range of established State programs, have given rise to doubtful prognostications for continued State participation. The withdrawal of thousands of current trainees from frontiers offering new skills and new trades to the doldrums of the "no skill, no job, relief role" syndrome constitutes a disheartening finale.

It was incumbent upon us to establish a more feasible financial basis for the future operation of this vocational education program. Under the new bill signed by the President, the Federal Government will absorb the full cost of the Manpower Development Training Act programs until June 30, 1966. Subsequently, the States will be asked to supply a maximum of 10 percent of the institutional training expenses. What is more, new wording gives the States the option of making their contributions in cash or in kind. Local outlay of matching funds has been further reduced by the repeal of the current requirement that beginning July 1, 1965, one-third of the training allowance allotments—one-half effective July 1, 1966—fall to the States. Revisions accepted by both Houses of the Congres provide for full Federal financing of training allowance costs.

The Secretary of Labor has been authorized to initiate and oversee a myriad of research programs and experimental pilot studies with an eye to applying the expertise of private and public institutions in a concerted effort to arrive at satisfactory solutions to our general manpower problems and specifically to the expansion of employment by meeting the demands of service-related industries.

Through the awarding of contracts and grants, the Labor Secretary has been directed to conduct appropriate experimental studies which will pave the way for constructive efforts to combat chronic unemployment among the long-term unemployed, the mentally and/or physically handicapped, minority group blocs, disadvantaged youth, and those who have passed their prime productive years.

Assuming that we must bring skilled workers and available work situations together, we feel that the extension of the time limit and the increase in monetary allotments for pilot labor mobility-demonstration projects are justifiable. Accordingly, the Secretary of Labor's authority over this study has been extended through June 30, 1967 and the funds available for this undertaking increased from $4 to $5 million annually.

Based on our experience to date under the Manpower Development and Training Act, we have written in an authorization which allocated moneys for an experimental project affording bonding aid to otherwise trained and qualified persons whose past behavioral patterns make it still impossible for them to obtain indemnification.

In order to afford each trainee every chance to exercise his newly acquired skills, we must not overlook what might appear to many as only minor stumbling blocks. To those on the threshold of employment rehabilitation, however, such impedimenta assume major proportions. We have effected a liberalization of other major provisions of the Manpower Development and Training Act. The payment of training allowances may be made for as long as 104 weeks or 2 years. Heretofore, training allowance payments terminated at the end of 1 year. The additional time factor should be especially advantageous to those with an extremely low intellectual achievement. Their progress in attaining at least a minimum of the required skills may be somewhat slower. Additional time may constitute an important factor in aiding potential workers seeking admittance to job markets requiring the mastery of highly developed trade tools. To ease the financial pressures experienced by vocational trainees and their families, the following changes have been made: basic training allowances may be raised by $5 a week for each dependent over two and up to a maximum of six; trainees may work up to 20 hours a week without being subject to a reduction in their basic training allowances; trainees will be fully reimbursed for transportation costs incurred; more than one member of a family may now receive training allowances when the head of the household is unemployed. The 1965 amendments have repealed earlier clauses which excluded single persons, regardless of their financial status, from receipt of training allowances. Since one of the well-defined unemployment problem areas centers around the ever-increasing number of young persons unable to compete effectively in the job market, we have eased the limitation on the percentage of young adults eligible for the program's benefits.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965

On August 26, President Johnson signed into law the Public Works and Economic Development Act—Public Law 89-136—and in so doing, waged war against poverty and economic stagnation on an ever-widening front. Public Law 89-136 distills from past successful efforts measures which have proved that new opportunities for employment may be provided for residents of areas marred by chronic underemployment and unemployment by improving the social assets and economic capabilities. An economic resurgence within an area may be fostered by rendering assistance to projects that will expand commercial and industrial capabilities and attract and retain industries and enterprises which offer long-range job opportunities. In the spirit of our Federal system, this legislation seeks to construct the overall framework within which the Federal Government, in partnership with the States and local governments, may plan and finance public works and other developmental facilities on a scale otherwise infeasible and above the financial capacities of local communities and individual States.

Title I allows the Secretary of Commerce to award direct grants to States, political subdivisions, Indian tribes, or nonprofit representatives of redevelopment areas characterized by low-incomes and high unemployment levels. These direct grants will be applied to the total costs of necessary public works and public service projects as well as development facilities whose completion will provide attractive settings for industrial and commercial development and expanded long-term employment potential which follows in its wake.

Funds allocated for the construction of facilities for the treatment of sewage require that construction plans receive the approval of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Eligible areas may receive direct grant funds for 4 years covering a maximum of 50 percent of the total project cost. Annual appropriations of $500 million to meet the costs of title I have been authorized for the fiscal years 1966 to 1969.

In order to enable eligible areas to participate in a number of Federal grants-in-aid programs and thereby provide to their residents services and facilities whose costs would otherwise exceed their abilities to finance, the Secretary of Commerce has been authorized to make supplemental grants to the States—otherwise eligible—but unable to raise the required matching funds.

Direct grants and supplemental grants may contribute to a maximum of 80 percent of the total costs of a single project; grants may not be applied to projects which will compete with operational privately owned public utilities currently serving an area and subject to the regulations of State or Federal agencies unless these utilities are inadequate to meet the demands of the region. Excluded from the category of projects to which funds authorized for this act may be applied are projects eligible for assistance under the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. No State may be the recipent of more than 15 percent of the total financial authorizations for the act.

Under title II, the Secretary of Commerce is authorized to make loans to and purchase evidence of indebtedness from eligible States, political subdivisions, Indian tribes, or nonprofit representatives of redevelopment areas for application to public works or development facilities and for purchase and betterment of land and facilities earmarked for industrial and commercial usage and to guarantee loans for working capital made by private lending institutions to private borrowers for application to redevelopment area projects.

A total annual authorization of $170 million for all types of guarantees and loans for the fiscal years 1966 to 1970 was approved. Twenty-five million dollars annually has been authorized for the fiscal years 1966 to 1970 to provide technical assistance in the form of aid in the development of plans and studies to alleviate underemployment and unem-

ployment in needy areas across the Nation and financial assistance in the form of grants of up to 75 percent of the administrative expenses of economic development planning organizations.

Redevelopment areas, for purposes of the act, are designated as areas which fall within objective and detailed categories of below national avearge median family incomes and within certain levels of chronic and high unemployment.

Title V provides for the creation of multi-State regional action planning commissions to initiate and coordinate regional programs designed to foster long-range economic development.

STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES ACT

Public Law 89–182 was referred to by President Johnson as the "sleeper" measure of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. This was the State Technical Services Act, which authorizes a 3-year, $60 million program of Federal matching grants to States which establish technical service centers for the dissemination of findings of science and technology to commerce and industry. The programs will be conducted by institutions of higher learning. It is hoped that this legislation will help American businesses and industries have better access to the rapidly growing body of nonproprietary scientific and technical information.

DISASTER LEGISLATION

The period from July 1964 through September 1965 was one of a series of natural disasters for the United States. Several laws were enacted by this Congress to give affected individuals, States, and local communities more comprehensive and rapid disaster relief.

Public Law 89–41 authorized $111,875,000 for emergency public highway and forest road construction in Pacific Northwest areas damaged by floods.

Public Law 89–59 provided additional Small Business Administration assistance to disaster victims and increased by $50 million the Small Business Administration's revolving fund for disaster victims.

In Public Law 89–128 we increased the President's emergency disaster relief fund from $20 million to $55 million for fiscal year 1966.

The Congress also passed legislation authorizing $70 million in Federal aid to Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi to repair public facilities damaged by hurricane. Also authorized were Federal loan adjustment assistance and a study of alternative Federal relief programs.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965

On March 30, 1870, the Secretary of State declared that 29 States, or the necessary three-fourths of all the States, had ratified the 15th amendment to the Constitution. With the proclamation of ratification, an inalienable right was unequivocally guaranteed:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Beginning with the Enforcement Act of 1870, which nullified racial considerations as reasonable or justifiable criteria for the denial of voter rights, to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which streamlined the mechanism for expediting voting rights suits, nearly a century of legislative activity relating to the franchise had elapsed. Time after time, the Congress has sought to protect and to guarantee the right of suffrage to all Americans. Simultaneously, the Supreme Court of the United States has struck down a series of State and local enactments and procedures which affected the disfranchisement of large segments of our population. It is well known that the American Negroes have been the prime targets of most of this legislation and practice.

A variety of techniques have subverted the unmistakable meaning of the 15th amendment and consequently retarded the progress of the Negro in exercising his unalterably guaranteed rights. That his progress has been minimal is documented by the token numbers of Negroes voting in many of our communities.

Those States or political subdivisions in which literacy or similar voter qualification measures were employed and in which less than 50 percent of the total voting-age population was registered to vote or actually voted in the November 1964 election will be automatically affected by the provisions of the Voting Rights Act of 1965—Public Law 89–110. A failure to meet the minimum voting or registration requirements together with the simultaneous use of literacy or voter qualification tests will automatically trigger the act into operation. Additional States or political subdivisions thereof may be subject to its provisions should a Federal court, on the basis of suits brought before it by the Attorney General of the United States, deem it appropriate in order to insure voting rights or should the Attorney General certify that he has received legitimate complaints of disfranchisement due to race or color from a minimum of 20 residents. To any of these areas, the Civil Service Commission is empowered to send Federal voting examiners whose task is that of determining the qualifications of all applicants who wish to register to vote. Qualified residents would be enrolled and thereby entitled to vote in all subsequent Federal, State, and local elections and to participate in future State political conventions and party caucuses. General registration procedures, including times and places for registration, as well as voter registration forms, will be scrutinized and determined by the Civil Service Commission.

Literacy tests and related voter qualification measures also come under review. In those States and political subdivisions in which less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered to vote or voted in the November 1964 election, in States against which the Attorney General has brought voter discrimination suits, and in areas in which widespread patterns of racial discrimination have been virtually ignored by local and State authorities, existing literacy and analagous voter qualifications will be canceled. Included in the overall category of literacy-voter qualification tests are provisions which require an applicant to produce evidence of high moral character, to demonstrate educational attainment or proficiency in any specified subject area, or to exhibit his ability to read, write, or interpret the meaning of any given item.

Before any affected State or political subdivision, whose past voter statistics and procedures automatically triggered the act's provisions into operation, enacts new voting laws, it must receive the prior confirmation of the Attorney General or three-judge Federal court in the District of Columbia that the purpose or probable effect of the proposed statute will not result in voter discrimination for reasons of race or color.

Should an area which is a party to a voter-discrimination lawsuit wish to legislate new voter enactments, it must also receive prior judicial approval from the Federal court in whose jurisdiction the case falls.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 also contains a declaration by the Congress that the levying of poll taxes as a prerequisite to the ballot is a factor contributing to low registration figures and thereby thwarts the intent of the 15th amendment. Acting in accordance with its enforcement power, the Congress had directed the Attorney General of the United States to file suits in Federal district courts against States currently levying poll taxes. During the litigation of these cases and for a 1-year period in States in which the constitutionality of the poll tax has been upheld, no qualified voter may be denied the right to vote by virtue of failure to pay such taxes in the past, if he satisfies payment of the present year's levy 45 days prior to an election.

According to the terms of this enactment, penalties of up to $5,000 and/or 5 years of imprisonment may be imposed on individuals convicted of vote fraud or acts of intimidation directed against persons exercising their right to vote or against those charged with executing the directives of the act. Penalties of up to $10,000 and/or 5 years' imprisonment may be imposed on individuals convicted of falsifying voting or registration data. At the request of the Attorney General of the United States, the Civil Service Commission may appoint poll watchers to oversee actual voting and tabulation of the ballots.

I have attempted to outline some of the highlights of this monumental and historic legislation. May the Voting Rights Act of 1965 commence a century characterized as one in which the dignity of man is accorded its rightful position in the hierarchy of values on which our society was founded and upon which our future greatness as a Nation rests.

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY

Woodrow Wilson said of the Nation's highest elective position:

> The Office of President requires the constitution of an athlete, the patience of a mother, the endurance of an early Christian.

No other single office in the world is charged with comparable responsibilities and duties; in no other single officeholder in the world have so many millions placed their hopes and aspirations.

Most nations of the world choose to assign to several decisionmakers the duties and responsibilities that we have entrusted to our President. It is because we have equated an individual officeholder with this unique combination of real and imaginary powers that the issue of Presidental succession and disability assumes monumental proportions.

Less than 2 years ago, a grieving Nation mourned the national and personal tragedy that saw an assassin's bullets cruelly and quickly fell our beloved President Kennedy. A bereaved Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson assumed the responsibilities of Presidential leadership and renewed our dedication to the truths and principles which are our American heritage and tradition.

Although our Nation has not known other than smooth transitions from one administration to another, our Presidential succession procedures are replete with ambiguities which could disrupt the continuity of our national life.

The House and Senate have concurred in the provisions of a proposed constitutional amendment which goes far in eliminating the ambiguities inherent in our present Presidential succession procedures.

When this proposal is ratified by three-quarters, or 38 of our sovereign States, it will become the 25th amendment to our Constitution.

In its major provisions, this amendment seeks to alleviate the dangers of uncertain command and disputed responsibilities. In any situation which results in the removal of the President, or in the event of his resignation or death, the Vice President becomes President of the United States. Should a vacancy occur in the office of the Vice President, the President would nominate a candidate for Vice President, who, upon confirmation by a majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress, shall assume the duties of the Vice Presidency.

What of the all-important issue of Presidential disability? Under the proposed amendment, the President may, in writing, voluntarily inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate that he is unable to perform his duties as Chief Executive; these duties are then to be carried out by the Vice President as Acting President. When the President has ceased to be incapacitated, he shall, by way of a written statement, so inform the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the President pro tempore of the Senate. The powers and duties of the Presidency shall once again be his unless the Vice President and a majority of either the Cabinet, or any other body that the Congress may choose to designate by law, conveys within a 4-day period a written statement refuting the President's declaration of ability to resume executive responsibilities.

In this case, the issue will be resolved by the Congress. If the Congress is in session at the time, it shall, within 21 days of receipt of the statement of challenge offered by the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet—or other lawfully designated body—render its verdict as to whether or not the President is able to execute his powers and duties. If the Congress is not in session, it will assemble within 48 hours and within a 21-day period thereafter, register its will on the disability question. Should two-thirds of the membership of the House and the Senate vote that the President is unable to reassume the role of the Chief Executive, the Vice President would continue to exercise the Executive powers and duties as Acting President. Should less than two-thirds of the Members indicate that the President is unable to resume his activities, all the powers and duties of the highest office of the land would be restored to him.

SECRET SERVICE PROTECTION

Scheduled to expire in December of 1965, the protection of our Secret Service will be offered to the widow of the late President Kennedy for an additional 2-year period.

Similar protection will be afforded to former Chief Executives, their wives and widows, and minor children.

IMMIGRATION

One of the basic tenets to which our Nation is fundamentally committed is that all men are created equal and are to be judged, not on the basis of race, creed, color, or previous condition of servitude, but by the contributions they make to society and on their worth as human beings. For more than 40 years our immigration policies have been to guarantee the status quo of the ethnic balance of our population in the 1920's. An annual ceiling of approximately 158,000 was set on the total number of persons to be admitted; nearly 70 percent of this total was allocated to Ireland, England, and Germany. While these quotas were often not used, they were not transferable to those remaining 100 countries and areas whose nationals could not be accommodated within the limits of the 30 percent quota assigned to them.

How, many have queried, can a nation of immigrants, proud of a tradition expounding individual equality, practice a policy which judges the admissibility of an individual on his national and ancestral origins? Does the concept of a national origin priority system not imply that certain peoples and certain races are essentially more desirable than others because of their racial ancestry or place of birth? In establishing admission quotas on these criteria, we were not fully living up to our heritage of greatness, our commitment to humanitarian and equalitarian principles, and our national interests as the leader of the community of free world nations.

Revisions liberalizing our immigration policy and removing the discrimination have been approved by the 89th Congress and signed into law by the President.

A gradual phasing-out of the national origins quota system will be effected over a 3-year period terminating June 30, 1968. During this time, previous national quotas will remain in effect but unused quotas will now be placed in a pool and made available in an order of preference to immigrants heretofore denied entrance because of an oversubscription of their country's quota. Through June 30, 1968, a maximum of 170,000 may be admitted annually on the basis of this combined national origins quota system and pool concept. Commencing July 1, 1968, immediate relatives of U.S. citizens, including husbands, wives, unmarried minor children and parents; special immigrants, subject to wage employment determinations by the Secretary of Labor, including primarily persons born in independent countries in the Western Hemisphere; resident aliens seeking readmission; some former U.S. citizens and certain U.S. Government employees, all will be granted admission without numerical limitations. Exclusive of the above-mentioned categories, an annual maximum of 170,000 immigrants will be permitted to enter according to the following preference categories: (A) 20 percent for unmarried adult children of American citizens; (B) 20 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A, for husbands, wives, and unmarried children of legally admitted aliens seeking permanent residence; (C) 10 percent for person possessing special talents, skills, or educational training; (D) 20 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A–C, for married children of American citizens; (E) 24 percent, in addition to any unused numbers from A–D, for brothers and sisters of American citizens; (F) 10 percent for skilled or unskilled workers whose permanent services are in current demand and unable to be provided by U.S. workers; (G) 6 percent for conditional admission of refugees seeking asylum from Communist countries, Communist-dominated countries, the Middle Eastern area of the world, or areas rendered uninhabitable by catastrophes of nature. Unused quotas will then be available to qualified immigrants on the principle of first come, first served.

In addition to repealing the racial ancestry clause of the Asia-Pacific triangle provision, the new immigration amendments, resting on the criteria of humanitarianism and the individual's contribution to society, set an annual maximum of 120,000 for immigrants from the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere and, exclusive of immediate relatives and certain other broad exceptions designed to prevent the hardships suffered by the separation of children from parents and husbands from wives, a yearly ceiling of 20,000 from any nation outside the Western Hemisphere.

As the Voting Rights Act of 1965 holds forth great promise for eradicating discrimination in the relationship of American to American, we feel that the revisions in our immigration policy will remove discrimination between the United States and countless numbers who ask only for the opportunity to prove themselves worthy of American citizenship.

AGRICULTURE

In the tradition of the great Democratic administrations of former years, the Johnson administration and the 89th Congress are giving their wholehearted support to policies which seek to guarantee parity of income and parity of opportunity to rural and farm families across this land. President Johnson, in

his message to the Congress on Agriculture, said.

The farm people of this Nation have made and are continuing to make a lasting contribution to our national prosperity. As a matter of simple justice they should share equitably in this prosperity. They deserve a place of dignity and opportunity.

That many farmers do not know dignity and opportunity became clear in the statistics presented by Secretary of Agriculture, the Honorable Orville L. Freeman, who reported that out of 3 million farmers, only 400,000 earn close to the equivalent wage earned by skilled industrial workers.

OMNIBUS FARM PROGRAM

The 4-year omnibus farm program enacted unites a variety of income and price support programs with acreage allotment and land diversion measures—all of which are aimed at establishing a workable relationship between farm produce supplies and projected domestic and overseas demands. Out of this relationship must come a reasonable guarantee to our farmers of an income level that will mean parity of earnings and parity of opportunity.

The highlights of this all-inclusive farm legislation may be summarized as follows:

Wheat: To wheat producers willing to divert 15 percent of their 1966 allotted acreage to land conservation use the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments of as much as 50 percent of the support rate of the estimated output of the diverted acreage. Farmers who wish to retire acreage over and above 15 percent will be eligible for additional payments. To further aid wheat producers in realizing returns approaching 100 percent of parity, direct Federal payments, and government-issued marketing certificates will be given for wheat grown for domestic human consumption. Calculated on the basis of the world wheat market price level and wheat price, support loans will also be available. All of these measures—land diversion payments, direct Federal payments, marketing certificates, and price support loans must assure the wheat growers of a minimum average of $1,845 per bushel.

Cotton: To cotton growers willing to withhold a minimum of 15.2 percent of their 1966 acreage allotment, the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments amounting to 25 percent of parity on the estimated yield of acreage diverted from cotton planting and turned over to conservation programs. Growers retiring up to 35 acres would be eligible for maximum payments of 40 percent of parity on projected outputs. Acceptance of acreage diversion quotas entitles cotton growers to receive price-support loans of 21 cents per pound during 1966, as well as direct payments of at least 9 cents per pound on the estimated or projected yield of individual domestic allotments. Support and payment measures must bring the grower a return within the range of 65–90 percent of parity.

Feed grains: To growers of corn, grain sorghum, and barley—the latter if designated by the Secretary of Agriculture—assigning the requisite number of acres to conservation programs, the Secretary of Agriculture may forward payments of as much as 50 percent of established price support rates on the estimated yield of this land. Continuance of direct payments has also been authorized; combined loan and direct payment receipts must equal 65 percent of parity.

Wool: The provisions of the current wool program will continue to operate through 1969 with the Secretary of Agriculture authorized to make direct payments in the amount of the difference between average wool market prices and an annual income return ranging from 60 to 90 percent of parity.

Rice: Acreage diversion measures and land diversion projects may be initiated by the Department of Agriculture whenever the rate of rice acreage allotment dips below the 1965 level. The existing $4.50 per hundredweight support price will apply to the 1966 and 1967 crops.

Cropland adjustment: To reduce the recurrence of unwielding agricultural surpluses, a 4-year program of land retirement has been initiated. By making 5- and 10-year contract agreements of payments of as much as 40 percent of the value of "unplanted crops," it is anticipated that some 40 million acres will be retired from planting.

TOBACCO MARKETING QUOTAS

American tobacco growers have long produced a leaf unrivaled in flavor and aroma. Serious problems, however, plague our growers. Per acre yields have reached an alltime high and production currently exceeds demand by approximately 1 billion pounds.

In order to keep production in alinement with demand, changes in marketing quota procedures were enacted into law—Public Law 89–12.

Acreage-poundage quotas were provided in place of existing acreage allotments for the 1965 Flue-cured tobacco crop and for other tobacco beginning in 1966. The new quotas became effective for Flue-cured tobacco when growers subsequently voted in a referendum to accept the new program. The new quotas will not become effective for other tobacco unless approved by two-thirds of the growers voting in a referendum.

RURAL WATER AND SANITATION FACILITIES

Public Law 89–240 increased the annual ceiling on Farmers Home Administration insured loans from $200 million to $450 million. This important enactment also provided grants to help develop water supply and waste disposal systems in rural communities up to 5,500 in population.

SUGAR ACT AMENDMENTS

The Congress revised and extended through December 31, 1971, domestic and foreign sugar quotas. We increased domestic mainland cane and beet sugar quotas by 580,000 tons a year and granted foreign quotas to 31 nations. This program, in effect since the 1930's, guarantees to the American housewife an adequate supply of sugar at reasonable prices and, at the same time, it plays a vital role in American foreign relations, particularly with our friends in the Alliance for Progress.

FARM DISASTER RELIEF

Legislation was enacted to provide price supports for farmers who participate in acreage reduction projects and who were unable to plant their usual cotton, feed grain, or wheat crops this year due to damage caused by floods or other natural disasters. Farmers are eligible only if their acreage was not planted with other price-supported crops. Losses incurred by land damage prior to crop planting are no easier to sustain than those suffered after crop plantings.

RIVER BASIN PLANNING

National attention is focused on the relationship between national water demands and available supplies when newspaper headlines spell out boldly that water reserves are being depleted rapidly, and measures to conserve existing supplies are being put into effect.

National attention is focused on the necessity for controlling water resources when newsreels show the havoc of unmanaged water supplies.

To meet satisfactorily and successfully our current and projected water needs, local, State, and Federal authorities must launch immediate and coordinated programs with the stated goals set at effectively planning, developing, managing, and utilizing the water resources with which we have been abundantly endowed and which we have carelessly squandered. To advance this undertaking, the River Basin Planning Act was signed into law—Public Law 89–80—creating a Water Resources Council whose membership includes the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, Health, Education, and Welfare, and the Army and a Chairman appointed by the Chief Executive. This Council will be assigned the major responsibility of conducting an ongoing study and making a periodical assessment of the adequacy of regional water stores as well as setting standards and spelling out procedures to be applied in the formulation and evaluation of Federal water and related land resources programs. Finally, the Water Resources Council must oversee the projects of river basin commissions—making certain that the implementation of these plans will be in harmony with our national water conservation objectives.

The President was granted the power to establish Federal-State river basin water commissions whose primary task will involve the preparation and revision of comprehensive and coordinated plans for the water and related land resources development within their respective jurisdictions.

SALINE WATER CONVERSION

Desalting of seawater may well be the answer to one of our major questions: How do we supply the water needs of our large metropolitan areas having access to the coasts—areas which are now chronically plagued by water shortages.

Intensified studies in saline water conversion have been made possible by the passage in 1961 of the Anderson-Aspinall Act, which authorized $75 million for 1962 to 1967, inclusive.

Public Law 89–118 extends the life of our national saline water program from

June 30, 1967 through the 1972 fiscal year and authorizes an increase from $75 to $90 million for fiscal 1967 and a maximum of $275 million through the life of this program.

Remarking that success in saline water conversion "could be one of history's most vital contributions to the cause of peace among nations," President Johnson further noted that the legislation extending and expanding our desalination program could well be the most historic product of this Congress—"not for what it provides but rather for what it promises, not for what it accomplishes but rather for what it symbolizes."

With the signing of the Water Quality Act into law—Public Law 89–234—early in October, President Johnson launched a dynamic program of joint Federal, State, and local action against the causes of pollution, which diminish further our already inadequate water stores.

A Federal Water Pollution Control Administration has been created within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and will be charged with the responsibility of coordinating and overseeing the operations of this act.

Authorization has been given for a $20 million annual appropriation during the 1966–69 fiscal period—an authorization that may provide matching Federal grants to interstate, municipal, and intermunicipal commissions in order that they may evolve better techniques for preventing the discharge of untreated sewage and other wastes from storm sewers and sanitary sewers into community water supplies.

A Federal matching grant for any individual discharge-control improvement project may equal 50 percent of the total project costs.

The current annual $100 million community sewage treatment grant program has received a $50 million supplemental authorization, with additional moneys to be awarded to qualifying States agreeing to match equally Federal funds received.

Within 1 year from the passage of this legislation, each of the 50 States will be required to forward to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare a letter declaring an intention to set satisfactory water quality standards for interstate waters or portions thereof within its boundaries. This declaration of intent must be accompanied by procedures guaranteeing the attainment and enforcement of established standards.

Failure to carry out this obligation may result in the setting of reasonable quality standards by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. The States, however, will be consulted and given every opportunity and any assistance requested in working out acceptable quality control measures. Differences of opinion concerning proposed Federal standards will be aired at a public hearing before a five-member board composed of effected Federal and State representatives. With this panel will rest the final authority to set and implement quality standards.

Failure to maintain set quality standards may result in the invocation of established pollution abatement procedures.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECT RECREATION ACT

Water-oriented recreational activities occupy an increasingly prominent place in the leisure-hour lives of our people. Recreational demands must be examined along with the quality-quantity aspects of water resources development.

The Federal Water Project Recreation Act states that it is the consensus of the Congress that careful attention must be given to the inclusion of fish and wildlife enhancement measures as an integral part of Federal water resource planning. In an effort to stimulate State and local interest and participation in this phase of water planning, the Federal Government is under the terms of this act, authorized to first, assume 100 percent of the "joint" costs or costs contributing to all aspects of project operations as allocated recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement sites; and second, assume a maximum of 50 percent of the "separable" costs or costs related most directly to recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement. State and local interests will assume the remaining 50 percent of separable costs incurred by paying in cash or by providing the equivalent in needed lands or facilities.

RIVERS, HARBORS, AND FLOOD CONTROL

Our responsibilities to the welfare of the Nation cannot and will not be fully met until careful and complete consideration is given to each and every potential purpose that the development of our natural resources can advance. Navigation, flood control, hydroelectric power, and beach erosion control are vital purposes well-deserving of our sage development and planning scrutiny.

The omnibus rivers, harbors, and flood control legislation passed in the twilight hours of this session of the Congress authorized a total of $1,982,305,000 in funds for 47 navigation betterment projects, 9 land and beach stabilization programs, and 84 flood-control undertakings.

In addition, $75,000 in appropriations has been authorized to enable the continuance and expansion of a national program to control the growth of obnoxious aquatic plants in our waters. Previously limited to the southeastern section of the United States, we feel that all areas and regions experiencing serious and dangerous weed infestation problems should be eligible for control assistance.

The Corps of Engineers will now join forces with Federal, State, and local authorities in the preparation of long-term planning and development projects for the drought-stricken northeastern sector of the Nation.

One final major provision of this legislation is certainly worthy of mention. To areas eligible for aid under the 1965 Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Secretary of Commerce will be empowered to grant loans to and purchase evidence of indebtedness from local authorities, thereby aiding in the completion of water resource projects.

AIR POLLUTION

To expand and accelerate our efforts to abate the contamination of our air and reduce the hazards of air pollution threatening the health of the public, this Congress approved legislation which authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to establish and implement workable standards for the control of dangerous substances from new motor vehicles.

The manufacture, sale, or importation of any substandard vehicle will result in the assessment of fines of up to $1,000 per unit. To meet the costs of implementing these amendments to the Clean Air Act, we have approved authorizations of $470,000 for fiscal 1966, $845,000 for fiscal 1967, $1,195,000 for fiscal 1968 and $1,470,000 for fiscal 1969.

Included in the air pollution control legislation was provision for a nationwide research and development program designed to advance our methods of disposing of solid waste materials including garbage, discarded agricultural, commercial, and industrial byproducts, and refuse from mineral extraction and processing operations. Excluded from this coverage were domestic sewage, solid wastes, and other polluting agents found in the Nation's water resources.

Under the joint administration of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Secretary of the Interior, appropriations totaling $10 million for fiscal 1966, $20 million for fiscal 1967, $30 million for fiscal 1968, and $32.5 million for fiscal 1969 have been approved for the implementation of the solid waste disposal provisions of this legislation.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

On the occasion of the signing of the Highway Beautification Act, President Johnson vowed that "beauty belongs to all the people. And so long as I am President, what has been divinely given to nature will not be taken recklessly away by man."

With its enactment into public law, the highway beautification legislation paved the way for an all-out attack on the forces of ugliness which threaten to deprive present and future generations of Americans from knowing and appreciating the finery of nature with which we have been abundantly endowed.

To aid in the control of outdoor advertising along our Interstate and primary highways and to enhance simultaneously public safety and preserve natural beauty, 10 percent of a State's allotted Federal highway funds may be denied for failure to remove other than specified outdoor advertising devices.

Authorizations of $20 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been approved for implementation of outdoor advertising control measures.

The withholding of a maximum of 10 percent of Federal highway funds to which a State would be normally entitled could also be justified by a failure to initiate and maintain effective controls of outdoor junkyards. Seventy-five percent of the costs of removal and landscaping and/or screening costs will be available to the owners of affected junkyards and billboards.

Authorizations of $20 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been approved for these junkyard control provisions.

Appropriations of $120 million annually in fiscal 1966 and 1967 have been

provided for Federal participation in landscape and roadside development projects along all Federal-aid roads.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON ARTS AND HUMANITIES

With the enactment into law of Public Law 89–209, a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was established. Encompassing a National Endowment for the Arts,, a National Endowment for the Humanities, and a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities, the function of this Foundation will be the promoting of a "broadly conceived national policy of support for the humanities and the arts in the United States."

The National Endowment for the Arts has been authorized to award matching grants to the States, to individuals, and to public and nonprofit groups directly involved in the creative or performing arts for activities including production, purchase, or construction of needed facilities, workshops, and similar projects that will contribute to the support of the arts, as well as public enjoyment and appreciation of them.

The National Endowment for the Humanities has been authorized to award matching grants, research loans, and fellowships for research, information exchange, publication of significant works, training, workshops, and similar projects that will contribute to the promotion and appreciation of the humanities.

The establishment of a Federal Council on the Arts and Humanities was authorized. This Council will coordinate the efforts of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities as well as the relevant activities of all other Federal agencies.

Appropriations totaling $63 million for the 1966–68 fiscal period have been approved for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and for the implementation of its programs.

COSTS

We know that the primary concern of Government must be the promotion of the welfare of its citizenry. In a heterogeneous nation of approximately 195 million individuals, the promotion of the general welfare is a vast and expensive undertaking.

For the good of the individual and the greatness of a nation and a society, we must be willing to commit the requisite financial resources, for, in the words of the late President Kennedy:

> A strong America cannot neglect the aspirations of its citizens, the welfare of the needy, the health care of the elderly, the education of the young. Wealth is the means, and the people the ends.

The Congress early gave its approval to $1,600 million in supplemental funds for fiscal 1965 for the Commodity Credit Corporation and to $700 million in funds for additional fiscal 1965 Defense expenditures in South Vietnam. Passage of the second supplemental appropriations bill supplied $2,227,563,977 for the additional costs of continuing or completing a number of agency programs during fiscal 1965.

The following agency appropriations are for the 1966 fiscal period: Agriculture, $6,242,929,500; Defense, $46,887,-163,000; Federal contribution of $46,-122,000 to the approved $360,228,500 budget for the District of Columbia; $14,246,167,800 for the independent offices; $1,212,739,070 for the Department of the Interior; $8,011,331,500 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare; $189,993,297 for the legislative branch; $2,057,597,150 for State, Justice, Commerce, and the Judiciary; $7,669,444,000 for the executive offices, Treasury, and Post Office Departments; $3,218 million for economic and military assistance programs and $714,-188,000 in related foreign aid programs; $1,756,635,000 for the construction of military family housing units; $1,223,-181,500 in supplemental funds for the Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare; $4,292,866,500 for public works; and general supplemental moneys totaling $4,741,644,602 to finance many of the proposals approved by the 89th Congress during its 1st session.

FEDERAL CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES PAY RAISE

Throughout our discussion of the outstanding legislative accomplishments of this session, we have spoken of policies, of programs, of projects, of authorizations, and of appropriations. Surely we must understand that the success or the failure of each and every activity of Government depends on one very vital ingredient, and that ingredient is the dedication and devotion to the service of their fellow Americans on the part of our Federal employees.

If the Government service is to retain its dedicated corps of personnel and offer an attractive career to our bright young men and women, it must offer salaries that are comparable to those of other sectors of our economy. To achieve this end, a 3.6 percent pay raise measure has been enacted and will benefit more than 1,600,000 Federal civilian employees.

John F. Conlon: A Man for All Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, there was a dinner in New York City at the St. Moritz Hotel at which my good and old friend was presented with the annual "Man of the Year" award by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, State Department of New York.

The award, a solid bronze plaque, was given to Jack Conlon for his outstanding record of service in public life and his contributions to the American way of life and his efforts on behalf of veterans and their families. He is a veteran of World War II, commissioned as a lieutenant, junior grade, in the U.S. Navy in 1942, and served for 38 months. He saw action in the Atlantic and Pacific for 19 months. He served for a year as an instructor at the U.S. Naval School of Recognition at Ohio State University before serving overseas. In the Pacific, he participated in landings at Leyte Gulf, Lingayen Gulf in the Philippines, and Okinawa.

He was released from the Navy as a lieutenant commander in 1945. He remained active in the Naval Reserve until 1960 when he joined the Army Reserve. He retired in 1964 with the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Prior to becoming administrative assistant to Senator HOWARD W. CANNON in 1959, Jack Conlon served as executive secretary for the late E. P. Carville, Nevada Governor and U.S. Senator. He served as an engineer for the Nevada Highway Department, deputy surveyor general and chief Nevada safety engineer until 1949 when he formed an insurance company in Las Vegas.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD the following address by John F. Conlon on the occasion of his receipt of this well-merited award.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Clergy, distinguished guests, members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and friends, if I could get through this without showing you a few Irish tears, I would be lucky.

To receive this award, "Man of the Year," is a great personal honor, and I accept it with pleasure and with humility, as an occasion of great importance in my life.

But my mind, at this moment, remembers with particular strength the time, 20 years ago, when two great wars had just ended. Our memories were still fresh with the faces of our less fortunate comrades who had given their lives to protect the ideals of this Nation which we love. There may well not be one veteran in this room tonight who cannot summon from the mists of memory the faces of one or a dozen buddies who gave for us and our country the greatest gift—his life.

Twenty years, with a bit of interest, has since passed. They died for our national ideals—but have we, with equal strength, lived for these ideals during these succeeding years of relative peace? While I hope that none of us at this pleasant occasion may feel that we have let down our missing comrades, more important than my personal honor this evening is my hope that we may rededicate ourselves—by word and by action—to strengthening our determination to bring our country ever closer to the noble ideals for which our comrades fell.

I hope all of you can have the opportunity to talk to a man here tonight who has just returned from Vietnam. He had an opportunity, as a representative of the Armed Services Committee of the Senate, to visit the fighting men in their daily work. Senator CANNON gave a report to the Senate the other day and I wish you could have heard him talk about the boys we have sent to Vietnam. Some of you here tonight may have sons there, I know most of you have friends there, and you would be overwhelmed with pride if you could hear the report, and I hope that some of you later this evening get a chance to listen to the Senator tell of this. It is absolutely amazing. You would be so proud of those boys. You would know—absolutely know—that our old buddies did not die in vain. These are a dedicated bunch of fighting men that we have sent to this faraway country, and they are

committing themselves nobly. It is to them—each and every one of them—that I wish could be named "the man—or men of the year."

This is a great evening for me folks. Thank you very much for coming.

Federal Reserve Board Member Hits Tight Money and High Interest Rates as Harming Economic Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, shortly we shall be entering into an unprecedented 57th month of the Kennedy-Johnson economic prosperity. During every month of this economic boom, we have heard from the harbingers of doom that economic expansion has gone too long and that the economy was overheating and leading us into disastrous inflation. Of course, Mr. Speaker, every new month has brought new gains so strong and prosperous that fears of the pessimists have been washed away amidst an increasingly dynamic economy.

Recently, the newest member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve, Sherman Maisel, delivered an address to the 22d annual meeting of the National League of Insured Savings & Loan Associations, which I too had the privilege of addressing. In one of the finest statements I have read in many years from the Federal Reserve Board, Governor Maisel dispels the pessimistic attempts to downgrade our prosperity. He warns that caution and understanding of the dynamics of prosperity are necessary, but fear of doom has no place.

The idea that decline follows prosperity is dispelled by a deliberate statement to the fact that the so-called business cycle theory of contractions and expansions following each other in rapid succession is no longer an applicable theory or idea in our present stage of economic growth.

Governor Maisel, in dealing with our balance-of-payments problem and domestic prosperity, states that it is easier to deal with this problem, involving less than 6 percent of our total income, by dealing with the imbalance directly through the interest equalization tax and the voluntary foreign credit restraint program, than by throwing the whole economy into a depression by tightening credit and raising interest rates. The wage-price situation, despite cries to the contrary, does not add up to an inflationary bust. Tighter credit, as practiced by the Eisenhower-Martin administration, rocked the economy in the late 1950's when careful piloting of the economy by keeping credit available would have saved us from such crises.

If the economy is to continue to expand, high investment, which assumes readily available credit at low rates, must be maintained. Behind Governor Maisel's appraisal of our expansion lies the belief that economic prosperity must be encouraged and should not be stopped or hindered when the first signs of possible price rises appear, as so firmly believed by Chairman Martin and his cohorts at the Federal Reserve.

I commend Governor Maisel's statement, which follows, to my colleagues for careful study:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS

(Remarks of Sherman J. Maisel, member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at the 22d annual meeting of the National League of Insured Savings Associations, Los Angeles, Calif.)

I have returned to Los Angeles as a seminative. When I moved here in the Army 23 years ago, I had my first contact with the savings and loan industry. I made an initial deposit or share purchase in a local savings and loan in 1942.

Last week I checked to see what had happened to your industry in the interim. I found that California savings and loan institutions had $300 million in shares outstanding in 1942. Now they have over $20 billion. That is a growth of nearly 7,000 percent. Nationally your industry has grown from under $5 billion to over $106 billion, or by 2,200 percent in the same 23 years.

Growth on this scale demonstrates the excellent results obtained through Government and industry cooperation. Without Federal savings and loan insurance, the story would be very different. When they operated completely on their own, our banking and thrift institutions suffered from a long record of losses, instability, and runs. Because even the best felt repercussions from the troubles of the worst, there is now a nearly unanimous agreement that Government support, cooperation, and regulation are necessary.

The savings and loan industry is a dramatic example of growth. So is our overall economy. Every day, we set new records of output, wealth, and well-being. Our economy has been expanding steadily for 56 months, by far the longest peacetime expansion in our history.

The record of this expansion is striking. Since February 1961—

Gross national product is up over $173 billion.

The Federal Reserve index of industrial production has increased 38 percent.

Families have $117 billion extra in income to spend or save.

Corporation profits are more than $21 billion higher.

There are 5½ million more people at work.

Unemployment has fallen from 6.9 to 4.4 percent.

Compared to the previous peak in May 1960, deposits in commercial banks have risen by 52 percent, and savings in your savings and loan have gone up by 88 percent.

CAUSES OF DOWNTURNS

While we all rejoice in this record, a great deal of worry is evident. Everywhere I go people ask one or the other of these questions:

1. Hasn't the expansion gone on too long; doesn't it have to end soon?

2. Isn't a record expansion bound to lead to overheating and inflation?

The simple answer to both is "no." Let me use the remainder of my time to explain why caution and understanding are necessary but fear is not.

First, I would like to point out that many economists—myself included—have avoided use of the term "business cycle" for over 20 years. "Cycle" is a poor term because for many people it connotes an inevitable sequence of events. What cycles up must cycle down. This is not the lesson of history. Contractions or depressions don't just occur. They are caused and can be explained.

While past expansions have ended for a wide variety of reasons, their causes can be grouped under four major hearings:

(a) War, international crises or shortages, or similar outside forces have caused the economy to operate for a time under forced draft. Later this extra demand has fallen off.

(b) Governmental operations: The impact on the economy of governmental expenditures and taxes has been sharply reversed by governmental action or, as likely, inaction. This has occurred either through a change in fiscal policy or a failure to change it, as when so-called "fiscal drag" went unrecognized and unheeded.

(c) Credit. The banks or the monetary authority have brought about a slowdown in the expansion or a contraction in the supply of credit.

(d) Overinvestment: Production of housing, of inventories, or other types of investment has exceeded a level sustainable by the growth in final demand.

THE NEW ECONOMICS

Better understanding of why past expansions have ended has led to the concepts of the "new economics." What does this term mean? I think it contains three related ideas:

First, agreement that a continuing expansion of income, jobs, and welfare and a minimal price rise is a possible and proper national goal.

Second, recognition that reaching our goal requires understanding and deliberate action in monetary, fiscal, and wage-price fields.

And, third, widespread acceptance by business and political leaders, and by the press and public that the Nation's requirements must be considered in making price and wage decisions and that monetary and fiscal policy should be used more positively. Most significantly, the ideas taught by economists for the past 25 years have gained wider acceptance. Maintaining progress may require a deliberate use of the Federal budget and of credit to add to or subtract from total demand. Government action should be deflationary when total demands are threatening to outrun available supplies. It should add to income when other demands fall short of our growth potential.

The new economics puts a heavy burden on gentlemen such as you, who are recognized as experts in the areas of finance and budgets and do so much to help form public opinion, to understand and explain current economic events. As busines leaders, you are well aware of major community needs such as those for schools, parks, health, and national defense which can only be met on a governmental basis. As economic observers, you see immediately the impact on your savings flows and mortgage demands when the Government shifts from a policy of expanding to one of contracting overall demand.

MONETARY POLICY

Relative price stability has characterized our present expansion. Now, however, the backlog of unemployed resources has diminished. The gap between production and potential output has shrunk. Clearly price increases are more likely. If total demand rises at a much faster rate than supply, inflation will be an immediate danger.

These facts have led to a widespread debate on the proper stance for monetary policy. I might comment briefly on this debate. In doing so, I want to make two things clear. Our economy changes rapidly. A great advantage of monetary policy is that it can react and shift with the economy. A correct policy today might not be a proper one a month, or even 2 weeks, from now.

Secondly, as you all recognize, the formation of monetary policy is complex. Final decisions by the 12-man Federal Open Market Committee are made in the context of changing credit needs and the fiscal plans and requirements of the rest of the Government. Obviously any information you might glean today about my own views in the transient circumstances of the day may have little relation to any future decisions of the Committee as they are molded in the crucible of public and private debates.

CRITICISM OF CURRENT POLICY

Critics of current monetary policy range from those who feel that recent moderate firmness is far too easy to those who feel it is much too tight.

Criticism can be grouped roughly under six headings.

1. Some, as represented by certain European central bankers, believe that adjustment in our critical balance of payments situation can be brought about only by action so restrictive as to risk deflation. To contract demand, we should raise interest rates. Depressed countries import less and may export more.

2. Others fear the future because of Vietnam. They judge that the amounts which rumors say we might spend on the military could not be added to other demands without inflation. As an offset, civilian purchases of houses and similar goods should be contracted by a tighter monetary policy.

3. Some believe that any expansion must be paid for by a later contraction. They neglect the opportunities for growth. Based on a false analogy that the higher you rise the farther you must fall, they would like to see the fall start from our current rather than some future higher level.

4. Others feel the rate of expansion must be slowed because it contains, or may lead to, serious distortions that would require a depression to correct. Two different types of reasoning end up believing in tighter policies. Some maintain that continuing credit expansion at current rates is bound to end in trouble. Credit will either deteriorate in quality, or it will lead to too much spending with inflationary consequences. Others take almost the opposite point of view. They feel credit must be contracted to hold production at sustainable levels. Continued expansion at current rates means to them that some areas will exhaust demand and be left with unsalable backlogs of goods. Such imbalances will lead to a depression.

5. Still others hold that money currently is too tight, not too easy. They argue that our excellent record has been possible only because sufficient money and credit have been available at reasonable rates. Some credit has come from additional reserves, but much has come from tapping pools of liquidity left from previous periods. They feel that recent interest rate increases mark the exhaustion of this prior liquidity Unless reserves are made available more rapidly, the supply of credit will be insufficient to sustain normal growth. Interest rates will rise. Demand will contract. We will experience another recession.

6. Finally, some believe that monetary policy has been too firm throughout the expansion. The rate of growth would have been greater with cheaper money. Continuation of the expansion can be assured only by much cheaper interest rates and the availability of far more credit.

REJECT OUT OF HAND

I think we can reject the first three views out of hand. I believe, as do most people in Washington, that adjustment of our balance of payments is an immediate serious problem. President Johnson has stated the firm administration goal of bringing our balance to equilibrium. However, I judge that most officials reject the depression road as an improper path to equilibrium. Certainly I do.

Every time I hear someone urge deflation, I am reminded of Lamb's famous story of the first roast pork. You remember the tale of the tribe whose hut burned with a pig inside. In clearing the debris, they discovered succulent roast pork. For years thereafter they burned another hut every time they wanted roast pig. Only gradually did they learn that you could cook more efficiently and with less economic waste.

I see our payments problem in this same way. Our foreign sales are less than 6 percent of our total income. Iti s far more efficient to deal with a lack of foreign balance directly, as we have done through the interest equalization tax and the voluntary foreign credit restraint program, than through throwing the entire economy into a depression.

Similarly it would be wrong for the Government to base its monetary policy on Vietnam rumors instead of on its own best facts and estimates. The Vice President, Secretary Fowler, and Chairman Ackley have all said that probable increases in our defense expenditures have been greatly exaggerated. While these added expenses are unfortunate because of the sacrifices involved as well as the necessary postponement of tax cuts and more desirable Government spending, present plans for additional military spending do not require a basic shift in policy.

In fact, the best available spending and tax estimates show that for this fiscal year, allowing for the announced increases for Vietnam, we may already be feeling the maximum expansionary pressures in relation to supply to be expected from fiscal changes.

Similarly, the idea that cycles are necessary and that expansions must lead to proportionate contractions has no basis in fact. Policy based on such beliefs has led to disastrous events in the past. We must believe that we do learn from past mistakes. We need not repeat them.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

In analyzing the other three contentions I named, we must examine the present as well as expected relationships of supply and demand and their impacts on wages and prices.

The current expansion has brought our employment and operating rates closer to desirable levels than they have been in nearly a decade. What about the future? While there is not yet an official forecast for next year, the consensus of business and university economists is that growth will continue at approximately the same rate as in recent months. If so, demand will expand at about the same pace as potential output. Rates of unemployment and capacity utilization will change only slightly from the present.

These rates do not threaten inflation. Unemployment in September was 4.4 percent. In many categories, there are still more people seeking work than in 1953 and 1956. Although a few skills are in short supply, no major labor market reported an overall shortage. Past experience indicates that specific shortages can be met rather readily through training and upgrading.

A similar situation exists with respect to our overall use of plant and equipment. Few serious bottlenecks have appeared. While we lack good information on capacity, utilization appears to have risen steadily from a low of around 78 percent in 1961 to the vicnity of 90 to 91 percent in recent months. This is still somewhat below the preferred rate for peak efficiency. However, since it is an average, some industries—mainly in durable goods—are operating above their preferred levels.

PRICES AND WAGES

We know that absence of generally excessive demand is, unfortunately, no guarantee of price stability. There can be a cost-push from pricing or wage-setting. Does such a push seem likely?

Industrial prices are about 1.4 percent higher than at the start of 1964. This is more than the total amount of increase for the entire period since 1959. Until the recent price flurries, these prices had moved up and down, but had no upward trend. We would all hope that the highly successful 6-year record could be maintained.

The wage situation appears promising. Although some increases, particularly in construction, far exceeds the guidelines, in manufacturing, unit wage costs have decreased in the past 2 years. The rise in productivity has outpaced that in money wages. Furthermore the calendar of labor negotiations for the coming 9 months shows few major problems.

The most difficult areas are nonferrous metals and machinery. These are basic industries in which prices have been rising. Their demand has reached or exceeded capacity. Prices and profits have expanded, but the fact that capacity is rising also may moderate further movements. With these and other minor exceptions, existing cost increases seem selective rather than pervasive. They give no indication of a cumulative interaction of rising prices and costs. Business and labor statesmanship appears to be better than at times in the past. While a few giant firms could cause prices to rise regardless of any justification from the basic supply and demand picture, such action appears less likely than in the 1950's.

The price-wage situation does not add up to signs of overheating. While tighter credit could be forced by the irresponsible action of a few in key industrial firms, such prospects appear less probable than in the last decade. Lacking such cost-push, the supply and demand situation shows little justification for tighter credit.

THE SUPPLY AND DEMAND FOR CREDIT

Another debate concerns the amount of credit made available to the productive sectors over the last year and a half. A rate of increase close to 9 percent in bank loans and investments, and an almost 7-percent rise in liquid assets—the deposits of banks, savings and loans, and mutual savings banks plus short-term Treasury securities—exceeds the growth in GNP. This expansion has been accompanied by stable mortgage interest rates, a rise of 14 percent or 50 basis points in the bill rate, and a 20 basis point increase in corporate bond yields.

Some feel that such a growth in credit cannot be maintained. They believe that an expansion accompanied by this much additional debt must contain within it the seeds of its own destruction. Others argue that such a view of the economy is, like the belief in inevitable cycles, simply incorrect. Since the establishment of the Federal Reserve we have had no expansion that ended because of too rapid a rise in credit.

On the opposite side, many critics believe that too many expansions have ended because of a failure of credit to expand. They fear that recent events herald a similar prospect. While credit expanded at a 9-percent annual rate, the money supply grew only at 4 percent, and nonborrowed reserves at less than 3½. They see the recent interest rate movements as a reflection of a lack of liquidity. They fear a recurrence of prior periods in which they believe growth was reduced by too little credit.

The optimists for next year base their predicted gains on a continued expansion of plant, equipment, and inventories. Such expectations of high investment assume that credit will be available and at costs similar to this year. If credit were to tighten more and interest rates were to continue their rise, the present optimistic predictions would have to be revised downward. This

would concern most people greatly. It would be welcomed, however, by those who believe that one should always stop expansions when the first signs appear of possible price rises.

CONCLUSION

In concluding, I would like to return to the two basic questions asked at the start. I think it is clear that nothing inherent in the length of this expansion requires either either a downturn or an inflation. The proper uses of fiscal and monetary policy have maintained an excellent economy. We have had growth without major distortions or price increases.

The continuation of our current growth rate is, however, far from certain or automatic. It is no more necessary than is a contraction. If excesses develop; if prices and wages chase each other; if demand falls in too many specific sectors; if we make poor policy choices, the expansion will be slowed or halted.

To maintain growth and prosperity, it is vital that we all have a clear understanding of our current economic situation and the types of policies which have made this expansion possible. The American people deserve and want to support the best possible policy. For this they need proper knowledge.

Our economy is dynamic. Progress depends on millions of independent decisions. Our excellent record of the past 4½ years is based on an environment of aid and cooperation which has made it possible for our economy to develop its full potential.

We must all work to maintain our present momentum.

Wirtz' Unworkables

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON
OF VIRGINIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a recent editorial from the Richmond (Va.) Times-Dispatch entitled "Wirtz' Unworkables."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WIRTZ' UNWORKABLES

When Labor Secretary Wirtz ruled early this year that harvesting of seasonable vegetable and fruit crops was to be done by persons recruited from the ranks of the unemployed, a great many city people may have thought it a good idea. It was a good idea, in theory; but farmers knew it would not work. It had been tried before, and had failed dismally. The reason: Too many unemployed workers, even in so-called disaster areas, don't want steady work, and some of them think it foolish to work for a living when they can continue to draw relief checks.

In the November issue of the Farm Journal, Gene Logsdon, editor of the truck and fruit section of that magazine, relates conditions and personnel observed while working in West Virginia apple orchards. Mr. Logsdon got the job by posing as unemployed.

He reports that out of the 600 West Virginia unemployed recruited for the apple picking season, only 60 showed up. They were put up at a tri-county labor camp near Martinsburg, constructed by 26 growers at a cost of $100,000. The men were offered $1.15 an hour during an 8-day training period, and after that the going rate of 15 cents a bushel, with a 2-cent bonus for staying the whole season. At these rates, reports Mr. Logsdon, Florida migrant workers told him they could pick 120 bushels a day in a good crop and earn as much as $20.40 a day.

"The very first morning of work, he writes, "before they'd even been to the orchard, the jobless 'Wirtz's Wonders' announced that they were ready to go on strike. They claimed it was impossible to work at the piece rate and make $1.15 an hour, despite their having been told that the per hour rate would prevail during their 8-day training period. Nevertheless, some walked off the job. Logsdon said that, inexperienced as he was, he picked 42 bushels in 7 hours.

But the unworkables simply wanted pay, not work. By the end of the week most of the unemployed had left.

An editorial in the Farm Journal had this to say about the situation:

"The Secretary Wirtz has played a game of 'brinkmanship' with farmers all year. He'd bring in foreign help, he said 'if needed.' But by the time a limited number of Mexicans and Jamaicians arrived, farmers, processors and their work force, labor, the Mexicans, and Jamaicans all lost money. Consumers will pay more for food all winter. American labor gained nothing."

Act of Bad Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. RACE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the leading newspaper in my home State of Wisconsin, and one of the top papers in this country, the Milwaukee Journal, expressed an opinion in one of its recent editions that deserves the attention of every Member of this House.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include this editorial, "Act of Bad Faith," in the appendix of the RECORD:

ACT OF BAD FAITH

Congress acted in outrageous bad faith when it accepted congratulations for giving birth to a promising new program for the betterment of American life, then starved the baby in its cradle by denying it funds to live on. This is almost worse than if the program had not been conceived, because of the dashed hopes and shattered plans.

It did this twice in 1 day on the Thursday before adjournment. A Senate-House conference, putting a catchall appropriations bill in final form, permitted opponents of the rent supplement and Teacher Corps programs to knock out the funding of them at this time, without which of course they cannot begin.

The rent supplement for people in need of adequate housing was to be a very hopeful alternative to the subsidizing of public housing, an incentive to private housing enterprise, an added aid to the rescue of older neighborhoods from the bulldozer. Milwaukee is one city that was ready to leap at it, as the best hope of salvaging the bogged down Plymouth Hill renewal project.

The Teacher Corps, imaginatively fostered by Wisconsin's Senator NELSON, was to bring equal educational opportunity to poverty-stricken school districts. Teams of skilled, experienced teachers and new college graduates were to add the quantity and quality of schooling that such districts cannot otherwise afford.

It must be noted with dismay that Wisconsin's Representative LAIRD, one of the conservative Republicans on the House Appropriations Committee, led those who went behind the door to engineer the blockade of Teacher Corps funds. And this was within hours after his group had lost again in the full House, which had again voted the popular will to put this program to work.

Now the two funds will have to be sought anew in January, and perhaps will finally be forthcoming then. But meanwhile Congress, already basking in a brilliant record—notably including enactment of these two programs—took some of the shine off it.

Resolution by Polk County (Iowa) Board of Supervisors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK R. MILLER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I have received a resolution from the Board of Supervisors of Polk County, Iowa. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION BY POLK COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

Whereas there is an undesirable element of ill-advised young people in Des Moines, Iowa, who, according to newspaper reports, have made seditious statements and have conducted demonstrations to influence others to join them in their disloyal and unpatriotic actions under the guise of being conscientious objectors; and

Whereas said element appears to be a part of, influenced by, or subject to the control of, a vicious group of undesirables located outside of the State of Iowa, whose two objectives appear to be (1) the undermining of the loyalty and patriotism of our brave men fighting for our freedom, and (2) to shirk and avoid their own duty and obligation to fight for their own freedom; and

Whereas a large group of these unpatriotic citizens are now attending at least partially tax-supported places of learning: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That this Polk County Board of Supervisors go on record that each and every member of this board abhors the idea of contributing to the cost of educating these undesirable and unpatriotic persons and recommend to them that they remove themselves from the State of Iowa and from our free and glorious country to some place where they may find companions of the same ilk and also recommend to our institutions of learning that they adopt measures to discourage the attendance and enrollment of such persons in their institutions; and be it further

Resolved, That this is not intended to cast any reflection on sincere patriotic persons who object to military service because of their religious convictions, who follow prescribed governmental rules to obtain exemption from military service.

Adopted this 19th day of October 1965.

POLK COUNTY BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
By E. W. ARMEL, *Chairman*.

The Historic 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RICHARD FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULTON of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the old saying goes that "the record speaks for itself."

However, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress cannot speak for itself. It is too vast.

We have accomplished so much and made such progress in these past 10 months, implemented so many fine new programs and expanded others of proven value that it is incumbent on each of us who were privileged to participate in the writing of this record to review it for the citizens of our constituency.

It has been said that the 1st session of the 89th Congress will be remembered as the most productive of this century.

History, of course, will pass judgment on this point. However, there is no denying that much has been accomplished. Great strides have been taken in meeting and conquering the social and economic ills which drag on the progress of our great American society.

In reviewing briefly these programs, it is important to note and fully comprehend that each is designed to have a positive effect on every American citizen even though each person may not benefit directly by any specific program. For it is true that many of these programs are designed to bring relief to minority groups. Minority group in this sense does not necessarily imply only the poor, the nonwhite, the elderly, or the young.

We are each a member of a minority group. Each of us are citizens of the United States and in that respect we are members of an absolute majority. Yet, we are each members of some minority group.

Some of us are small businessmen, and we are, thereby, members of a minority group.

There are those among us who are corporate executives, men and women of power but, nonetheless, they form and are members of a minority group.

There are good citizens of this Nation who are in the minority because of their color, their religion, because they belong to a labor union, are white collar workers, are elderly, are preschool children or students. The very rich are a minority as are the very poor.

If we stop to think about it for just a minute, we realize that each of us belongs to at least one minority group and probably several.

It is because of this that Congress and the Johnson-Humphrey administration have sought programs to solve the complicated and interrelating problems of the minority groups to which we all belong.

The aim of these programs is to give strength to our Nation and assist in laying the path to greater security and prosperity for that great majority to which we are all privileged to enjoy membership, the citizenry of the United States of America.

The ills of each minority group sap the strength of the great majority and act counter to the national interest. Thus, by remedying the ills of the part, we strengthen the whole.

In reviewing the progress marked by this session of the 89th Congress, it is appropriate that we first mention specific programs which benefit directly our own districts and citizens of Tennessee.

In the closing days of this session, the Congress passed and forwarded to the President, as part of the public works bill, my bill to permit the sale of 28.2 acres of land on Old Hickory Lake by the Corps of Engineers to the Tennessee Society for Crippled Children and Adults.

The society currently leases the land which it uses for the site of its crippled children's camp. Outright ownership will permit the society to meet the camp's needs for expansion.

Working as a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I was successful in securing House approval of Senate amendments to the Tariff Act which, without interfering with domestic production or competition, will permit one large Tennessee firm to expand its operations in western middle Tennessee and prevent the threat of a probable cutback in production at four firms in east Tennessee.

A nonlegislative service provided the people of Nashville and middle Tennessee was the Nashville Conference on Small Business.

Held at Peabody College on September 16, 1965, this conference was attended by over 400 persons. The conference was designed to outline to the small business community of Nashville the programs and personnel available to them through the Nashville Small Business Administration regional office.

It was judged to be highly successful and I enclose here a letter we received from the Washington SBA Director of the Office of Development Companies, who played such an important role in the success of the conference:

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, D.C., October 7, 1965.

Hon. RICHARD H. FULTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN FULTON: We wish to express our appreciation for providing us with the opportunity to take part in the seminar on economic development for small business, sponsored by the Nashville Area Chamber of Commerce and you on September 16, 1965, in Nashville, Tenn.

The program you and the chamber arranged was most effective as was the mode of presentation which gave everyone present the advantage of freely participating in all five of the workshop sessions held.

The tremendous interest shown by those in attendance, the number and depth of questions asked, as well as the degree of active participation evidenced, certainly established that the community of Nashville can and will continue to expand and strengthen its economy. It established, too, the effectiveness of seminars of this type as a vehicle to provide small businessmen, bankers, community leaders, attorneys, and others with the facts and information on SBA and the programs available to assist them in achieving their individual economic and industrial development objectives.

You might be interested in knowing that as a result of this seminar, Mr. Sam Jennings, our regional director in Nashville, Tenn., reports a substantial increase in requests for assistance in community development projects, for management assistance, and financial counseling as well as loan inquiries and applications.

I am sure that the business community of the greater Nashville area shares with us the appreciation of the value of this seminar which the chamber of commerce and you made possible.

Sincerely,

THOMAS S. FRANCIS,
Director,
Office of Development Companies.

Another program of great promise in the field of international relations was launched in Tennessee this year. With the assistance of the University of Tennessee and its able representative, Dr. Carl Thomas, of the graduate school, a Tennessee Partners of the Allience organization was formed. The Partners program is designed to strengthen and assist the Alliance for Progress by working with our Latin American friends at the grassroots level.

The foundation of the Partners program is mutual assistance. Under the program each participant contributes to the other. Already Tennessee is making available to its Partner know-how and assistance in the field of electrification. Venezuela, meanwhile, is making a meaningful cultural contribution to Tennessee through an exhibition of Venezuelan art which will tour our State over the coming months.

In the future there are plans for mutual assistance in the field of education and other fields.

This is not a giveaway program. It is a program whereby each party contributes to the benefit of the other. The people of Tennessee understand and approve of this approach to foreign aid and have illustrated their approval by their support of the Tennessee Partners of the Alliance.

A final footnote should be added by way of followup to the work being done in Nashville as a result of the 1964 Conference on Automation, Education, and Jobs, which we cosponsored with George Peabody College.

The conference produced such interest in the problem of automation and its related aspects that a grant for a study and report was secured from the Office of Education in Washington.

This study is now underway and should be completed in the near future.

These are services to the people of Tennessee and Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District. But their effect in better care for the less fortunate, economic stimulation and security will have an impact transcending our borders.

Conversely, the major programs implemented and expanded by the 1st session of the 89th Congress will have their effect not only across the Nation but will have impact in Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County.

In brief, here are these programs:

SUMMARY OF MAJOR LEGISLATION

Antipoverty amendments: Authorizes $1.5 billion for fiscal year 1966, and extends for 10 months, to June 30, 1967, the period during which the Government

could provide up to 90 percent matching funds for poverty projects.

Appalachia: Authorizes $1.1 billion for development of the economically depressed 12-State Appalachia region.

Coffee Agreement: Enables the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962.

Department of Housing and Urban Development: Places at Cabinet level a new agency, with all functions now in the Housing and Home-Finance Agency and its constituent agencies, to administer major Federal programs relating to the physical development of our urban area.

Disarmament Agency: Authorizes $30 million for fiscal 1966–68 for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Drug Control Amendments: Place stricter controls on the possession, distribution and disposal of depressing barbiturates and stimulating amphetamines.

Elementary and Secondary School Education: Authorizes $1.3 billion for the first year of Federal grant programs to improve elementary and secondary education with $1 billion earmarked to aid educationally deprived children from low-income families.

Excise tax reductions will reduce excise taxes by $4.7 billion by January 1, 1969, by eliminating all Federal excise taxes except user, regulatory, and sumptuary levies.

Foreign aid: Authorizes $3.38 billion for fiscal 1966 for foreign assistance programs.

Gold reserves: Allows the Nation's money supply to expand by eliminating the required 25-percent gold backing for Federal Reserve deposits.

Higher education: Authorizes educational opportunity grants for needy undergraduate students; provides guaranteed reduced interest loans for graduate and undergraduate students; broadens college work-study program to include all students in financial need of part-time job; establishes National Teacher Corps and teacher fellowship program; doubles funds for construction of academic facilities; provides special help for college libraries, less developed colleges and community service programs.

Immigration: Replaces the discriminatory national origins quota system with a first-come, first-served system of preferential admissions for immigrants with especially advantageous skills, education or training, or close relatives in the United States.

Inter-American Development Bank: Authorizes a $750 million increase in the U.S. contribution to the Bank.

Manpower program: Extends the manpower development and training programs 3 years through June 30, 1970; authorizes $454 million in fiscal 1966; continues 100-percent financing of MDTA training programs through June 1966; liberalized training allowances.

Medical care and social security: Creates first, a basic hospital insurance program providing 60 days of hospitalization—over the first $40; 100 days of posthospital care, and 100 visits by a home nurse; second, a voluntary medical insurance program costing individuals $3 a month and providing physicians' services—over the first $50—and 100 home nursing visits; third, a 7-percent increase, averaging $4 a month, in old-age and survivors benefits; fourth, expansion of medical care programs for the aged, blind, disabled, and dependent children under the existing Kerr-Mills program of Federal-State aid; and fifth, expanded maternal and child health and crippled children's services.

National Arts Foundation: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to provide $20 million a year for 3 years in endowments for the creative and performing arts and for scholarships in the humanities.

Older Americans bill: Establishes an Administration on Aging in HEW and authorizes $17.5 million in grants for fiscal 1966 and 1967 for development of programs for the aged.

Omnibus housing: Provides funds for preliminary study of rent supplements under housing built under FHA for low-income families whose rent exceeds one-fourth of their income; increases subsidies for public housing; extends all FHA insurance programs for 4 years; authorizes grants for urban renewal.

Public works and economic development: Consolidates area redevelopment and accelerated public works programs in a new Economic Development Administration in the Commerce Department to make loans and grants to areas crippled by high unemployment and low income.

Presidential continuity: Proposes a constitutional amendment to permit the Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties, and allows the President, if a vacancy occurs in the Vice-Presidency, to nominate a Vice President subject to confirmation by a majority vote of the House and Senate.

Regional medical centers: Launches a 5-year program of project grants—$50 million for the first year—to develop 25 multipurpose regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, stroke and other diseases.

Tobacco marketing: Quotas provide acreage poundage marketing quotas for tobacco if approved by two-thirds of growers voting in a referendum. If rejected, present acreage controls will continue.

Voting rights: Enforces the 15th amendment's guarantee that the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude by: prohibiting the imposition or application of voting qualifications or procedures which deny the right to vote on account of race or color; prohibiting tests or devices as a prerequisite for voting; authorizing the Attorney General to appoint Federal examiners or registrars when State or local officials continue to discriminate against potential voters; empowering Federal examiners to give certificates of eligibility to vote to citizens who have been denied the opportunity; providing penalties of 5 years in prison, a $5,000 fine, or both for attempting to deprive a person of his rights under the law or destroying voting records.

Water pollution control: Creates a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration within HEW; authorizes HEW administered control programs; and provides $20 million a year for 4 years for control improvement projects.

PENDING

Air pollution control: Authorizes HEW to set standards for control of automobile exhaust, and launches a major study of methods to control pollution from smoke and other wastes.

Higher education: Authorizes a 5-year—$250 million in the first year—program to provide scholarships for needy undergraduates; insured, reduced-interest loans to graduate and undergraduate students; work-study programs; National Defense Education Act student loan program expansions; improved college libraries and trained librarians; university extension and adult education courses.

This, then, is the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. It is a record of progress and of positive action. It illustrates to the people of the United States that this Congress and this administration is more than aware of the problems of our society. It is graphic proof that we are doing something to meet, ease, and eliminate them.

I would like just a few moments more to express my appreciation to the people of Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District for bestowing upon me the honor of being their Representative in the Congress.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and the passage of the medical care-social security amendments.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and passage of the bill to increase social security benefits.

Because of them I was allowed the privilege of assisting in the writing and passage of the bill to reduce and repeal the Federal excise tax.

Because of them I was given the privilege of joining in sponsoring and passage of the bill creating a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and many of the other bills which have now become public law and a part of the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Legislative Apportionment: The Latest Proposal Analyzed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, there is now pending, on the Senate Calendar, Senate Joint Resolution 103, better known as the Dirksen amendment.

This is the fourth reincarnation of the thrice-killed effort to overrule the Supreme Court's decisions requiring fair apportionment of State legislatures.

Since those decisions were handed down in June 1964, the rotten borough legislators and their allies have fought with every resource at their command to perpetuate their minority stranglehold over our State legislatures.

The country is aware that the opponents of fair apportionment first attempted a frontal attack on the Court last year with the Tuck bill in the House of Representatives. That measure would have simply denied the U.S. courts all power to consider apportionment cases. When that effort failed, the foes of fair representation attempted a flanking action on the Court with the Dirksen rider to last year's foreign aid bill. That rider would have temporarily denied the courts jurisdiction over State legislative apportionment suits. When that effort failed, the proponents of malapportionment sought to sabotage the Court's decision with a constitutional amendment, known as Senate Joint Resolution 2.

That remarkable resolution was the subject of full-scale hearings in the Senate. Reacting to the mounting criticism which the hearings evoked, the proponents revised the text of Senate Joint Resolution 2 at least three times. Then, when the Judiciary Committee refused to report the amendment, they bypassed the committee and brought it to the Senate floor as a substitute to an American Legion Baseball Week resolution. Sensing defeat, they kept amending and tinkering with their constitutional amendment right up to the very moment—before—it was voted down last August 4.

Bloodied but unbowed, the foes of fair representation have hastily scraped together yet another version of their amendment. The latest draft, now printed as Senate Joint Resolution 103, cannot escape its heredity. It is the orphan of a succession of political proposals, now deceased, which attempt to overrule the decisions of the Supreme Court. Like its departed parents, Senate Joint Resolution 103 seeks to scuttle the requirements of the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment by permitting some citizens in a State to speak with an unequal vote in the selection of their State legislatures.

Since Senator DIRKSEN's latest amendment has not been the subject of any hearings, there is considerable doubt as to the precise meaning and effect of the new language. The basic purpose is, however, clear: to shrink the votes and sap the political strength of certain groups of citizens. Senate Joint Resolution 103 is thus subject to the same philosophic objections as the earlier efforts to frustrate majority rule by permitting some citizens to cast more votes than others.

In addition to its inherent philosophic defects, Senate Joint Resolution 103 suffers from a great number of technical deficiencies. Based upon the testimony and debate on the earlier version of the Dirksen amendment, and the views of experts who have now studied the new text, one can say with certainty that the present amendment is more vague, more ambiguous, and more confusing than any previous version. Let me suggest a few of the more obvious technical difficulties with the text of Senate Joint Resolution 103.

1. RATIFICATION PROCEDURE

The proponents of Senate Joint Resolution 2 were obviously stung by the charge that a rotten borough amendment to the Constitution should not be submitted for ratification by a rotton borough legislature.

The opponents of the Dirksen amendment argued that if the proponents were really serious about letting the people decide, ratification should be by State constitutional conventions, consisting of delegates chosen at large. This would give the people an effective choice on the fundamental question of amending the Constitution.

Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not adopt this suggestion. Instead, it provides for ratification by State legislatures "provided that each such legislature shall include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population."

This new approach constitutes halfhearted recognition of the validity of our argument, but there is an obvious effort on the part of the warriors for the Dirksen amendment to avoid the logical consequences of their own battle cry: "Let the people decide." While ratification by a legislature with one fairly apportioned house is better than ratification by a doubly malapportioned legislature, there is still a substantial possibility that a State legislature could ratify this amendment even though it does not command the support of a majority of the people in the State.

As Senator DOUGLAS has pointed out, it is certainly possible that the fairly apportioned house of a State legislature could be blackmailed into ratifying this constitutional amendment by the threat of the other house to withhold consent on important matters of public business. Such blackmail is not unheard of; it has happened in the past.

Senator PROXMIRE has pointed out another fatal weakness in the unique ratification procedure specified by Senate Joint Resolution 103. It is not always possible to tell whether a legislature which has ratified the amendment does in fact "include one house apportioned on the basis of substantial equality of population in accordance with the most recent enumeration provided for in section 2 of article I of the Constitution." This requirement would invite numerous court tests to determine whether the legislatures that ratified the amendment were, in fact, qualified to do so.

2. MANDATORY REFERENDUM

The original Dirksen amendment required that an apportionment plan which deviated from constitutional standards must be approved by the voters in a popular referendum before it could go into effect. Along with many of my colleagues, I believe that a citizen's constitutional right to cast an equal ballot should not be restricted, even if that were desired by public opinion, moreover I believe that the referendum is not, in any event, a fit tool for determining true voter sentiment on so abstract and complicated an issue as legislative apportionment. Nonetheless, once the idea of surrendering constitutional rights is accepted, there is a certain Machiavellian logic to a popular referendum, for it makes it appear that the people who are to be underrepresented are crippling themselves.

The referenda provisions of the latest version of the Dirksen amendment are still subject to the same objections in principle that were leveled against the earlier edition; but, in addition, Senate Joint Resolution 103 has lost all color of logical consistency. It requires that every apportionment plan, even one that clearly meets constitutional standards, must be submitted to the people for ratification. It provides "a plan of apportionment shall become effective only after it has been submitted to a vote of the people and approved by a majority of those voting on that issue in a statewide election." The requirement is not limited to plans of apportionment which deviate from substantial equality of population. Every plan, even a wholly constitutional plan, must be resubmitted to the voters every 10 years.

What possible purpose is served by submitting to referendum an apportionment plan that is consistent with constitutional principles when there is no alternative plan to be considered? Suppose by some fluke or misunderstanding the voters rejected the plan? How would the next legislature be apportioned? Presumably, the constitutional requirement of fair apportionment would still apply, and the State would be in the embarrassing position of having to implement a plan that the voters had rejected.

This confusion in the revised Dirksen amendment is compounded by another provision which loftily proclaims that the legislature of each State "shall be apportioned by the people at each general election following each decennial census." This seems sensible at first glance, but what does it mean?

How can the people apportion a legislature? They obviously cannot meet at one time and place to debate and resolve the question, the way the citizens of Athens did 2,500 years ago. But can it be said that the people have apportioned their legislatures if a plan is drawn by a legislature that is itself malapportioned? Does a rotten borough legislature represent the people for this purpose?

A number of States provide in their constitutions or statutes for automatic reapportionment in accordance with a preestablished formula. Would such a procedure be valid under a constitutional amendment which requires that the legislature be apportioned by the people of that State?

Other States provide for reapportionment by a bipartisan commission or administrative tribunal on a regular basis. Again I ask, does a provision of Senate Joint Resolution 103 requiring apportionment by the people render such reapportionment procedures invalid?

Senator DIRKSEN speaks eloquently of States rights. But what could be a

greater infringement on the right of a State to reapportion its legislature than to say it cannot reapportion in accordance with a self-executing formula or by a bipartisan committee provided for in its own constitution without first submitting a referendum plan to all the people of the State?

3. EFFECTIVE REPRESENTATION

At the heart of Senate Joint Resolution 103 lies the notion that one house of a State legislature should be permitted to deviate from constitutional standards of apportionment "in order to insure effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

I must say, with all candor, that I do not have the foggiest idea what that phrase means. I suggest, with all respect, that it has no meaning that is susceptible of consistent or rational application.

The phrase "effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate" is a direct quote from the dissenting opinion of Justices Stewart and Clark in the case of Lucas against Colorado, decided the same day as Reynolds against Sims. Dean McKay, of New York University Law School, a noted authority on reapportionment, has pointed out that Justices Stewart and Clark proved unable to agree, even between themselves, as to the meaning of the phrase "effective representation." One week following the decision in Reynolds against Sims, they disagreed as to the proper disposition of four of the nine reapportionment cases decided that day.

Let us look more closely at the phrase "effective representation in the State's legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate." What, we may ask, does Senator DIRKSEN mean by "effective representation"? And how would he define and determine the "various groups and interests making up an electorate"?

A clue to the meaning of "effective representation" may be found in Senator DIRKSEN's speech of August 11, 1965, the day he introduced Senate Joint Resolution 103. Referring to the new amendment, he said:

> It will make the franchise more democratic because it will insure the appropriate representation in the State legislatures of the 49 percent of the people who might otherwise be denied representation.

He told the Senate that the clear and compelling reason for his amendment was the protection of minority representation. He said:

> Adequate representation for divergent viewpoints in our legislative bodies * * * is the best and most effective check upon a rampant majority.

Note the operative words, "effective check."

It seems clear to me that by the phrase, "effective representation" the proponents of Senate Joint Resolution 103 clearly intend an effective check upon the majority. They intend, in other words, a minority veto over majority rule.

We come then to the equally intriguing question of which minority will wield this veto power. The text of Senate Joint Resolution 103 speaks vaguely of "various groups and interests making up the electorate," but Senator DIRKSEN has spoken and plainly of his intent to allow rural minorities to perpetuate their stranglehold over State legislatures:

> I have seen no evidence that the growth of cities * * * has been impeded by legislatures under the guidance of rural representatives. There is a give and take in our form of government which has worked well and will continue to work well so long as we take care to provide that all of the people are fairly and effectively represented in the various legislative bodies.

In other words, representative government works best when a rural minority holds the whip hand.

I do not think our Constitution should be amended to accord any minority the whip hand in a State legislature. Under our system of government, minority rights can be and are protected through the specific guarantees of the Bill of Rights, and not through the exercise of a veto power in the legislature.

But even if the concept of a preferential minority representation were accepted, how should a State determine which minority or minorities would receive special treatment? There are those who wish to preserve special privileges and power for the rural minorities which can put forward compelling claims for more "effective representation."

The Negroes in my State, for example, are an important minority whose needs and aspirations have been long ignored by our legislature. Negroes comprise 18 percent of the population of Maryland. Can they be "effectively represented" with only 18 percent of the votes? By the same logic as is used on behalf of rural minorities, should not Maryland Negroes receive 51 percent of the seats in the Maryland Senate so they can "effectively check" the majority? The suggestion is preposterous, but no more so than giving an 18-percent rural minority 51 percent of the seats.

There are, of course, an unlimited number of groups which make up the electorate in any State. There are obvious groups which come to mind—racial groups, religious groups, business groups, labor interests, and farm interests. But there are also less obvious groups and interests; for example, bird watchers, duck hunters, antivivisectionists, and patriotic organizations. Are they each entitled to elect a State representative? Are they each to be given "an effective check" on the majority?

Moreover, no major group has uniform interests. There are conflicting interests within groups. Would, for example, all Protestants be lumped together under the Dirksen amendment, or would we distinguish between Seventh-day Adventists and Unitarians? How would we differentiate between business groups which desire free trade and those which demand tariff walls? Within the so-called "urban group" there are countless subgroups with radically different interests: bankers and beatniks, housewives and haberdashers, scholars and steelworkers.

By the time all of the various groups and subgroups are broken down to their component parts, we find single individuals, each with unique interests and aspirations. While each man may share some interests with his fellow worker, his coreligionist or his neighbor, there is no other individual who combines all of the same interests in exactly the same proportions. That is why, ultimately, the only fair and effective system of representation must accord each man one vote.

There is ont subtle aspect of Senator DIRKSEN'S concept of effective representation that deserves some attention. Presumably, he is not advocating proportional representation, but rather a technique for overrepresenting groups and interests whose members live, or vote, in identifiable political subdivisions or geographic areas. If an interest group, such as garage mechanics, is spread throughout a State, it could not be given preferential treatment under Senate Joint Resolution 103, for the only factors that can be considered in apportioning a State legislature are population, geography, and political subdivisions. Thus, only a minority which can be identified by geography or political subdivision can obtain extra representation in the legislature. When one considers the various minorities which might qualify for such favored treatment, one is led again to conclude that Senate Joint Resolution 103 is designed to benefit the rural minority. It is the only readily identifiable minority which is so distributed as to comprise the majority in many political subdivisions and over wide geographic areas.

Finally, we must recognize the antidemocratic bias implicit in the concept of "effective representation of the various groups and interests making up the electorate." Prof. Andrew Hacker, of Cornell University, has pointed out:

> The notion is that there exist certain interests which deserve representatives regardless of the number of people such an interest may contain. There is, in a word, a real class basis here. For such interests as the poor or Negroes or even city dwellers are invariably put in one large group. In contrast, the middle class is usually cut and sliced into literally dozens of groups: architects, applegrowers, accountants, advertisers, etc. Under such a tendency the middle class—and especially businessmen—get far more representation. (Part of this, of course, stems from the fact that we tend to overlook the varieties of groups and interests among the poor, the Negroes, and city dwellers. It takes a certain sensitivity to distinguish among the varied sorts and conditions of, say, Negroes. Needless to say, most of us tend to be rather stereotyped in our image of those at the bottom of the heap.)

Likewise, Mr. Burke Marshall, former Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Rights Division, has written:

> The purpose of the new Dirksen amendment is to create a means by which the people of the cities can be deprived of part of the political voice they would have in the State legislatures based on population. As I stressed in my testimony, this will proportionately affect minority groups more than other segments of our society, and in particular will inevitably do damage to our national efforts to remedy the economic,

social, and educational disadvantages which we as a Nation have placed upon Negro Americans.

4. JUDICIAL REVIEW

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides:

The legislature of each State shall be apportioned by the people of that State at each general election.

All Members of this body will recall that the first sentence of Senate Joint Resolution 2, as originally introduced, provided that the power to apportion State legislatures shall be in the people. That sentence was deleted by Senator DIRKSEN after it was pointed out that it would preclude judicial review of any apportionment scheme. He removed it under the pressure of our attack.

Is the language of Senate Joint Resolution 103 merely a subtle reincarnation of the first sentence of Senate Joint Resolution 2? Does apportionment by the people as provided in Senate Joint Resolution 103 prohibit judicial review of an apportionment plan?

To be sure, Senate Joint Resolution 103 expressly provides for prior judicial scrutiny of an apportionment plan that is not submitted by a legislature which has one house apportioned on the basis of population. But what about reapportionment plans formulated by a legislature which has one malapportioned chamber? Senator DOUGLAS has shown that the malapportioned house of such a legislature can use its veto power over other matters to wring from the fairly apportioned house an unfair apportionment plan. Since judicial review is expressly required in all other cases the negative implication is that a plan submitted by a partially reapportioned legislature is not subject to judicial review.

This is a crucial matter, for unless there is judicial review to determine whether the "various groups and interests making up the electorate" are "effectively represented," there is no limit to the type of plan that can be put into effect. Despite some perfunctory bows in that direction, it would appear that Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not embrace the philosophy advanced by Senator JAVITS who has advocated that any apportionment scheme which deviates from substantial equality of population be reviewable in the courts for fairness and reasonableness.

5. THE ALTERNATIVE PLAN

Senate Joint Resolution 103 requires that:

In addition to any other plans of apportionment which may be submitted at such elections, there shall be submitted to a vote of the people an alternative plan of apportionment based solely on substantial equality of population.

This language is subject to the same deficiencies as was comparable language in earlier versions of the Dirksen amendment.

This would permit a legislature which was bent on perpetuating its malapportioned existence to submit as the alternative plan one which would be wholly unacceptable to the people of the State, thus forcing the people of a given State to select the malapportionment plan as the lesser of two evils.

For example, there is nothing to prevent a State legislature from submitting as the "alternative plan" an apportionment scheme which would provide for the election of one house of the State legislature wholly at large. It could even provide that the composition of that other body would be limited to a half-dozen men. While this would meet constitutional requirements of apportionment on the basis of population, it would obviously be unacceptable. The people, lacking a reasonable alternative, would undoubtedly prefer to perpetuate a rotten borough legislature.

This is essentially what happened in Colorado when there was an "alternative plan" presented to the voters. The plan that accorded fair representation to Denver also provided that all the representatives from Denver had to be elected at large. The plan that gave Denver less than fair representation would have created single member districts. The people of Colorado preferred the plan that established single member districts, just as the people of my State would.

6. MULTIPLE PLANS POSSIBLE

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides no limit to the number of plans that can be submitted at any one time. It states: "In addition to any other plans there must be submitted an alternative plan submitted based on population." This means that the people may be confronted with a choice among three, four, five, or more alternative plans.

What would happen in a statewide election if the people had a yes-or-no choice on each of four plans of apportionment and rejected them all? Would the existing malapportioned legislature continue in existence? Would a new special election have to be held?

Suppose the majority voted in favor of two plans which were mutually contradictory. Which would go into effect, and how would the obvious impasse be resolved?

This problem was debated at length in the constitutional amendments subcommittee during a discussion of Senate Joint Resolution 2. It was finally agreed that the only sensible way to handle the problem was to have the State legislature submit to the voters only one plan at a time for a "yes" or "no" vote, or submit two plans and require the voters to choose between them, without any option to accept or reject them both.

This seems to be the only way to avoid the impasse which would obviously be created if all plans were rejected or more than one plan were accepted.

The present language of Senate Joint Resolution 103 does not deal with this problem, and the opportunities for chaos and confusion are great.

7. INVITATION TO UNICAMERALISM

Senate Joint Resolution 2, as originally introduced by Senator DIRKSEN, provided that unicameral legislatures could deviate from fair apportionment standards by according "reasonable weight" to factors other than population. During the course of the many transformations of Senate Joint Resolution 2, the term "reasonable" was dropped. It was only seconds before the vote to substitute his amendment for the baseball resolution that Senator DIRKSEN accepted an amendment to restore the word "reasonable."

Senator DIRKSEN explained that the word "reasonable" was dropped during the consideration of Senate Joint Resolution 2 through oversight. I accept this explanation, but it reinforces my fear that the Constitution should not be amended on the floor of the Senate or in back rooms without detailed, careful consideration.

In any event, it is clear that the word "reasonable" does not appear in Senate Joint Resolution 103.

Senate Joint Resolution 103 provides that a unicameral legislature may be apportioned among the people on the basis of substantial equality of population with such weight given to geography and subdivisions "as will assure effective representation in the State legislature of the various groups and interests making up the electorate."

Again we return to the elusive phrase "effective representation." How much weight would be permitted to geography and political subdivisions in order to accord "effective representation" to some favored group or interest? How far can a unicameral legislature deviate from "substantial equality of population?" I submit there is no limitation: no factor of reasonableness is involved. It would appear that any deviation would be permissible so long as the proponents of the rotten borough plan could point to some "group or interest" in the State which in their judgment needed more "effective representation."

If, as it seems, there is no limitation whatever on the apportionment of a unicameral legislature, is this not an invitation to some of our more resourceful legislators to try to preserve their rotten boroughs by transforming their legislatures into unicameral bodies, where no constitutional standards of representation would apply?

CONCLUSION

Wholly aside from the philosophical question, on which Senator DIRNSEN and I disagree, it seems to me that the language he has put forward is subject to the many technical objections which I have attempted to outline here.

The amendment, if ratified, would become the most confusing, ambiguous, and wholly unintelligible section of our Constitution.

If we are to amend the Constitution to overrule Reynolds against Sims, let us not do it with such a hastily drawn and obviously inadequate provision.

Independence of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 28 is the 47th anniversary of the

independence of Czechoslovakia, the country born of the aspirations and toil of two nations, the Czechs and Slovaks. It was a country whose ideals were espoused by such men of foresight as Thomas Masaryk and General Stefanik. Czechoslovakia flourished during its first decades—its people were industrious, its civilization was second to none, and its folklore was beautiful to see and listen to.

At Munich Czechoslovakia was chosen as a sacrificial lamb by those whose knowledge of dictators was so scant that they were willing to sacrifice anyone else except their own interests. Following World War II, Czechoslovakia fell again—this time to the Soviet sphere of domination.

The Czechs and Slovaks have always been and shall remain oriented to the West. The people who now suffer under Communist domination still yearn for the day when they can again enjoy the basic freedoms we do. Let us show that we have not forgotten them and that we shall never acknowledge their condition of Communist domination as a permanent status. We join them in looking forward to the day when Czechoslovakia's freedom and independence is restored.

Post Office Helps Send Passenger Trains Into Oblivion

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I have fought the curtailment of railway post offices for the past 9 years as a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee. I have stated before, and I will state again, the curtailment of en route distribution on railway post offices and the elimination of railway mail terminals around the Nation will certainly not improve the mail service.

There is another very important aspect to the curtailment of railway post offices. This loss of operating revenue to the railroads is leading to the elimination of rail passenger service in many parts of this Nation.

Many of us voted, just this year, to set up a program for high-speed rail transportation and put the Nation's rail travel back on its feet. While this legislation was being enacted into law the Post Office Department was busily engaged in taking mail franchises away from the railroads.

This action by the Post Office Department is affecting trains and the communities they serve all over the Nation. I think many of my colleagues are aware of the problems they face as their own communities are affected, but I would call their attention to a very detailed article on this subject which appeared in the October 12 edition of the Wall Street Journal. Reporter Burt Schorr details how passenger runs and the communities they serve are being dealt a deathblow:

MAIL TRAIN BLUES—POST OFFICE'S SWITCH TO TRUCKS SPURS RAILS TO END PASSENGER RUNS—ATLANTIC COAST LINE DROPS EIGHT LOCALS—C. & O.-B. & O. SEES 40 PERCENT OF RUNS JEOPARDIZED—MRS. WARD'S CHICKEN WOES

(By Burt Schorr)

WASHINGTON.—Even as the Government moves to invest millions in improving rail passenger service in the Washington-Boston northeast corridor, its Post Office Department is helping to send many a passenger train highballing into oblivion.

More and more passenger runs in many parts of the land are receiving a financial death blow as the Department diverts mail and important mail-hauling payments from passenger trains to highway trucks and piggyback rail-truck service. In consequence, many ordinary travelers and some businessmen are being discomforted.

The sole aim, postal officials insist, is to obtain the most efficient and economical transportation. "The Post Office Department has no legal right to continue the transportation of mail on trains when it has been established that better service can be provided at less cost by highway transportation," asserts Assistant Postmaster General William Hartigan, who heads the Department's Bureau of Transportation. "It's up to regulatory agencies to determine whether a railroad company shall be permitted to discontinue train operations."

Almost inevitably, however, loss of mail revenues pushes a train operation deep enough into the red for the line to convince State public service bodies or the Interstate Commerce Commission it must be continued.

MILWAUKEE ROAD ACTION

Just the other day, the Commission agreed with the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Railroad that its trains Nos. 219 and 220, running 181 miles daily between Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Manilla, Iowa, with connections to Chicago, unduly burden interstate commerce and should be removed. Both trains averaged some 40 coach and Pullman passengers per trip in 1964 and produced an out-of-pocket loss of $188,000. But it wasn't until last March, when the Post Office Department removed mail worth approximately $102,000 annually in revenues, that the Milwaukee road acted to drop the runs.

Currently, the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad is earmarking four pairs of local trains for extinction because of lost mail. For the same reason, the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad has announced discontinuance of a pair of trains running through Wyoming, and the Louisville & Nashville is proposing to drop a pair operating between Atlanta and Evansville, Ind. The Chesapeake & Ohio-Baltimore & Ohio is considering canceling its night express between Detroit and Cincinnati; spokesmen contend mail losses since last May jeopardize no less than 40 percent of the lines' 54 remaining intercity passenger trains.

For the year ended last June 30, the Post Office Department counts 61 passenger trains nationwide which lost their railway post office service, and railroad men say current experience indicates that some three-fourths of the affected trains will be discontinued because of the revenue loss. Only 25 mail-carrying trains were killed during the same period at the instigation of the operating carriers themselves because of poor passenger patronage alone. By contrast, between July 1, 1959, and June 30, 1964, the 225 railroad-initiated cancellations were more than double the railway post office operations eliminated by post office action.

PASSENGER CRISIS?

Intercity passenger trains now number less than 1,100 on all U.S. railroads, it's estimated, against some 3,400 as recently as the early 1950's; transportation experts chiefly blame the automobile for this nosedive. Recently the decline in passenger patronage has begun to level off, offering railroaders hope that many remaining trains could survive. But now, with the shift of mail from train to truck accelerating, the Association of American Railroads gloomily forecasts the doom of over two-thirds of existing runs should they lose mail revenues.

Just how much mail the passenger trains can expect to lose in coming years, postal officials won't predict. But other forecasts suggest a passenger service crisis is brewing.

"Ten years ago we had over 20,000 men working in railway post office (RPO) cars and today there are half that number," says Henry Anglim, administrative vice president of the United Federation of Postal Clerks. "In 2 years the figure will be down another 50 percent and the way things are going, in 5 years there won't be any RPO service at all."

Loss of mail can be fatal to a train operation simply because mail represents the relatively profitable side of passenger service. There's no separate tally on profit from mail alone. But last year combined railroad mail revenues equaled $329 million against passenger revenues of $578 million, and the cost for hauling humans was obviously far higher than for sacks of mail. Though down in recent years, the mail revenues in 1964 were $22 million above a decade earlier and this income is chiefly credited for holding the year's total passenger deficit to $410 million.

FALLING DOMINOES EFFECT

Even a modest reduction in trains traceable to mail losses can cause a "falling dominoes" effect as cancellation of one passenger run cuts into revenues on a connecting line.

A case in point: Trains 94 and 95 formerly operated over the Chicago & Eastern Illinois and Louisville & Nashville lines between Atlanta and Chicago. Last August the C. & E.I. discontinued its portion of the run between Chicago and Evansville, Ind., when the mail carried was shifted to piggyback service. The L. & N.'s 94-95 operation immediately suffered a "substantial" mail loss and the Southern carrier now is seeking discontinuance of its trains too. "It's a chain reaction," says an L. & N. passenger official, "and once it begins, it's impossible to stop."

There is a strong suggestion, moreover, that more than a few trains will be affected by the realinement of mail distribution now going on under Post Office ZIP code planning. The concept of sorting mail aboard trains for distribution to towns along the line is giving way to sorting at sectional postal centers from which the mail goes out to satellite post offices. Because many of the 553 sectional centers are located in suburban areas to reflect post-World War II population shifts, the most efficient routes between them, ZIP planners maintain, are highways rather than rail lines linking older downtown areas.

Currently some railroads are feeling the impact of a wave of mail cancellations that began building earlier this year as use of the sectional centers expanded. Especially hard hit is the C. & O.-B. & O. system, which seeks to lure passengers with midweek fare reductions, $1 dining car meals and movies on trains. Since May, it has lost postal business worth $975,000 annually. This amounts to less than 8 percent of the system's total mail revenues, but Passenger Service Director Paul Reistrup figures some 40 percent of C. & O.-B. & O. intercity passenger trains are imperiled by the loss.

It's true that many trains affected by Post Office action mainly served mail needs and attracted few riders with their slow, off-hours schedules. Lately, though this has been less

true. The C. & O.-B. & O.'s night express between Detroit and Cincinnati with Southern connections, for example, has a high-seat occupancy in the two modern coaches it usually carries and formerly turned a small profit on its yearly gross of $1 million. But since it lost one of its RPO cars a few months ago, the train is operating at a $150,000 yearly loss and is being considered for possible cancellation.

NOTHING MORE CONVENIENT

A pair of trains running between Montgomery, Ala., and Waycross, Ga., marked for discontinuance by the Atlantic Coast Line because of lost mail, actually have posted a 25-percent gain in passenger revenues since the beginning of this year. The reason: Inauguration of a Montgomery-New York through coach which couples onto the ACL's crack East Coast Champion at Waycross. One recent user of this service was Mrs. W. G. Sellers, Sr., wife of a Ramer, Ala., pulpwood dealer who made an 8-day train excursion with 10 other women to see the New York World's Fair and Broadway shows. "We got on in Ramer and we got off in Ramer and we all sat together," says Mrs. Sellers. "Nothing could be more convenient than that."

Travelers with a penchant for trains aren't the only ones facing inconvenience. In Torrington, Wyo., Mrs. Clarence L. Ward worries about the effect of an announced ending of a pair of Burlington trains on the chick hatchery she operates.

"Normally we mail out 25,000 chicks a year and most of them travel north on that rail line to the Big Horn Basin," Mrs. Ward says. "The rail cars were heated but the trucks that replaced them aren't and with the severe weather we have here, the chicks would freeze to death. It looks as though we're going to lose a lot of business."

LATE NEWSPAPERS

In Live Oaks, Fla., RPO service removed last July used to allow business firms until 9 p.m. to get to the post office with outbound mail. "Now we have to get to the post office by 5:30 p.m. to catch the truck,' complains Louis Wadsworth, owner of the weekly Suwannee Democrat. To meet the changed schedule, Mr. Wadsworth says he is paying an extra $50 weekly in overtime wages to rush the Wednesday printing of his paper. Even so, the publisher adds, nearly all his 3,100 subscribers formerly got their copies Friday, but "at least 25 percent are getting them the following Monday now and some as late as Tuesday."

Such hinterland complaints thus far have stirred little response in Washington, perhaps because much of the inconvenience affects rural areas with relatively sparse populations. It's true Democratic Senator GALE MCGEE, of Wyoming, whose State faces drastic RPO curtailment, has introduced a bill that would establish a commission to study the sectional postal centers' impact on railroad service. But a Senate staffman confides there's little congressional interest in the topic "because the Post Office Department has been pretty persuasive in winning people over to its side."

A Tribute to Olof Anderson and His Assistants

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERNEST GRUENING
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, President Johnson has correctly stated:

A people proud of their collective heritage will take pride in their individual health, because we cannot stay strong as a country if we go soft as citizens.

Here in the Senate my colleagues and I owe much to the faithful attendants in the Senate Gymnasium who, for many years, have helped us in our efforts to maintain physical fitness.

I therefore wish to pay tribute to Olof R. Anderson and his capable and ever-attentive assistants—Bo I. Anderberg, Ray Johanson, Gunnar Johanson, and Johnny Ware—for the great help they have been to all of us through the years. Olof Anderson has been with us since 1950—a period of 15 years of devoted service to the Members of the Senate—service which has meant so much to all of us in maintaining the degree of physical well-being necessary to perform our duties here in the Senate.

Girl Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the realities of modern life still have not penetrated some stereotyped attitudes which perversely cling to the idea that women are in less need of education and job training than men. This kind of thinking ignores the fact that 1 out of every 10 heads of family is a woman, that one-third of the labor force is composed of women, that 3 out of 5 of these women workers are married, that nearly 3 million mothers with children under 6 are in the labor force, that 8 out of 10 girls will have jobs sometime during their lives. It ignors, too, the serious manpower shortages in skilled and professional services to which women could make an immense contribution.

For this reason I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article about girl dropouts aptly titled "A Neglected National Tragedy." Although nearly half the school dropouts—that is, approximately 500,000, are girls—their fate has been largely overlooked on the unwarranted assumption that marriage will take care of their economic needs. What this assumption may do is to force many into an early marriage for economic reasons, resulting in unhappiness for husband, wife, and children alike. At this time there is room for only about one-eighth as many girls as boys in Job Corps training programs. Thousands of young women have responded to the promise of personal dignity and accomplishment which an opportunity to enroll in the Job Corps offered them. But because of lack of training centers, their hopes, like their applications, remain locked in steel filing cabinets. Surely we have the means, the wit, and the energy to keep more of our promise than this.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I would like to include the article, written by Jack Harrison Pollack:

[From Parade magazine, Sept. 26, 1965]

GIRL DROPOUTS—A NEGLECTED NATIONAL TRAGEDY

(By Jack Harrison Pollack)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—When you hear the word "dropout," you probably picture a delinquent teenage boy hanging around a poolroom. Yet each year approximately half the 1 million young Americans who quit high school before graduating are girls. In some areas the proportion is as high as two-thirds. And these hundreds of thousands of young girls make up the most forlorn and forgotten segment of our society.

True, boy dropouts may commit more dramatic crimes. But girl dropouts—though nicer and smarter as a group—are probably more self-destructive. When girls quit school, they doom themselves. They become jobless, lost, bewildered, defeated, hopeless, rejected, drifting outsiders of society—fugitives from failure," Dr. Daniel Schreiber, director of the National Education Association's pioneering school dropout project, calls them. Some plunge into senseless sex or run off to a hasty marriage. Others enter a harsh world that has no place for them. Nearly 9 out of 10 report afterward they regret quitting.

WHAT'S THE DIFFERENCE?

Both the girls and the Nation are the losers. Girl dropouts are a welfare problem, an employment problem, and a moral problem. They cost the taxpayers millions. Yet few people seem to care. Although 1 in 3 workers in the labor market today is a woman, American culture clings to the notion that education is less important for girls than for boys. "What's the difference if girls quit school?" goes the refrain. "They won't have to earn a living. They're just going to get married." Even if this is so, the attitude is shortsighted since as mothers the girls will be responsible for the education of their families.

Yet virtually all efforts to assist dropouts concentrate on boys. Investigations by educators, Selective Service, the Department of Labor, and State employment services all either ignore or underplay the girl dropout problem.

In fact, a 6-year study of New York State schools by Dr. James Moore, of the State education department's bureau of guidance, found that in the case of about half the girl dropouts, no effort whatever had been made to keep them in school. By contrast, two-thirds of boy dropouts had exit interviews with school counselors, teachers or principals before quitting.

"Female dropouts were less well served than males," Dr. Moore reported. "Furthermore, a greater percentage of males than females were granted program adjustments and more contacts were attempted with their parents."

"This has been one of our biggest educational lags," says U.S. Office of Education Guidance Specialist Leonard M. Miller.

Ironically, there is strong evidence that girl dropouts have better school records than boys. "Nearly all the local and regional reports coming across my desk," says the National Education Association's Dr. Schreiber, "indicate that girls had better disciplinary records, better marks, and even higher IQ's not only than boy dropouts but than many boys who stayed in school."

But what happens to the girls after they quit school is more pathetic and tragic. When President Johnson last month announced a nationwide back-to-school drive to reduce the number of dropouts, he said, "Their employment rate was almost 17 percent—four times that of the entire labor force." What the President did not mention

was that nearly twice as many girl as boy dropouts were unemployed.

Girls who have quit school find themselves at the bottom of the employment barrel. They get only the most menial and routine jobs, receive the lowest pay, are the last to be hired and the first to be laid off and are out of work for longer periods. They can't even get unemployment benefits because many of them never have been employed.

A California study of dropout girls showed that 46 percent had never worked. Those who did were mostly part-time waitresses and carhops. Even in the industrial city of Bridegport, Conn., twice as many girl dropouts were unemployed as held jobs, School Superintendent Joseph B. Porter told Parade.

"The overwhelming majority of girl dropouts enter the labor market with no skills whatsoever," says Dr. Schreiber. "They are ill prepared and inadequately educated to enter the adult world. They knock on the doors of employment offices, file applications, are interviewed, but then at least half are turned away. They face the prospect not only of unemployment but also of being unemployable."

A few years ago this wasn't true. A girl could drop out of school and usually drop into a job. But today automation is making a scarcity of unskilled jobs. With machines now doing much of the work formerly done by hand, girls need special skills to operate machines or work in offices.

In an increasingly selective labor market, preference is given to the better qualified. "Why should I gamble on a quitter when there are better risks?" asks a Pennsylvania personnel director. "If this girl didn't finish high school, something must be wrong. Why should I take on her troubles?"

DOROTHY'S PROBLEM

What happens to a girl dropout is typified by the case of Dorothy, who recently visited Katherine Cook, director of guidance for the Arlington, Va., schools. An attractive, intelligent, neat 22-year-old, Dorothy told Miss Cook:

"I quit school in the 10th grade on my 16th birthday even though I had pretty good marks. I didn't get along too well with the other kids, who had their own cliques and cars and things. I thought I was being snubbed. When I talked about it at home, they didn't seem to care. Since I quit, when I've had a job, it's been mostly as a waitress, hotel maid, or babysitter. But now I'd like a real, steady job, like working for the Government. I was told that I need a high school diploma or have to take an equivalency examination. Not having a diploma has been my big problem. I was told I'd be sorry I quit. Well, I am."

Not surprisingly, a vast number of dropouts wind up on relief rolls. In Cook County, Ill., 85 percent of those receiving welfare aid never finished high school. Studies indicate the figure elsewhere runs as high as 90 percent. Dropouts also make up a large percentage of the 250,000 women who bear illegitimate children every year—90,000 of whom are teenagers and 5,000 of whom are under 15. This is partly because many schools follow a rigid policy of automatically expelling girls when they become pregnant and do little to encourage them to return to school after the baby is born. This is especially shortsighted, because the girl may now need education more than ever in order to earn a living for herself and the baby.

Why do most girls quit school?

By far the largest number claim they drop out to marry or because they wish to marry. According to one estimate, about 200,000 girls aged 15 to 17 each year forsake the road to learning for the bridal path.

Sadly, these marriages turn out much less successfully than others. One study shows that dropouts tend to marry dropouts, thus perpetuating the breed. And when they do not marry dropouts the results may be worse. One expert cites the case of Alice who, when Fred finished high school, quit to marry him. For a time they were happy. But Fred, an alert and ambitious young man who realized that he needed more education, enrolled for night courses. Often his college friends gathered at his home. Alice, good wife that she tried to be, quietly filled the coffee cups and listened to them talk about things she did not understand. She felt left out. As the time went on, a gap developed between Alice and her husband. They seemed to have less and less to say to each other. The final result was heartbreak for Alice and divorce.

A second big reason why girls quit school is rebellion against their parents. An intensive Chicago study of intellectually capable dropouts, directed by Dr. Solomon Lichter, found that, "The majority of girls were rebelling and acting out hostilities against problems at home not only in school but in other social areas of their lives. They became aggressive and defiant in the face of any authority. Truancy, one of the ways they expressed their rebellion, was a frequent problem and often came as a complete surprise to their parents."

Many girls, the study said, find their parents rigid, dictatorial, tyrannical and compulsive. They strike back against parental nagging and pushing by making the school the battleground.

A third important reason why girls (as well as boys) drop out is what Dr. Schreiber terms "adverse school experience." This includes failing grades, getting behind and feeling discouraged, dissatisfaction with the school program—especially the lack of desired vocational training—moving from one school to another, rejection by classmates or the school staff and, of course, reading retardation.

TEACHER ATTITUDE

Some teachers give up too easily on the potential dropout. Dr. K. B. Hoyt, of Iowa State University, president of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, deplores this attitude as one of teach the best and shoot the rest.

What is being done to help girl dropouts?

A dramatic effort now is being made by Uncle Sam through the Job Corps, in the Office of Economic Opportunity, an arm of the Johnson administration's war on poverty. It is now operating five residential training centers for about 1,500 girls in Cleveland; Charleston, W. Va.; Los Angeles; Omaha; and St. Petersburg. Officials hope to have 14 centers accommodating 5,000 girls at this year's end and to reach 100,000 next year. The aim is to make these girls useful, responsible citizens.

At the centers girl dropouts receive guidance, academic, and vocational training including basic instruction in reading, speech, and mathematics. They are taught business and clerical skills and child, and home care.

Dr. Bennetta B. Washington, director of the training centers, a former Washington, D.C., high school principal who was nationally acclaimed for helping hundreds of young people stay in school, told Parade: "These girl dropouts don't know who they are, what they can be or what they want to be. They are afraid, but they don't know of what. They are angry, but they don't know at whom. They're rejected and they don't know why. All they want is to be somebody."

The Neighborhood Youth Corps, operated by the Department of Labor, also has begun battling the problem. It trains dropouts in their home areas and helps them find jobs where they work 30 hours a week at $1.25 an hour while attending school at night. The Corps also enables potential dropouts to work parttime while attending school. Jobs include nurses aides, assistant librarians, hospital helpers, teachers' aides, park workers and playground attendant.

Alert schools also are launching work-study programs, or stepping up those that already exist. New York State now has a lively school to employment program (STEP) where potential dropout students attend school in the morning and work in the afternoon. Orange County, Calif., has a unique summer school program for dropouts with ungraded classes in reading, English, math, and other subjects. Other school systems, including Toledo; Seattle Philadelphia; Portland, Oreg.; Wahington, D.C.; and San Francisco have programs to help unwed mothers continue their educations and receive child care and family living instruction.

Recalling how successful women were in traditionally male jobs during World War II, Dr. Schreiber suggests opening industrial arts shop classes to girls in junior high. "Most work experience programs have been initiated and developed specifically for boys," he points out. "It is disappointing to find hardly any developed particularly for girls."

Indeed, infinitely more needs to be done by parents, schools, employers, unions, civic, trade and religious organizations, if the tragedy of America's girl dropouts is to be averted. We must try harder to break this vicious cycle of human waste where the girl dropout becomes the frustrated woman—and the next generation pays the price.

And we must overcome the attitude that education of girls is unimportant. For, as Mrs. Lyndon Johnson has said, "When you teach a man, you teach an individual. But when you teach a woman, you teach a family."

Wheat Processors' Profits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debates on the farm bill, H.R. 9811, a great deal of interest was generated over the administration's proposal that additional revenues for financing the wheat program be derived from an increase in the domestic certificate required of processors of wheat for food use. Since such an increase in certificates would only be shifted to the consumer, this secured the title of "bread tax." My firm opposition to it stemmed from the fact that poor people eat more food derived from wheat than wealthier people; therefore, the tax would have been a greater burden on them and extremely regressive. Also, during the course of debate, the flour milling industry suffered a great deal of criticism. My interest was aroused and I began wondering whether this industry actually was making such profits that they could have absorbed the 50 cents or more a bushel increase in certificate cost or not. So, I looked into the situation securing material from USDA reports and I will place the tables after my comments to illustrate what I am about to say.

It should be pointed out that the millers and other wheat processors still are required to pay 75 cents per bushel to the Commodity Credit Corporation for each bushel of wheat processed into flour for human consumption in addition to the market price. It was expected when the bill was enacted, requiring this certificate

to be paid, that the loan would be $1.25 a bushel and the certificate 75 cents—therefore, the cost of the wheat to the processor would remain at $2 a bushel. The price support loan, without any certificate, the year previously was $1.82 a bushel.

I believe I should also add that in my efforts to prevent an increase in the certificate above 75 cents a bushel that I continuously supported a program which would bring a fair return to the wheat producer. In fact, I recognize that wheat producers are facing a rather severe cost-price squeeze. I believe that the farmer should have the opportunity to secure the highest price possible for the commodities which he sells. Also, in fairness to the flour millers, I should like to point out that the Miller's National Federation has emphasized that "flour millers want wheat producers to earn a fair return on their capital investment and labor."

I can hardly blame them for opposing the certificate tax since they have seen processors of another commodity, cotton, for 2 years being paid to reduce the cost of their raw material; and now, direct payments to cotton producers will be made directly from the Treasury as has been the case in wool and feed grains heretofore. Millers evidently wanted similar treatment; that is, direct producer payments.

I do recall their pointing out that the adoption of the principle of a processor tax or certificate would eventually lead to attempts to impose greater assessments on them. Their fears were borne out this year and an attempt was made by the administration to expand the principle to rice. However, the hue and cry in that commodity prevented even the principle from being established.

At this point, I include the tables I mentioned earlier in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Wheat and flour—Price relationships at milling centers, year beginning July 1948–49

MINNEAPOLIS [1]

Crop year	Cost of wheat to produce 100 pounds of flour	Wholesale price of—		Total products (flour+millfeed)	
		Bakery flour per 100 pounds	Millfeed obtained per 100 pounds	Col. (2)+Col. (3)	Over cost of wheat
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1948–49	$5.41	$5.69	$0.80	$6.49	$1.08
1949–50	5.41	5.81	.75	6.56	1.15
1950–51	5.73	6.12	.85	6.97	1.24
1951–52 [2]	5.75	5.87	1.01	6.88	1.13
1952–53 [2]	5.72	5.74	.88	6.62	.90
1953–54	5.96	6.36	.79	7.15	1.19
1954–55	6.31	6.82	.72	7.54	1.23
1955–56	5.61	6.22	.68	6.90	1.29
1956–57	5.47	6.04	.70	6.74	1.27
1957–58	5.40	6.10	.57	6.67	1.27
1958–59	5.02	5.68	.64	6.32	1.30
1959–60	5.11	5.44	.61	6.05	.94
1960–61	4.92	5.36	.61	5.97	1.05
1961–62	5.43	5.70	.61	6.31	.88
1962–63	5.61	5.92	.68	6.60	.99
1963–64	5.20	5.52	.66	6.18	.98
1964–65	5.64	5.68	.70	6.38	.74
Average, 1948–49 to 1963–64	5.50	5.90	.72	6.62	1.12

KANSAS CITY [3]

1948–49	$5.15	$5.24	$0.82	$6.06	$0.91
1949–50	5.13	5.36	.78	6.14	1.01
1950–51	5.38	5.59	.87	6.46	1.08
1951–52 [2]	5.66	5.64	.98	6.62	.96
1952–53 [2]	5.50	5.46	.93	6.39	.89
1953–54	5.52	5.93	.79	6.72	1.20
1954–55	5.87	6.14	.76	6.90	1.03
1955–56	5.34	5.73	.69	6.42	1.08
1956–57	5.29	5.68	.67	6.35	1.06
1957–58	5.18	5.64	.57	6.21	1.03
1958–59	4.81	5.14	.63	5.77	.96
1959–60	4.83	5.03	.60	5.63	.80
1960–61	4.77	5.04	.58	5.62	.85
1961–62	5.13	5.37	.58	5.95	.82
1962–63	5.47	5.65	.68	6.33	.86
1963–64	4.99	5.25	.67	5.92	.93
1964–65	5.33	5.41	.70	6.11	.78
Average, 1948–49 to 1963–64	5.25	5.49	.73	6.22	.97

[1] Minneapolis:
Wheat: (1) No. 1 Dark Northern Spring, simple average of 13 percent and 15 percent protein. Includes 70-cent certificate beginning July 1964. Based on 72 percent extraction rate, 1948–56, cost of 2.31 bushels. Based on 73 percent extraction rate, 1957–64, cost of 2.28 bushels.
Flour: (2) Short patent spring wheat flour (1948 to January 1960). Spring wheat standard patent (January 1960–64). Beginning February 1959, quoted as bulk.
Millfeed: (3) Assumes 50–50 distribution between bran and middlings.
[2] Federal price controls in effect. Data should be disregarded.
[3] Kansas City:
Wheat: (1) No. 2 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein (1948–56); No. 1 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein (1957–64). Includes 70-cent certificate beginning July 1964. Based on 72 percent extraction rate, 1948–56, cost of 2.31 bushels. Based on 73 percent extraction rate, 1957–64, cost of 2.28 bushels.
Flour: (2) Short winter wheat flour (1948 to January 1960); 95 percent patent (January 1960–64). Beginning February 1959, quoted as bulk.
Millfeed: (3) Assumes 50–50 distribution between bran and middlings.

NOTE.—Col. (4)=col. (2)+col. (3); col. (5)=col. (4)—col. (1).

Source: All data from Economic Research Service, USDA.

Cash wheat closing prices—Monthly average at Kansas City and Minneapolis

Year and month	Kansas City		Minneapolis	
	Number 1 Hard Winter, 13 percent protein	Per hundred pounds of flour [1]	Number 1 Dark Northern Spring, average of 13 and 15 percent protein	Per hundred pounds of flour [1]
1963–64				
July	$2.09	$4.77	$2.30	$5.24
August	2.12	4.83	2.20	5.02
September	2.21	5.04	2.32	5.29
October	2.29	5.22	2.31	5.45
November	2.27	5.18	2.36	5.38
December	2.28	5.20	2.35	5.36
January	2.29	5.22	2.33	5.31
February	2.27	5.18	2.28	5.20
March	2.22	5.06	2.21	5.06
April	2.30	5.24	2.25	5.13
May	2.24	5.11	2.32	5.29
June	[2]	[2]	[2]	[2]
1964–65 [3]				
July	2.34	5.34	2.42	5.52
August	2.37	5.40	2.41	5.52
September	2.40	5.47	2.45	5.61
October	2.39	5.45	2.50	5.71
November	2.41	5.49	2.51	5.73
December	2.38	5.43	2.50	5.70
January	2.34	5.34	2.49	5.68
February	2.36	5.38	2.48	5.67
March	2.31	5.27	2.48	5.65
April	2.28	5.18	2.46	5.63
May	2.25	5.13	2.48	5.65
June	2.26	5.15	2.46	5.61
1965–66 [4]				
July	2.42	5.52	2.51	5.72
August	2.49	5.68	2.50	5.70
September	2.51	5.72	2.54	5.79

[1] Cost of 2.28 bushels of wheat used in producing 100 pounds of flour.
[2] Transition period. Data not meaningful.
[3] 1964–65 prices include a $0.70 certificate cost to millers.
[4] 1965–66 prices include a $0.75 certificate cost to millers.

Source: All data from Economic Research Service, USDA.

Mr. Speaker, as I have said, all of these tables were taken directly from Department of Agriculture statistics. They show that the U.S. flour milling industry last year—that is, the year ending June 30, 1965—went through its worst year in the past 17.

The simplest measure of the flour miller's economic condition is his milling margin. This is the amount of money he receives for flour and millfeed, less the cost of wheat. The margin is certainly not profit, since all other costs of producing flour, such as wages, salaries, interest, laboratory expenses, and so forth, must be taken from the margin.

The price relationship table for Kansas City, for example, shows that the average margin—based on wheat costs and flour and millfeed prices in that market—last year was 78 cents, or 19 cents less than the average of the preceding 16 years. Also, it was lower than any of the preceding individual years. In Minneapolis, the decline was 38 cents, from $1.12 to 74 cents. This is a one-third reduction in the milling margin.

The magnitude of these losses in the milling margin—gross receipts less wheat cost—can best be demonstrated by relating them to total flour production for domestic consumption. A decline of 19 cents per hundred pounds of hard wheat flour, as at Kansas City, is equivalent to an industrywide margin loss of about $50 million. The comparable figure for spring wheat flour represented by Minneapolis is some $100 million. Thus, the milling industry is undergoing a cost

price squeeze which cannot be endured for long.

Mr. Speaker, I will not take the time of my colleagues to analyze these tables in detail, but I invite them to do so when the tables appear in the RECORD. I ask them to pay particular attention to the changes in wheat costs, shown in the third table, which took place after the adoption of the wheat certificate program, which went into effect July 1, 1964.

I think you will see that, regardless of what has been said and regardless of what the reasons are, wheat costs to the miller have increased and are continuing to increase over the costs which prevailed during the year prior to enactment of the certificate program. In the long run, this increased cost must be reflected in flour prices if there is to be an economically healthy flour milling industry.

I imagine it was natural for me to be primarily interested in the consumers of wheat products, and it is natural for anyone in politics to do so since the consumers are more numerous than any group in the country. It is also natural to be concerned about the incomes of producers since not only do many of us represent substantial numbers of them, but they are desperately needed in order that the human race might be well fed and well clothed. I must hasten to add that the food processors are an important segment of our economy and should not be used as a whipping boy, as was said during the debate on the farm bill this year. Therefore, I felt it would be wise to submit some facts for the RECORD in order that those who are interested in what is happening to this important industry in our economy can make their judgment of the statements that were made during the debate here and in the other body.

Tribute to Speaker McCormack

SPEECH
OF
HON. CORNELIUS E. GALLAGHER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, before this session closes I would like to join my colleagues in saluting our distinguished Speaker, the gentleman from Massachusetts, JOHN MCCORMACK.

In the words of our President and people, few citizens will disagree this has been a historic year. It is perhaps, from a legislative view, the most productive Congress in recent history. But let that history include that if it were not for the truly great leadership of Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK in the Congress, and his ability to resolve what at times appeared to be impossible legislative impasses, the record of this Congress would have passed unnoticed.

If this legislative record ranks as one of the greatest in our Nation's history so it must follow that the outstanding legislator of this session, JOHN MCCORMACK, must go down as one of the great Speakers of our Nation.

The decisions on crucial issues were decided by a mere handful of votes. But somehow Speaker MCCORMACK knew where they were and he permanently secured the victory in many a legislative skirmish.

Our Nation owes him a great debt. Future generations who will be the beneficiaries of our actions in the days ahead when they consider how it was done, should realize that it could not have been done without JOHN MCCORMACK.

Activities of the House Banking and Currency Committee, 89th Congress, 1st Session

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting for printing in the RECORD a list of committee bills which became law or were otherwise acted on during the 1st session of the 89th Congress by the Banking and Currency Committee of the House:

MAJOR BILLS CONSIDERED BY THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON BANKING AND CURRENCY DURING THE 1ST SESSION OF THE 89TH CONGRESS

BILLS ENACTED

Gold reserve requirement

H.R. 3818 (S. 797). To eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities, but does not eliminate a similar reserve requirement with respect to Federal Reserve Notes. Hearings held by full committee and in executive session, February 1, 1965, and reported to House. House Report 14, rule granted February 8, 1965. Passed House February 9, 1965. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 65), February 10, 1965. Reported out of Senate committee February 10, 1965; passed Senate February 18, 1965. Approved March 3, 1965 (Public Law 89-3).

Inter-America Development Bank

H.R. 45: To amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations in the Inter-American Development Bank. This act authorizes the U.S. Governor of the Bank to vote in favor of the resolution proposed in April 1964 to merge the Social Progress Trust Fund into the Fund for Special Operations and to increase the resources of the FSO by $750 million over a 3-year period, 1965-67, at the rate of $250 million a year. The adoption of the resolution called for an increase equivalent to $900 million in resources of the Fund for Special Operations. Hearings held by full committee February 3, 4, and 5, 1965. February 5, 1965, reported out of committee with amendment (H. Rept. 27). Rule granted February 16, 1965. Passed by House technically amended February 18, 1965. Passed Senate with amendments February 25, 1965. Conference requested March 1, 1965; conference report filed March 3, 1965 (H. Rept. 137). Conference report adopted by House March 4, 1965. Senate adopted March 8, 1965. Approved March 24, 1965 (Public Law 89-6).

Increase in International Monetary Fund

H.R. 6497. To amend the Bretton Woods Agreement Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. This act authorizes the U.S. Governor of the International Monetary Fund to consent to an increase of $1,035 million in the quota of the United States in the Fund and to authorize the appropriation of this amount to pay the additional subscription to the Fund. This increase in the U.S. quota is part of a proposed increase of 25 percent in quotas of all members with additional increases for 16 countries. Hearings of full committee, March 23-24, 1965. Reported to House March 24, 1965 (H. Rept. 222). Rule granted April 14, 1965. Passed by House April 27, 1965. Reported to Senate May 24, 1965. Approved June 2, 1965 (Public Law 89-31).

Extension of Area Redevelopment Act

H.J. Res. 541. To extend the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. The 2 months' extension of this act is to provide sufficient time for congressional action on the Public Works and Economic Development Act, incorporating many programs provided under the Area Redevelopment Act. The act provides for continuation of loans and grants for public facilities and the rendering of information and technical assistance, urban redevelopment, planning, and occupational and retraining programs. Rule granted June 23, 1965 (H. Rept. 545, H. Res. 433). Passed House June 24, 1965. Passed Senate June 24, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89-55).

Assistance for Disaster Victims

H.R. 8060 (S. 1796). To amend the Small Business Act to provide additional assistance for disaster victims. This act amends the Small Business Act to provide additional assistance to victims of natural disasters, increasing the maturity of SBA disaster loans from 20 to 30 years, and providing for a suspension of up to 5 years on the payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at the discretion of SBA upon showing of need. Hearings, Small Business Subcommittee, May 12, 1965. Subcommittee reported favorably to full committee May 12, 1965. Full committee reported to House May 17, 1965. Passed House under suspension of rules June 21, 1965. Passed Senate May 19, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89-59).

Extension of Export Control Act

H.R. 7105. To provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports and for other purposes. The original act furnished basic authority to control exports to Communist bloc countries. This act extends the Export Control Act of 1969, authorizing civil penalties not exceeding $1,000 for violations of the act. This act also declares it the policy of the United States to oppose restrictive trade practices or boycotts by foreign countries friendly to the United States and to encourage American firms to refuse to cooperate with restrictive trade practices and boycotts. Hearings held by Subcommittee on International Trade, May 13, 20 and 21, 1965. Reported favorably to full committee May 21, 1965. Full committee reported to House, with amendment, May 25, 1965 (H. Rept. 434). Rule granted June 7, 1965. Passed House June 8, 1965. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 363), June 23, 1965. Passed Senate June 30, 1965. House concurred June 30, 1965. Approved June 30, 1965 (Public Law 89-63).

Amend Small Business Act

H.R. 7847. To grant SBA authority to lend to SBIC's and State and local development companies. This act increases by $120 million the portion of the Small Business Administration's revolving fund which may be loaned to small business investment companies and State and local development companies, raising the present ceiling of $341

million to $461 million. Hearings held and reported out, May 11, 1965, by full committee (H. Rept. 353). Rule granted May 26, 1965. Passed House June 10, 1965. Reported to Senate June 30, 1965 (S. Rept. 382). Passed Senate July 7, 1965. Approved July 21, 1965 (Public Law 89–78).

Interest rates of foreign official time deposits

H.R. 5306. To continue the authority of domestic banks to pay interest on time deposits of foreign governments at rates differing from those applicable to domestic depositors. This authority is confined to time deposits of foreign governments, central banks, or other monetary authorities and international financial institutions of which the United States is a member. The objective of this act is to assist in encouraging foreign governments and monetary authorities to maintain dollar accounts in this country rather than convert dollars into gold or transfer the funds to other financial centers. Hearings held May 4, 1965, and bill reported with amendment by full committee May 5, 1965 (H. Rept. 336). Rule granted May 26, 1965. Passed House June 10, 1965, with committee amendment. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 385), June 30, 1965. Passed Senate July 7, 1965. Approved July 21, 1965 (Public Law 89–79).

Coinage Act of 1965

H.R. 8926 (S. 2080). To provide for the coinage of the United States. This act is intended to conserve the Nation's dwindling supply of silver, superseding and eventually replacing existing dimes, quarters, and half dollars made of traditional coinage alloy of 90-percent silver and 10-percent copper; the act provides for minting 10- and 25-cent pieces containing no silver, and 50-cent pieces of 40-percent silver content. The new coins will be legal tender and circulate together with existing coins. To discharge hoarding of silver coins, the price of silver will continue to be pegged at silver's monetary value of $1.29 per fine troy ounce. Reported to House by full committee in executive session with amendments June 11, 1965 (H. Rept. 509). Rule granted June 23, 1965. Passed House July 14, 1965, conference requested. Passed Senate July 15, 1965, conference report agreed to July 15, 1965. Approved July 23, 1965 (Public Law 89–81).

Housing Act of 1965

H.R. 7984. To assist in the provision of housing for low and moderate income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. This act provides additional authorization and funds to continue federally assisted housing and urban development programs for 4 years and makes improvements affecting nearly all housing programs. Title 1 of the act authorizes a new program of rent supplement payments for disadvantaged persons, paying the difference between one-fourth of the occupant's income which he would pay as rent as fair market price. Subcommittee on Housing hearings held March 25, 26, 29, 30, 31; and April 1, 2, 5, 6 and 7, 1965. Hearings full committee in executive session May 17, 18, 19, 1965. Reported to House May 21, 1965 (H. Rept. 365). Rule granted June 16, 1965. Passed House with amendments June 30, 1965. Passed by Senate July 15, 1965, with amendments. Conference requested July 19, 1965. Conference report filed July 23, 1965. Senate adopted conference report July 26, 1965, and House adopted July 27, 1965. Approved August 10, 1965 (Public Law 89–117).

IBRD and IFC Articles of Agreement

H.R. 8816 (S. 1742). To authorize the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to Articles of Agreement of International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation and for other purposes. This act authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury, as U.S. Governor of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, to agree to an amendment to the Articles of Agreement to permit loans to the International Finance Corporation. It also permits the IFC to lend to or borrow from the IBRD within specified limitations. The U.S. Governor is authorized to vote in favor of increases in the Bank's authorized capital stock without express congressional approval, providing it involves no such change in U.S. subscription. Hearings held by full committee July 8, 1965. Reported to House by full committee July 8, 1965 (H. Rept. 644). Rule granted July 29, 1965. Passed by House August 4, 1965. Reported to Senate June 28, 1965 (S. Rept. 372). Passed Senate June 30, 1965. Approved August 14, 1965 (Public Law 89–126).

BILLS PASSED BUT NOT SIGNED

To Amend the Small Business Act

(H.R. 11306) S. 2542. To increase SBA revolving fund by $120 million, to provide funds for more disaster loans. The devastation incurred by Hurricane Betsy caused great need for disaster fund loans. Hearings held S. 2542, October 21, 1965, by full committee. Reported to House October 21, 1965 (H. Rept. 1188). Passed House October 21, 1965. Reported in Senate (S. Rept. 794). Passed Senate October 1, 1965.

BILL PASSED BY HOUSE—IN SENATE

Amending Bank Holding Company Act

H.R. 7371. To amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. The purpose of this act is to preserve the traditional American system of locally owned independent banks serving local needs, the avoidance of concentration of banking power, to keep banks from competing unfairly with nonbanking businesses and to minimize self-dealing practices. This bill amends the Bank Holding Company Act to include partnerships, nonprofit, charitable, educational, or religious organizations and trusts, except trusts established for named beneficiaries terminating within 25 years or upon death of named beneficiaries. Hearings held by full committee May 27, June 14, and 15, 1965. Reported to House June 16, 1965, with amendments (H. Rept. 534). Rule pursuant to clause 23 of rule XI, September 13, 1965. Passed House, September 22, 1965, after adoption of a committee substitute amendment, supplying new text.

Commemorative Medal for San Antonio

H.R. 7526. To provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the founding of San Antonio. Reported favorably to House by full committee on October 5, 1965 (H. Rept. 1136). Rule, October 11, 1965. Passed House October 18, 1965, with amendment.

BILLS REPORTED BUT NOT ENACTED

Study of Federal financial assistance to natural disaster victims

(H.R. 7397) S. 408. To authorize a study of methods of helping to provide financial assistance to victims of future natural disasters. The bill directs the Housing and Home Finance Administrator to undertake immediately such a study to include alternate methods of Federal disaster insurance, as well as existing flood insurance. Hearings held by Small Business Subcommittee June 24, 1965. Reported to full committee July 6, 1965. Reported to House by full committee July 13, 1965 (H. Rept. 632). S. 408 incorporated in H.R. 11539, Committee on Public Works. Passed House, October 18, 1965. Passed Senate, October 21, 1965.

To amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956

H.R. 7372. To amend Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. This bill would repeal the provision of the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 exempting from regulation under that act any company, or its affiliates, registered before May 15, 1956, under the Investment Company Act of 1940 which do not directly own 25 percent or more of the voting shares of two or more banks. The bill specifically provides for divestment of all interests in banks acquired after May 9, 1956, by companies becoming bank holding companies under this act if the Federal Reserve Board finds on hearing within a 1-year period from enactment that retention is not in the public interest.

Hearings held by Subcommittee on Domestic Finance, June 2, 3, 22, and 23, 1965. Reported to full committee, June 23, 1965. Hearing by full committee, July 13, 1965; reported to House by full committee with amendments, July 13, 1965 (H. Rept. 680).

The amendatory effect of H.R. 7372 to the Bank Holding Company Act would also be accomplished by enactment of H.R. 7371, which passed the House on September 23, containing a similar provision to H.R. 7372.

International Wheat Agreement

(H.R. 10110) S. 2294. To amend section 2 of the International Wheat Agreement Act of 1949. The bill would extend for an additional year U.S. participation in the International Wheat Agreement, participating countries agreeing to buy an average of 81 percent of their commercial wheat imports from the United States and nine other wheat exporting countries. Hearings held by Subcommittee on International Trade, July 29, 1965. Reported to full committee, July 29, 1965. Reported to House by full committee, August 4, 1965 (H. Rept. 723). Reported in Senate, July 22, 1965. Passed Senate, July 23, 1965. Rule granted, September 1, 1965.

Commemorative medal for Poland

H.R. 139. To provide for the striking of medals to commemorate the 1,000th anniversary of the founding of Poland. Full committee approved, October 5, 1965; reported to House, October 22, 1965 (H. Rept. 1206).

Commemorative medal for Secret Service

H.R. 10357. To provide for striking of medals to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Secret Service. Approved by full committee, October 5, 1965; reported to House, October 22, 1965 (H. Rept. 1207).

BILLS CONSIDERED—NO ACTION

To amend Bank Merger Act of 1960

S. 1698. To establish a procedure for review of proposed bank mergers so as to eliminate the necessity for the dissolution of merged banks, and for other purposes. Reported to Senate (S. Rept. 299), June 8, 1965. Passed Senate, June 11, 1965. Hearings Domestic Finance Subcommittee, August 11, 13, 16–20, 23–27, 30–31; September 1, 2, 14–17, 22–24, 27, and 28, 1965. Reported with amendment to full committee, October 1, 1965. Full committee in executive session, October 5, 8, 11, 1965. No final action.

COMMITTEE INVESTIGATIONS

Federal Services Finance Corporation

The Subcommittee on Domestic Finance conducted an investigation of Federal Services Finance Corporation, a worldwide lending operation primarily engaged in the business of financing automobiles and making small loans to enlisted military personnel. The subcommittee investigation uncovered a multitude of evidence of worldwide abuse of military personnel in the form of usurious interest rates, falsification, and duplication of contracts, highly irregular repossession procedures, hidden add-on charges and phony insurance fees, and unethical use of military facilities in forcing payments from military personnel.

Federal Services had nearly $33 million worth of loans from banking institutions across the country; these banking connections with the unethical operations of Federal Services were carefully investigated. The subcommittee is continuing its investi-

gation into Federal Services. Hearings were held June 9, 16, 17, 18; July 14; and September 13, 1965.

Crown Savings Bank

Pursuant to its responsibility of determining whether existing laws are adequate to the task of providing the Nation with a sound and progressive banking system and seeing if these laws are being properly administered by the Federal supervisory agencies, the Banking and Currency Committee, through its Domestic Finance Subcommittee, looked into the failure of the Crown Savings Bank of Newport News, Va. The subcommittee sought to determine whether there was a pattern in the increasing rate of bank failures during the past year, of which the Crown Savings Bank was a part.

After a thorough subcommittee investigation and hearings, the subcommittee found gross mismanagement on the part of Crown officers, serious misuse of certificates of deposits, fraudulent loans, misuse of cash items, infiltration of criminal elements into the banks' operations, and the use of the bank's facilities as a clearinghouse for phony companies operated by criminal elements. The subcommittee also found the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation's examination and supervision policy preceding the closing of the Crown Savings Bank to be inadequate and faulty. The FDIC's operations, as receiver of the bank, came under careful scrutiny by the subcommittee when discrepancies and questions were raised concerning the handling of the closing.

Hearings were held July 20–23, 27–30; August 3–6, 1965.

Of War and Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, at this time in our Nation's history a clear and precise statement on men's duties to God and country is most helpful.

I was personally delighted by a statement published by the members of the clergy of the Cathedral of the Incarnation in Garden City, Long Island, N.Y., which is the seat of the Episcopal Diocese of Long Island, and my home church.

I wholly subscribe to the statements made so forthrightly by the members of the clergy, as follows:

OF WAR AND PEACE

(Submitted by the Cathedral Clergy)

So much publicity has been given through the public news media to the Vietnam protest marches and to the burning of draft cards, and since some stature has been given this movement by the participation of a very few high level educators, it seemed to us that we should make clear our position.

War is a dreadful occurrence in the life of man. Every honorable effort should be made to avoid further conflict and to bring to a close those conflicts now in progress. It is not, however, mankind's right to sell his soul for a short-term benefit—there are unfortunately times when a man must fight to preserve his honor, his integrity, his right to live and to function as a free independent being.

The draft-card burners who declare their hate of war and particularly the war in Vietnam are very short sighted indeed. If ever history has taught us a lesson, it should be that tiny capitulations lead only to world-wide conflict.

As Christians we must recognize the right of the individual to be a conscientious objector—but this position certainly does not give anyone the right to speak treasonously or for that matter to behave in a way which can be described as veiled insurrection.

In a democracy, we have the right to believe and to function within the framework of our own conscience, but we most certainly do not have the right to subvert the national goals and purposes which our elected officials have established.

If our national goals are to be changed by the will of the people, then let it be by the people's expression on election day, but not by marches, riots, and treasonous speech.

Greek "Ochi" Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, "Ochi" Day, October 28, 1940, was the day when all valiant Greeks who cherished the freedoms which their forefathers had established unanimously exclaimed "No," to the Fascist dictator, Mussolini, who threatened to invade them. Mussolini gave the Greek Government 3 hours to surrender, but even before the ultimatum had expired Fascist troops were poised for incursions into Greece. The dictator had planned to achieve an easy victory within 2 weeks, but within 10 days all his troops that had invaded the Greek territory in the Pindus Mountains had been driven out and Mussolini suffered his first ignominious defeat by the heroic men and women of Greece.

Unfortunately, as the Nazi terror spread throughout Europe, it ungulfed the Greek territory, forcing the Greeks to flee to the mountains where they fought as guerrillas against the invader. Even the Nazi occupation was short lived, for on October 12, 1944, the Allied forces liberated Greece, aided by the brave Greeks who fought and died to free their country.

Another threat to their territorial integrity and freedom, directed by Moscow's Communists, was witnessed by the Greeks following World War II, but the Communist civil war turned to disaster for Moscow's puppets, and Greece went on to join NATO, the Western alliance, united to stop the spreading danger of communism.

The heroism which the Greek people displayed in fighting oppression in World War II is dramatically evidenced at the present time, as their nation is one of the stalwart pillars of the free world in the continuing struggle against Communist aggression. We salute the brave people of Greece, their traditions, and contributions to the history of the world and reemphasize the tremendous value of the role of leadership they are providing in the present world situation.

Life (and Jobs) Begin at 40

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES G. O'HARA
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the House Select Subcommittee on Labor, of which I am a member, has recently held hearings on problems facing the older worker. Our hearings were devoted primarily to the employment problems of workers who have reached middle age—those who are between 40 and the age of retirement.

We found that workers in this age group face very real employment difficulties. And while the Federal Government has devoted considerable attention to the problems of youth employment, the worker between the ages of 40 and 65 and how he fits into our rapidly changing labor market has been largely ignored.

I hope that next year the subcommittee will report, and Congress will act, on legislation to help the older workers of America overcome some of the employment problems many of them face through no fault of their own.

It is encouraging, Mr. Speaker, when one finds an employer who seeks workers over 40. The Macomb Daily, a newspaper published in Mount Clemens, Mich., recently carried an article about such an employer. I am pleased to call the article to the attention of other Members of Congress and include it as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LIFE (AND JOBS) BEGIN AT 40—THIS FIRM WELCOMES "OLDSTERS"

(By G. Stuart DeMott)

MOUNT CLEMENS.—Life begins at 40—and there is something new under the sun.

This is graphically revealed in advertisements of the Willey Sign Co., 163 Grand, which are appearing in the Macomb Daily.

The ads are asking for "men 40 years of age and over for steady employment."

Plant superintendent Andrew Mertz, of the Willey company, says that already the firm has hired more than 15 men over 40 and is finding them highly satisfactory.

Three of these older new employes were interviewed and expressed deep satisfaction at having been hired. All had been out of work and because of their age had experienced difficulty in getting jobs.

These men are: Edward J. Cocking, 59, of 18 Washington, Mount Clemens, a woodworker and cabinetmaker; George E. Jones, Sr., 58, of 11711 Barbara Ann, Romeo, a former truckdriver; and Earl W. Hershman, 58, of 2592 Howe, Utica, a former automobile plant worker.

What is "new under the sun" is that the Willey company, one of the largest sign making firms in the United States, should systematically seek older men.

Most companies cast a cold eye at men over 40 and as a result thousands of them seek in vain for employment.

But A. E. Bradbury, 48, president of Willey, has decided to change this trend, not only for the benefit of the older men hired, but also for the good of the company.

He says he finds older men show stability and much less absenteeism than real young employees.

No special skills are required for the work and the older men are trained for various jobs in the plant as soon as they are hired.

Like any other employees they have to start "at the bottom of the ladder," but their chances for advancement are good under excellent working conditions.

At present, men in the plant are working about 58 hours a week and there are no seasonal layoffs.

Robert DeCausin, 34, a plant foreman, who has been with the company 13 years, says he is very much pleased with the way the new older employes are catching on.

The Willey company was founded 47 years ago in Detroit by Claude S. Willey, whose widow lives at 15 Belleview, Mount Clemens.

The firm, which manufactures plastic-panel signs and ships them all over the United States and to several foreign countries, has operated in Mount Clemens since 1949.

Rivers and Harbors Act of 1965

SPEECH
OF
HON. WESTON E. VIVIAN
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, October 20, 1965

The House had under consideration the conference report on the bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes.

Mr. VIVIAN. Mr. Speaker, the bill before us today contains many projects which I consider beneficial both to the residents in the specific areas where they are located and to the entire Nation. I regret, however, that the conference committee has reported a bill which still includes the Dickey-Lincoln School project, in northern Maine. This body voted to defer authorization of the Dickey-Lincoln School project until a detailed report could be prepared and considered, next year.

During the past few days, I have held discussions with representatives of the Electrical Coordinating Council of New England and of the Federal Power Commission, in an attempt to assess several different cost analyses prepared on the project. Just this morning, I received additional information from the Federal Power Commission, which provides new insight into the matter. It is clear to me that questions remain—important questions—relating to the amount of transmission line and equipment required by the various alternative proposals.

After analysis of the documents which I have obtained in the last few days, there appears to be little difference in cost between the Dickey-Lincoln School project and the nuclear pump hydrostorage project advocated by the coordinating councils. Furthermore, neither project supplies more than a small fraction of the total electrical demand for the area. Finally, I see no reason to believe that location of the dam in Maine will provide any significant industrial development in the State of Maine—a State I have learned to know and love from many months of residence there.

If this project had promised any substantial saving in the cost of power in New England, it would have had my complete support. Should the proposed study definitively indicate such potential savings, I shall support the project. But given the lack of pertinent information I must oppose the Dickey-Lincoln School project at this time. I can only express this opposition, I am sorry to say, by voting against the entire conference report on the omnibus public works bill.

Soviets Fool United States Once; Shame on Soviets—Soviets Fool United States Twice; Shame on United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, to those of us who have long opposed a consular treaty with the Soviet Union, the signing of such an agreement with the U.S.S.R. on June 1, 1964, was both demoralizing and dangerous. Fortunately, the Senate has yet to approve the agreement. In the light of past U.S. experiences with the U.S.S.R. since 1933 when diplomatic relations were established between the two countries, I think the only way to adequately describe the proposed policy of granting additional offices to the Soviet Union in other parts of the United States is the word "lunacy." A simple analogy will support my choice of this extreme term.

Picture the U.S. Government as an average, fairminded American citizen, John Doe, who makes a contract with a certain company, the U.S.S.R., back in 1933. The company salesman cheats John, John protests, and the salesman is replaced with another, but no further retribution is made. Our friend John is promptly swindled a second time, a third salesman arrives on the scene and the first episode is repeated again. Upon inquiry Mr. Doe finds that many of the company's salesmen have been caught doubledealing, but even worse, he learns that it is actually company policy to cheat and that representatives of this company are diligently trained to perfect their cheating. Thirty-two years later—1965—still finds John Doe being robbed blind by the same company but he is now hopeful of better relations. Our friend John to show his fairness and good will toward the errant company, plans to increase his business with them in 1966.

Ridiculous? Certainly—for a mentally healthy person. Yet, while no normal person would consider the above plot plausible, and while bearing in mind that there is no such thing as a perfect analogy, the above case adequately describes the proposed U.S. policy regarding the Soviet consular convention. A policy which right-thinking citizens would consider sheer lunacy, the U.S. Government, in their name, intends to carry out. The case is by no means overdrawn.

In 1933 the Soviet Union, in an exchange of letters with President Roosevelt, promised not to intrude or meddle in the internal affairs of the United States. An embassy was established in Washington which, to this day, has served as a center for Soviet espionage activities. Earlier this year, J. Edgar Hoover, referring to the collection by the Soviets of information—classified and otherwise—stated:

The focal point of these operations continue to be the United Nations and the Communist embassies, legations, consulates, and news or commercial agencies in our country. Such gathering of information is conducted by the Communist representatives using the legal cover of their diplomatic or other official status to cloak their spying activities.

More specifically, from January 1, 1950, through May 1, 1960, 19 "salesmen" or official Soviet nationals were declared persona non grata and officially requested to leave the country because of their "cheating" or participation in espionage operations or other action completely incompatible with their continued presence in this country.

In the relatively short time since July 1, 1964, five additional Soviet nationals were asked to leave the United States. One case involved the American, Robert Glenn Thompson, who received 30 years in jail for furnishing information relating to the national defense of this country to the U.S.S.R. And where was the Soviet official's base of operations? The Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C.

Three other Soviet officials were recently involved in the Butenko case in which information on a military communications system was relayed to the U.S.S.R. The official cover from which the three Soviet officials plied their trade: The Soviet mission to the United Nations in New York.

To list the many violations by official Soviet representatives in the United States since 1933 would belabor the point. Suffice it to say that for almost 32 years, the Soviet Union has been "cheating" on its contract, and the American people, through their representatives, the U.S. Government, keep coming back for more. And now, to help the U.S.S.R. see the error of its ways and to show that we harbor no ill feeling for their 32 years of errant behavior, we plan in 1966 "to increase our business with them" through the establishment of additional offices of Soviet intrigue.

As if our shameful backdown at the United Nations on the matter of the U.S.S.R. nonpayment of dues and assessments was not enough to sicken anyone who closely watches our foreign policy as it relates to the Communist world, the State Department has recommended this consular convention with the U.S.S.R. which is without parallel. Despite the long record of espionage by Soviet diplomats and officials who are attached to the United Nations and the embassies, our State Department proposes to expand the number of consulates throughout the United States and, most important of all, extend immunity to these officials to include felonies. We have all heard of the diplomatic immunity which allows these

officials to park their cars in front of hydrants for weeks, but in the past, these infractions have always extended to misdemeanors. I know of no bona fide reason why Soviet officials should be granted immunity from felonies and, quite the opposite, think it ludicrous that it even be considered.

The following remarks by J. Edgar Hoover before a House Appropriations Subcommittee in March 1964, demonstrates all too well the folly of providing additional lairs from which the Soviet bear can sally forth to hasten our destruction:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY J. EDGAR HOOVER BEFORE A HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE IN MARCH 1965

ESPIONAGE AND COUNTERINTELLIGENCE

In regard to espionage and counterespionage operations, we differentiate between these activities and those of the Communist Party, U.S.A. The Communist Party, U.S.A. is made up mostly of U.S. citizens.

The subversive role of the Communist Party, U.S.A. is but one aspect of the Communist threat to the internal security of our Nation. The other is the espionage and intelligence attacks mounted against this country by the Communist-bloc countries. Underlying both aspects of the threat to our internal security from the international Communist movement is the fact that we are competing with a totalitarian system, intent on our destruction, which operates the most extensive networks of subversion and espionage ever developed in history.

In regard to the Communist bloc espionage attack against this country, there has been no letup whatsoever.

SOVIET ESPIONAGE TARGETS AND OBJECTIVES

Though seeking any and all information which may be utilized to weaken the United States or implement their plan of world communism, the Soviet intelligence services have placed special emphasis on such targets and objectives as:

1. Penetration of U.S. intelligence and counterintelligence agencies.
2. Penetration of other governmental agencies.
3. Collection of data concerning scientific and technical developments of any and all types.
4. Collection of data of military interest ranging from information concerning atomic submarines to the location of missile and radar bases.
5. Collection of data concerning those industries closely concerned with America's defense efforts.

USE OF OFFICIAL PERSONNEL

The methods used to collect the data sought by the Communist-bloc intelligence services are almost as varied as the types of data which they endeavor to collect. One of their mainstays is the collection of information—classified and otherwise—through espionage operations involving personnel legally assigned to official Soviet and satellite establishments in the United States. The focal points of these operations continue to be the United Nations and the Communist embassies, legations, consulates and news or commercial agencies in our country. Such gathering of information is conducted by the Communist representatives using the legal cover of their diplomatic or other official status to cloak their spying activities.

SOVIET BLOC OFFICIAL PERSONNEL

Historically, the Soviet intelligence services have appropriated the great bulk of official positions abroad, primarily using their official representatives and diplomatic establishments in other countries as bases from which to carry on their espionage operations.

As of February 1, 1965, there were 843 Soviet-bloc official personnel stationed in the United States, accompanied by 1,173 dependents, many of whom have espionage potential.

This does not include those official Soviet-bloc representatives and their dependents who are temporarily in the country, such as couriers, members of special delegations, and the like. As of February 1, 1965, there were 907 individuals from the Soviet bloc in this country within fall in this category.

NEW SOVIET CONSULATES

Long seeking greater official representation in the United States which would be more widely spread over the country, a cherished goal of the Soviet intelligence services were realized when the United States signed an agreement with the Soviet Union on June 1, 1964, providing for the reciprocal establishment of consulates in our respective countries.

One Soviet intelligence officer in commenting on the agreement spoke of the wonderful opportunity this presented his service and that it would enable the Soviets to enhance their intelligence operations.

"ILLEGAL" (DEEPCOVER) OPERATIONS

A growing problem is the extent to which the Soviet intelligence services are dispatching undercover spies into the United States. These individuals have no ostensible connection with either the official Soviet establishments or personnel in this country nor do they make any overt contacts with their foreign espionage headquarters. They are well-trained, professional intelligence officers and usually bear assumed identities and are supplied with expertly fabricated documents and unlimited funds. They enter the United States without difficulty to become assimilated into our population and, unless uncovered, eventually serve as the nucleus of an extensive clandestine espionage network. Their detection among the more than 190 million people in this country is a counterintelligence problem of great magnitude.

Write to an American Serviceman

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a very worthwhile project recently initiated by the University of Omaha Young Republicans Club. It was called "Write to an American Serviceman Week," and all of the students at the university were asked to write a letter to any American serviceman on active duty and pay their respects to the men who defend our country and guard our way of life.

I would like to congratulate Miss Nancy Schneiderwind, president of the University of Omaha Young Republicans, and Mr. Rick Reeser, chairman of the "Write to an American Serviceman Week," for initiating this project.

These young people have urged that other colleges and universities throughout the United States take similar action to let our American forces around the world know that we support them and that recent unpatriotic anti-American demonstrations do not represent the majority of public opinion.

As our Omaha University students pointed out, all that is required is an 8-cent airmail stamp, an envelope, paper, and a few minutes of your time to participate in this tribute to the American men at arms. Students were asked to write to a serviceman they knew personally or write to one of the following:

AN AMERICAN (SOLDIER OR AIRMAN),
U.S. Army and Air Forces, Vietnam,
Care of U.S. MAAG Headquarters,
San Francisco, Calif., APO 96307

AN AMERICAN (SAILOR OR MARINE),
U.S. Navy and Marines, Vietnam,
Care of Chief, Navy Section,
U.S. MAAG Headquarters,
San Francisco, Calif., APO 143.

In view of the recent disgraceful demonstrations I hope many other good Americans will begin similar writing campaigns to let our servicemen know we are standing behind them.

The 89th Congress: A Record Session

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, Willard Edwards, of the Chicago Tribune Press Service, has presented a comprehensive recounting of the activities of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. His newspaper devoted two entire pages to the story in its edition of Sunday, October 17, 1965.

The Tribune assessment of the first session follows:

LEGISLATION POURS OUT IN PEAK VOLUME

(By Willard Edwards)

WASHINGTON, October 16.—The 1st session of the 89th Congress is certain to be recorded as epochal in its impact upon American citizens and the way they live.

The legislative record is so staggering in volume, so revolutionary in nature that it defies comparison with the achievements of any earlier Congress. In its full import, it marks a turning point in the history of the Republic.

The United States saw one-man government in a form never contemplated under the checks and balances restraints of the Constitution. Both Houses of Congress dominated by 2-to-1 Democratic majorities, succumbed to the demands of President Johnson for a program unprecedented in scope and almost boundless in its implications for the future.

PRESIDENT USES POWERS TO ACCOMPLISH HIS WILL

The President intervened personally on scores of occasions to accomplish his will, not hesitating to exercise his vast political and economic powers upon wavering legislators when the gentler arts of persuasion had failed. He insisted not only on passage of his "must" measures but on passage by sweeping majorities without amendment. Almost invariably, he got his way.

The lawmaking pace was so swift and violent, as a result, that major bills, admittedly deficient in nature, were forced to passage with little debate and under gag rules pre-

venting alterations. An embarrassed leadership pledged later action to plug gaps obvious to all.

Congress, as a coequal branch of the Government created to curb the monarchic tendency of any Chief Executive who might be intoxicated by power, ceased to function.

The House, traditionally jealous of its exclusive revenueraising authority, became an automatic stamping machine for spending bills drafted in the White House.

The Senate, designed to advise and consent to the conduct of foreign affairs and as a Chamber where legislation would be subjected to painstaking scrutiny devoid of emotional public pressures, voluntarily reduced itself to the status of an indulgent house of lords. It sought to exceed the House in hasty indorsement of measures bearing the Presidential imprimatur.

MANY MEMBERS WORRIED OVER EXPANDING BUREAUCRACY

As this session neared an end, many Members were uneasily conscious of this surrender. They were aware that they had initiated programs carrying built-in provisions for expanding a Federal bureaucracy, not responsible to the people, to enormous proportions. The new spending authorized, approximately $9 billion the first year, would mushroom in future years to incalculable heights.

Some serious problems had been ignored or attacked with stopgap methods. The balance-of-payments deficit continued to stir alarm despite passage of some money-tinkering bills admittedly expedient. Talk persisted of an "overheated" economy, resulting from the push of rising costs and the pull of inflationary pressures, which could explode in coming months, further destroying the value of the dollar.

Whatever the consequences, good or bad (only the future could determine), the lives of 195 million citizens and those of coming generations would be affected. The political, social, and economic face of the Nation was sure to be altered. Supporters of the program outlined an imminent utopia; a minority voiced alarm about its gigantic costs and a racing economy fueled by tax cuts, deficit spending, and a steadily soaring national debt. All joined in agreement, however, that none, young or old, rich or poor, would escape the thrust of new laws almost countless in number.

There were many "firsts" recorded at the session. Legislation, experimental in nature and repeatedly pigeonholed by past Congresses over the years, received easy approval. Old laws were abolished. Ancient traditions were ignored and precedents established.

Federal influence was expanded to long-forbidden areas. The church-state issue was bypassed to permit aid to elementary and secondary schools where religion is taught. Federal scholarships for college students received indorsement for the first time.

The American system of medical care underwent a radical change, including hospital care underwritten by Federal money, after a quarter century of controversy.

A voting rights bill for Negroes, destined to change the political face of the South, was approved after a lackluster filibuster in the Senate had been killed by invocation of cloture.

NEW PLAN OF SUCCESSION TO PRESIDENCY APPROVED

The Constitution was rewritten to provide a new system of succession to the Presidency and the new language in the form of a constitutional amendment sent to the States for ratification.

Congress decreed an end to almost all excise taxes, cutting Federal revenue by nearly $5 million.

It increased the national debt limit to a new record high.

A new Federal department at the Cabinet level was created to deal with city problems. Predictably, it would be one of the biggest in a few years.

The silver coinage system was drastically altered and the required gold backing for Federal reserve deposits was repealed.

RENT SUBSIDIES APPROVED; IMMIGRATION LAW CHANGES

An extraordinary plan for Federal rent subsidies became law.

However, the House voted on Thursday not to appropriate funds for the rent subsidy program.

An immigration quota system of 40 years standing was ended.

Laws were passed to restrict tourist spending, to place a warning label on cigarette packages, to beautify highways, and to experiment with high-speed railroad systems under Federal financing.

Federal aid for the arts was legalized for the first time. The President announced plans for creation of a national repertory theater, support for national opera and ballet companies, and grants for artists at a cost of $63 million in the next 3 years.

An unprecedented bill authorizing creation of regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke became law. It will cost $340 million in its first 3 years.

The major costs of the Vietnam war were ignored until the next session in order that the $100 billion budget ceiling set by the President, already breached, might not be further exposed as fiction.

Antipoverty bills under various labels poured billions into selected areas despite mounting evidence that the funds were under political control.

Setbacks for the President were rare. A notable one was rejection of a plan for local self-government in the Capital, where the population is 58 percent Negro. Johnson intervened personally and lined up 218 signatures, a House majority, to force a bill to the floor.

A 3-day battle ensued, and the House substituted a bill delaying election of a mayor and city council for at least a year while citizens voted on a charter form of government.

Shelved for consideration until next year were:

1. A bill to raise the minimum wage to $1.75 an hour and extend coverage to 7,900,000 more workers.

2. A consular convention (treaty) which would have permitted the United States and Russia to expand their consular forces in each other's countries. It also would have extended immunity from criminal prosecution to all consular employees. Senate ratification was postponed by testimony from J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, that the treaty would be an aid to Soviet espionage in the United States.

A merger of the National Guard and the Army Reserves, urged by Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, was stymied by congressional opposition.

In the closing days of the session the Senate killed the bill to repeal State right-to-work laws. The measure had passed the House.

The repeal had been demanded by the President to redeem his campaign promises to labor bosses. However, it ran into a filibuster led by Senator DIRKSEN, of Illinois, the Senate Republican floor leader.

Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, of Montana, the Senate Democratic floor leader, sought to break the filibuster by invoking cloture but was beaten 45 to 47. Thus, he was unable to muster even a simple majority, much less the two-thirds majority required for cloture.

Faced with renewal of the filibuster, which would have blocked the administration's legislative program, MANSFIELD then withdrew the repeal bill. Specifically, the bill would have repealed section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law. The section permits States to enact right-to-work legislation which outlaws labor contracts requiring workers to join unions.

These were some of the more notable features of the session. It began January 4 with the effects of President Johnson's sweep in the previous November elections evident in both Houses. The lineup was 295 Democrats to 140 Republicans in the House (2 Democratic seats were vacant at the end) and 68 Democrats to 32 Republicans in the Senate.

The President's state of the Union address announced his intention to improve "the quality of life" for all in the Great Society. He outlined a staggering array of proposals. He also made it clear that he wanted fast action with the objective, he confessed later, of outdoing Franklin D. Roosevelt's famous "first 100 days" in 1933.

As Johnson's first 100 days ended April 13, he boasted to his Cabinet that Congress had written "a record of major accomplishments without equal or close parallel in the present era." The boast was a little extravagant at the time but Congress then went on to legislative experiments unmatched in this century. Johnson offered to bet that it was the greatest Congress in history.

DEMOCRATS ALTER RATIOS TO PACK TWO COMMITTEES

Not content with 2-to-1 majorities to facilitate legislation at a dizzy pace, Democratic leaders realined committees, breaking tradition to alter ratios on the Ways and Means and Appropriations Committees and thus increase control. The Ways and Means Committee, for example was packed with three new members to insure approval of the medicare bill, which had been resting on a committee shelf since 1964.

Republicans, meanwhile, ousted their leader, Representative CHARLES A. HALLECK, of Indiana, and replaced him with Representative GERALD R. FORD of Michigan. The vote was close, 73 to 67, leaving some wounds and some doubts. As the months passed, however, FORD emerged as an aggressive leader, one of the few in Congress who dared to dispute with the President.

The shadow of war in Vietnam hovered over Washington from the first days of the session and darkened as the months passed. On January 13, the United States acknowledged that two Air Force bombers had been shot down in a raid over Laos. The disclosure was the first public admission that U.S. forces were engaged in attacks on Communist supply lines outside South Vietnam. From that point, the war steadily expanded until it became apparent that another Korea was in the making.

Johnson was sworn in for his first elected term on January 20. "Is our world gone?" he asked in his inaugural address. "We say farewell. Is a new world coming? We welcome it—and we will bend it to the hopes of man."

The bending, so far as Congress was concerned, came quickly. The budget for the fiscal year starting July 1 arrived on Capitol Hill—$99.7 billion, a fraction under the $100 billion level which the President had decreed, and $5.3 billion more than expected revenues. This deficit would mean that the national debt limit would again have to be raised. The White House avoided stress on the fact that actual cash outgo, as the result of other types of spending such as trust fund outlays, would be a record $127.4 billion.

REDUCTIONS OF $4.7 BILLION IN EXCISE TAXES VOTED

The President proposed excise tax cuts totaling $1.75 billion. Congress leaped on this proposal with such enthusiasm that the

tax cuts totaled $4.7 billion when the bill reached final passage 5 months later.

In the first 30 days of the session, the House displayed a small measure of resistance to White House dictation. In passing a $1.6 billion bill replenishing funds for the Commodity Credit Corporation, it placed a ban on shipments of surplus food to Egypt. President Gamal Abdel Naser had just replied to an American protest against mob-burning of the John F. Kennedy Library in Cairo with the Egyptian equivalent of "go to hell." Indignation was high and 76 Democrats joined 128 Republicans to approve an amendment, 204 to 177, which cut off supplies to Nasser.

Johnson acted quickly to squelch this minor uprising, reminiscent in some respects of operations by the old coalition of conservative Democrats, largely from the the South, and northern conservative Republicans, which had operated to frustrate many Presidents in the past.

The President asked the Senate to remove the Nasser amendment. With the assistance of DIRKSEN, the Senate bowed, 44 to 38, to the President's will. Then pressure was put upon the House to reverse its previous action. Representative ROBERT H. MICHEL, Republican, of Illinois, led the fight against this surrender but the number of Democrats opposing the White House dwindled from 76 to 37. All Republicans except one stood firm but the House defeated an amendment, 241 to 165, which it had approved only 13 days earlier. Surplus food shipments would continue to Nasser as long as the President decided it was in the national interest to send them.

Little more was heard of the Republican-Democratic coalition. Thus, early in the session, was established the trend which became popularly known as "What Lyndon wants, Lyndon gets." He had demonstrated that he could crush opposition quickly and ruthlessly whenever he saw congressional action as an affront to his authority.

JOHNSON PLEASED BY ACTION IN HIS FIRST 100 DAYS

As the end of the 100-day period approached, Johnson was justifiably elated. His euphoria was based on enactment of these measures:

1. Passage by both Houses, for the first time in history, of a bill which in effect authorized funds for general use for elementary and secondary education, including schools where religion is taught. Although directed primarily at aiding educationally deprived children from low-income families, the bill authorized grants to school districts in approximately 95 percent of the Nation's counties.

By placing the major emphasis on assisting schools with many children from low-income families, sponsors of the measure successfully avoided the controversy over Federal aid to parochial schools which had blocked such legislation for many years. But a paradoxical feature (essential to secure the needed votes) was noted: The bill poured more money into rich States than into poor States where the need was greatest. Total first-year cost of the legislation was estimated at $1.3 billion. Projected 5-year cost for the authorized life of the measure is $6.5 billion.

2. Passage of the first so-called Great Society measure, pumping $1.1 billion into the mountainous 11-State Appalachian region. Most of the money was for 10,000 miles of new highways. The rest was for health facilities, vocational schools, reclaiming of mining areas, and development of timber and water resources. Authorized to continue until 1971, the program had an estimated overall cost of $6 billion.

3. House passage of medicare, the health-care insurance program for persons 65 and over, an increase in social security cash benefits, and expanded medical assistance to the indigent aged. It was the first time the House had ever approved such a program, which had been the subject of violent controversy for 25 years.

It was the costliest and most sweeping welfare program since the original Social Security Act of 1935. The vote was 313 to 115.

Senate approval, never in doubt, came July 9 by a 68 to 21 vote. The Senate made 513 changes in the House bill, increasing its annual cost to $7.5 billion. A conference agreement reduced the cost to $6.5 billion, to be financed largely by increased payroll taxes, taking a $275 yearly cut from the salary of wage earners with a $6,600 income. The bill was sent to the White House July 28.

CONGRESS VOTES TO END GOLD RESERVE REGULATION

These were the three major actions of Johnson's first 100 days. There were other important bills cleared in a period when Congress customarily is engaged in committee work designed to detect flaws in administration proposals. These included:

A bill eliminating the requirement in existing law that each Federal Reserve bank maintain gold certificate reserves valued at not less than 25 percent of the amount of its commercial bank deposits. This legislation freed about $5 billion in gold to meet international claims on the dollar and to allow the Nation's money supply to expand. Its stated purpose—to gain time for the administration to take steps to reduce the continuing U.S. balance-of-payments deficit.

Legislation extending for 3 years the Manpower Training Act, authorizing $454 million in the first year for a program designed to relieve the persistent unemployment problem. Full Federal financing was authorized for another year, killing a provision under which States would have been forced to pay one-third of the training costs beginning July 1, 1965.

A bill authorizing a $750 million increase in the U.S. contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank for low-cost loans to other countries.

A bill proposing a constitutional amendment to permit the Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties. Both Houses passed it in differing versions; the differences were finally ironed out July 6 and the amendment sent to the States for ratification. If ratified by three-fourths of the States (38) within 7 years, it will become the 25th amendment to the Constitution.

The story of Johnson's first 100 days, however, was not so much one of great legislative achievement, although the output was indeed phenomenal for an early period. It was the manner in which these bills were pushed to passage under gag rules in the House and voluntary curbs in the Senate which violated century-old traditions.

MEDICARE GAINS OK UNDER GAG RULE

The medicare bill, for example, a 294-page document of infinite complexity, was swept to passage in the House in 3 days. Not a word was changed as the result of floor debate under a gag rule prohibiting most amendments.

The Senate, in the same week, approved and sent to the White House an 80-page bill equally complicated, launching the Government program of Federal aid to education in elementary and secondary schools. Again, not a solitary change was permitted.

Both Houses were working under White House orders, demanding speed. Gag rules in the House are not unusual but the Senate's voluntary surrender of its cherished tradition of unlimited debate was extraordinary. The Senate has always been proud of its reputation as the body which subjects all bills to the closest scrutiny.

The Appalachia bill was similarly steamrollered to passage. President Johnson told House leaders he wanted it on his desk on the weekend of March 5–6. Any changes would have required sending it back to the Senate for concurrence, causing a delay of 2 or 3 days. Amendments, some of them widely recognized as beneficial, were impermissible. The Great Society, said Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, had yielded to "The Great Stampede." All protests were suppressed and the President got his weekend gift.

After an Easter recess, the Senate plunged into debate on the Negro voting rights bill which had been made the pending business on April 13. Final passage did not come until May 26 and followed the invocation of cloture (curb on debate). It was only the second time in history that the Senate had voted such a restriction on a civil rights measure.

The long weeks in between could not be called a filibuster. The Senate at times took up and pased other legislation. Long sessions, beginning in the morning and lasting until late at night, were never ordered.

SENATE VOTES 70 TO 30 TO ADOPT CLOTURE RULE

In the end, however, MANSFIELD, blocked in efforts to get unanimous consent for the final passage vote, proposed cloture and it was approved, 70 to 30, 3 votes more than the necessary two-thirds majority. The bill was then passed, 77 to 19.

Six weeks later, the House, by a 333 to 85 rollcall vote, passed a similar measure. The bill, after differences had been eliminated in conference, went to the President and he signed it on August 6. Twenty weeks had passed since he requested the bill to "strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote." Congress gave him a bill which went significantly beyond his requests, particularly with respect to State poll taxes.

The legislation, aimed particularly at seven Southern States, swept away the literacy tests for voters in those States and authorized the registration of Negroes by Federal examiners. It directed the Attorney General to challenge the constitutionality of the poll tax as a condition to voting in the four States which still impose it for State and local elections. He promptly initiated these lawsuits.

The major action in June was passage of a $4.7 billion excise tax reduction bill, almost $3 billion more than suggested by the President in his January budget message and $700 million more than he proposed in a special excise tax message in May.

The cuts began with elimination of $1.8 billion in taxes the day after enactment and will continue with a reduction of $1.6 billion on January 1, 1966, and $1.3 billion in successive cuts on January 1, 1967, 1968, and 1969. A Government survey indicated that about 75 percent of the initial savings were being passed on to the consumer.

TAXES ON LIQUOR, GAS, AND CIGARETTES UNTOUCHED

By 1969, all Federal excises will be gone except user, regulatory, and sumptuary levies, and a 1 percent manufacturers' tax on passenger automobiles. The list of these emergency taxes, dating back to the Korean war, was almost endless. Scheduled for immediate or eventual discard were taxes on furs, jewelry, luggage, handbags, cosmetics, air conditioners, cameras, musical instruments, and a host of similar luxuries.

Those faithful revenue producers—the taxes on liquor, cigarettes, and gasoline remained untouched.

Supporters of this big slash in Federal revenue argued that it was essential to sustain the momentum of the $11.5 billion income tax cut of 1964. A few die-hard oppo-

nents assailed it as a reckless gamble with the stability of the American dollar.

Twenty-four hours before the tax cut bill was given final approval, Congress cleared another measure closely related to dollar stability. The administration was given authority to increase the national debt limit to $328 billion. This ceiling would have slipped back on July 1 to the permanent statutory limit of $285 billion fixed in 1959. Temporary increases have been permitted each year since then, Congress never having been quite willing to relinquish a forlorn hope that debt reduction might some day be initiated. The new debt limit was essential to accommodate an expected national debt of at least $326 billion in the current fiscal year.

As a followup to elimination of the gold reserve clause, two more measures designed to alleviate the disturbing balance-of-payments deficit were whipped through Congress. No heed was given to protests that these bills were merely expedient and only delayed the day of reckoning when the United States would have to face up to the disciplines (such as cutting foreign aid spending) required for meeting the problem.

The President was authorized to increase the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund by $1.85 billion, bringing the total U.S. obligation to the Fund to $5.16 billion. The Fund was established in 1944 to deal with problems of foreign exchange. It helps countries to finance temporary balance-of-payments deficits without resorting to measures restrictive of trade. The United States was never forced to use this Fund until 1963.

A $100 CEILING APPROVED ON DUTY-FREE IMPORTS

A second measure attracted much more publicity, most of it critical. Sent to the White House June 30, it fixed a $100 ceiling on the value of foreign goods which could be brought home duty free by returning American citizens after October 1. The restriction was made tougher by providing that the exemption would be computed on the higher retail value rather than the wholesale value of imported goods, the current practice. The bill also reduced the amount of duty-free foreign alcoholic beverages that could be brought back from 1 gallon to 1 quart.

The $100 figure was $50 more than that requested by President Johnson in his message stressing the need to cut tourist spending abroad and thus alleviate the balance-of-payments deficit. The estimated improvement of $55 million a year in the deficit picture was assailed in Senate debate as picayune and a penalty on low-income tourists.

Late in the session, Congress extended the tax on purchase by Americans of certain foreign securities, scheduled otherwise to expire December 31. Continuation of the levy, supporters said, was crucial to attempts to adjust the balance-of-payments deficit. Opponents said the deficit was created by huge Government expenditures around the world and that the tax was a deterrent to private investment abroad which generated U.S. exports and eased the payments problem.

A historic change in the Nation's coinage system was authorized because of a shortage in silver; the Treasury was instructed to mint new dimes and quarters with no silver in them. New half dollars would have only 40 percent silver. All these coins currently have a 90-percent silver content. Silver dollars were not affected.

Approximately 9 million of the new dimes and quarters, now being minted for distribution in the future, will be copper with a coating of nickel alloy like the present 5-cent piece.

CREATE U.S. DEPARTMENT TO HANDLE CITY PROBLEMS

Another "first" was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, designed to deal with the problems of American cities which have a projected 100-percent increase in population in the next 35 years. A similar proposal had failed to pass in 1962, largely because of controversy over reports that a Negro would be appointed Secretary of the Department.

The new Secretary will have all the functions, powers, and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, Federal Housing Administration, Public Housing Administration, and Federal National Mortgage Association. He will be the 11th member of the President's Cabinet. Predictions were made in debate that the new Department would expand to gigantic proportions. It starts with 13,600 employees and a $4.4 billion budget.

Foreign aid, a subject of bitter dispute over the years, was again the center of a battle which went on through most of the session. A long deadlock between the House and Senate committees was eventually broken in late August and a bill authorizing a 1-year appropriation of $3.36 billion in spending abroad was approved. The Senate retreated in its demands for a 2-year authorization, an end to the program in 1967, and a study group to recommend a new program.

After a 2-year delay, caused by worry that it would increase the price of coffee to the American consumer, both Houses agreed to legislation enabling U.S. participation in an International Coffee Agreement designed to stabilize world coffee prices at the general 1962 level. The President was forbidden to take any action under this agreement unless he could assure Congress in a report that it would not result in an unwarranted increase in coffee prices.

ENLARGED U.N. COUNCIL WINS SENATE RATIFICATION

The Senate ratified by unanimous vote amendments to the United Nations Charter which would enlarge the Security Council from 11 to 15 members and the Economic and Social Council from 18 to 27 members. These amendments reflected the increase in U.N. membership from 51 to 114 nations and the desire to give African and Asian nations greater representation on the two councils.

The Senate, in acting on the foreign aid bill, rejected, 59 to 27, an amendment, offered by Senator JACK MILLER, Republican, of Iowa, which would have prohibited aid to any country more than 1 year behind in payment of its U.N. dues. The dues problem continued to agitate Congress for months until the United States on August 16 dropped its fight to make Russia, France, and other nations pay up more than $100 million in delinquent dues under penalty of losing their votes. This reversal of policy caused some bitter remarks about surrender from MILLER and a few others but the issue was soon forgotten in Congress.

The Senate's constitutional role as the President's adviser and partner in foreign policy was subdued during the session. Most Senators shied away from discussing the expanding war in Vietnam. Senators WAYNE MORSE, Democrat, of Oregon, and a small group fulminated almost daily against White House policy while Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, and a few others defended it. Late in the session, Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT, Democrat, of Arkansas, reportedly brooding over his failure to be named Secretary of State, indulged in an outburst against the armed intervention in the Dominican Republic authorized by the President 4 months earlier. This spurred some indignant replies. But the great majority of Members in a body designated as the Chief Executive's partner in foreign policy, remained discreetly silent.

SUM OF $700 MILLION REQUESTED AS VIET EMERGENCY FUND

On May 4, President Johnson used the device of requesting $700 million as an emergency fund for Vietnam war spending in order to secure a congressional indorsement of his policies in southeast Asia. He announced frankly that it was not a routine appropriation, that each vote for the money would be a vote to continue the efforts to halt Communist aggression.

Within 53 hours, the appropriation bill was on the President's desk, swept through by virtually unanimous rollcall votes in each House (408 to 7 in the House, 88 to 3 in the Senate).

Four months later, the President requested an extra $1.7 billion for emergencies in southeast Asia and Congress tacked it on to the general Defense Department appropriation bill totaling approximately $47 billion. But the total was deceptive, congressional leaders agreed. The bill should have contained another $10 or more billions for the actual cost of the Vietnam war. The administration asked that action on this amount be postponed until next January in order to avoid shocking the taxpayers by revealing the actual cost of the jungle war.

The cost of military defense in a hostile world was given another boost when more than 4 million uniformed members of the Armed Forces were given basic pay increases totaling a billion dollars a year, double the amount the President had suggested. Raises were given for the first time since 1952 to enlisted men with less than 2 years' service. For personnel with more than 2 years' service, given their third increase in 3 years, the increase was 11 percent for enlisted men and 6 percent for officers.

In view of darkening war clouds, the President's request for a 4-year, $55 million extension of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency struck many in Congress as ironical. This Agency makes long-range plans under which all nations, including the United States and Russia, would agree to disarm. Congress eventually authorized a 3-year, $30 million extension of the Agency as a symbolic gesture of peace aims.

The administration came close to defeat on a major proposal in connection with the so-called rent supplemental section of a bill authorizing $7.8 billion for public housing expenditures over a 4-year period.

RENTICARE PLAN DRAWS ATTACKS IN BOTH HOUSES

This $150 million rent subsidy plan, promptly dubbed "renticare," was assailed in both Houses as one of the most far-reaching experiments submitted in a generation. It survived in the House by 6 votes, 208 to 202, and in the Senate by 7 votes, 47 to 40.

Speaker JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, confessed that the task of swinging Members into line for this proposal was "the toughest in a quarter century." When it appeared at one time that the plan would lose by some 30 votes, President Johnson personally telephoned an estimated 30 Members. The President had called it a crucial new instrument to fight slum conditions in big cities.

In addition to the rent supplements plan, the bill authorized huge sums for housing programs, low-rent public housing, housing for the elderly, college housing, and urban beautification. In size and scope, it was one of the most comprehensive housing bills ever written by Congress.

APPALACHIA SUPPLEMENT OF $3.25 BILLION VOTED

Congress pumped another $3.25 billion into the economy by passage of a Regional Development Act which supplemented the Appalachia program passed earlier in the session. This measure was, in effect, a reenactment and broadening of the scandal-ridden Area Redevelopment and Public Works Acceleration Acts of 1961 and 1962, although the Johnson administration claimed it as part of the new antipoverty program.

The money will be spent over a 5-year period on public works designed to lure business into economically depressed areas

and relieve unemployment. Government officials conceded waste, ineffectiveness, and failure in past operations of the program but pledged a cleanup. Opponents said the legislation was a prime example of how a discredited spending program could be revived by giving it a new title and a higher price tag.

A companion bill, carrying the antipoverty label, added another $1.65 billion to funds of the Office of Economic Opportunity. This was more than double the first year appropriation of $785 million which financed the Job Corps, community action, and training programs. Senator DIRKSEN called it "the greatest boondoggle since bread and circuses" in the Roman Empire and proclaimed that the Nation was on a "binge" which couldn't last.

In a compromise, House and Senate conferees agreed that the Governors would retain the power to block proposed community action and Neighborhood Youth Corps programs in their States. But the poverty program—the Office of Economic Opportunity—would have authority to override the veto if it was found to be based on partisan, racial, or other considerations contrary to the purposes of the law.

THE SUM $600 MILLION APPROVED TO EXPAND HEALTH WORK

In 2 days late in July, both Houses passed and sent to the President three measures providing more than $600 million for health programs which had taken months to reach final form. These bills expanded construction of health research facilities, extended programs for children and migrant workers, and authorized grants to organizations at community mental health centers.

Federal controls over depressant and stimulant drugs, sometimes known as "goof balls," were expanded.

After next January 1, Congress decreed, all cigarette packages and cartons must bear the following statement: "Caution: Cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health." But the same bill also prohibited until July 1, 1969, any requirement that cigarette advertising include a similar statement.

Near the end of the session, the House attempted a second rebellion, minor in nature, against Presidential authority. It was crushed as quickly as the first, 6 months earlier.

A bill authorizing $1.7 billion for construction of military installations carried a provision requiring congressional review of any plan for closing military bases. Johnson promptly vetoed the bill as "repugnant to the Constitution."

Both Houses folded up under the White House reprimand. Nobody dared suggest an attempt to override the veto. The bill was repassed without the offending stipulation.

Johnson reacted in similar fashion when Congress sent him an emergency relief bill providing $70 million for repair or reconstruction of highways damaged by floods, specifying that certain funds could not be spent except with the prior approval of the House and Senate Public Works Committees. The President glimpsed "improper encroachment" on his powers by Congress and vetoed the bill. The restriction was deleted, the bill passed again and it received the President's signature.

All through the session, Congress was disturbed by repercussions of Supreme Court decisions requiring both houses of State legislatures to be apportioned on the one-man, one-vote principle. DIRKSEN, unable to secure Senate Judiciary Committee approval of a constitutional amendment permitting the people of a State to apportion one house on the basis of geography and political divisions as well as on population, forced the issue to the Senate floor in August.

DIRKSEN had a Senate majority with him but a constitutional amendment requires a two-thirds majority before it can be submitted to the States for ratification. The vote was 57 to 39, 7 votes shy of the necessary margin. DIRKSEN warned that he would keep battling until adjournment to secure, at the least, another vote early in the next session.

One of the historic actions in Congress was a sweeping revision of the immigration law. For more than 40 years, immigration into the United States had been based on the so-called national origins quota system which sought to retain the racial balance existing in the United States in 1920.

Under Johnson's prodding, the quota system was wiped out under a bill passed by the House August 25. The Senate set a limit of 120,000 on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, a proposal killed in the House.

The bill establishes a new set of priorities which favors close relatives of American citizens and those with special skills. After it becomes fully effective July 1, 1968, about 340,000 persons a year are expected to enter under its terms, the largest increases being permitted for Greece, Italy, and Poland.

SECOND EDUCATION AID BILL OK'S $4.7 BILLION OUTLAY

In the closing days of the session, Congress completed action on a second aid-to-education measure carrying authorized spending over a 3-year period of $2.5 billion. This measure, supplementing the bill for support of elementary and secondary schools with a projected $6.5 billion cost in the next 5 years, was designed to strengthen institutions of higher education, colleges, and universities.

A general program of Federal scholarships for college students, repeatedly blocked in earlier years by House resistance was approved.

Most debate on the Senate floor dealt with an amendment by DIRKSEN to a provision stipulating that no part of the bill could be construed to authorize any Government control over the curriculum instruction, administration, personnel, or selection of library resources of any educational institution. DIRKSEN sought to insure the independence of fraternal and social organizations on the campus from Federal intrusion. The Senate accepted the amendment, 60 to 28.

Another major measure left until near the end was the farm bill, costing $4.5 billion, to authorize 4 more years of Government support payment and loans for wheat, cotton, rice, wool, dairy products, and feed grains.

The Senate bill contained a provision designed to make sales to Russia of bread grains possible. Under present law, half of wheat shipments must be transferred in American ships.

TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH PROGRAM GAINS APPROVAL

Congress authorized a $72 million research program that could lead to revolutionary changes in ground transportation. The Government will pour money into eastern railroads to promote faster service and will explore more radical forms of transport such as trains running on air cushions and interurban pneumatic tubes.

In the closing days Congress passed the bill designed to please as many Members as possible—the so-called pork barrel bill carrying $1.7 billion for rivers and harbors projects in 41 States. Its highlight was the first installment ($83 million) on a billion-dollar project to make Fort Worth, Tex., a seaport by dredging the Trinity River for 360 miles from the Gulf of Mexico. The President's home State was not neglected during the session.

Congress also increased the President's authority to investigate pollution of the air and launch an attack on automobile and truck exhaust fumes. It provided funds to improve garbage disposal methods. A law increasing Federal authority to stop pollution of rivers was passed. It increased grants for municipal sewage treatment plants.

After months of squabbling, the President's highway beautification bill was approved. It gave the Secretary of Commerce authority and funds (estimated at $300 million in the first 2 years) to remove unsightly billboards and automobile junkyards along interstate and primary highways.

Postal Employees Right to Freedom of Speech

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as an advocate of improved mail service, I have long felt that the people of this country—the mail users—have a right to know what is wrong with our postal system and what should be done to correct it.

I have found, through discussions and correspondence with postal workers throughout the United States, that they feel the same way. The postal employees of today, who are as dedicated as those of Jim Farley's time, should be allowed, through their union publications and through other media, to speak out about the new, and in many cases, unworkable postal programs that have been instituted recently and are costing untold dollars and a loss in service to the public.

In this regard I would call attention to a letter I recently received from a postal worker who is not from my State but who is editor of his union publication:

SEPTEMBER 6, 1965.

Congressman GLENN CUNNINGHAM,
House Post Office Committee
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: As a union member and an editor of a union publication of the United Federation of Postal Clerks, I ask that you do what you can to correct a sickening situation which exists today in the Government. That is the limited freedom of speech and press that we are subjected to.

We can't inform the public of the programs of the Post Office Department that are costing untold dollars for "ideas" which, in all probability, will never work. I speak of the ZIP code, WMS, POMSIP, ABCD, NIMS, etc., etc.

As a taxpayer and a public servant I want to tell the people just what is happening with their tax dollars as regards the Post Office Department. They are entitled to know because they are the government.

Take the WMS system. This system is to measure the production of the individual. Nothing is said of the fact that with a 2-foot tray of mail, before it is completely distributed is counted four times: (1) Initial primary distribution; (2) secondary handling in one of two route distribution cases; (3) secondary handling in a "Capitol holdout" case; (4) secondary handling in an alphabetical "business firm" case. To me this seems like a waste of time and money. Did you know that the supervisor counts the number of men under his jurisdiction every 6 minutes? A waste of time? Certainly. And people wonder why their mail is late and service is lousy. If they only knew half the

story. But, unfortunately, they don't know any of it. And we're not supposed to "tattle."

ZIP code: Our local has been informed by local management that we must ZIP-ZIP our mail by 1967 or face paying first-class postage. To ZIP-ZIP our plates would cost us quite a sum of money and we cannot afford it. If the ZIP did any good maybe then we would, but the mail doesn't get delivered any sooner with the ZIP than without it. Mail can be ZIP'ed to death but it won't make it to the grave if there is no one to take it there. What the POD needs is people. They are what you might call "people who need people."

I feel, as a taxpayer and as a servant of the people, that it is my duty to bring these facts to the attention of the public. Can I bring these facts to their attention without fear of loss of my job? Can I enjoy the righ to criticize the programs of the POD publicly?

The questions need to be answered. I'm sure that you, more than anyone else, judging by your statements in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, are aware of the poor postal service and the need to have it corrected.

Respectfully,

——— ———.

Washington Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. HASTINGS KEITH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, four or five times in each session of Congress I issue a legislative report to the residents of the 12th Massachusetts District. I include in the RECORD the text of my final "Washington Report" of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which comments on the activities of the past 10 months and discusses briefly some of the legislative work that must be undertaken in January:

WASHINGTON REPORT

(By Congressman HASTINGS KEITH, 12th District, Massachusetts)

DEAR FRIENDS: As this final letter of the session reaches you, I will—hopefully—have left room 1111 of the House Office Building for my home offices in West Bridgewater Town Hall and the Post Office Building in New Bedford.

We've finished 10 long months of work in Washington. Now, I plan to use the 2 months remaining before the start of a new session for getting reacquainted with my congressional district and my family. During this period I will travel about—from Hull to Provincetown, Nantucket to Westport, and as many way stations as possible—to meet with town officials and constituents. I hope that circumstances make it possible to see you when I am in your town.

LEGISLATIVE LANDMARKS

It would be impossible to present a detailed summary of all the accomplishments (and failures) of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. But there are some noteworthy highlights:

One of the most significant bills enacted in this session is the new immigration law, which eliminates the 41-year-old national origins quota and substitutes a policy which gives priority to immigrants with specially-needed talents and skills and to the reuniting of families. Because this new law is so revolutionary and complex, I plan to issue a memorandum in the near future to explain the new law, which I will make available to the newspapers and to constituents who request a copy.

The President has proudly said this Congress will "leap into history." Others have been somewhat less enthusiastic. By any measurement of quantity, at least, this session has been a blockbuster. For example, Congress raised social security benefits (and taxes); enacted medicare; cut $4.6 billion worth of excise taxes; raised the national debt ceiling to $328 billion; appropriated $47 billion for defense (together with a special $700 million appropriation for the Vietnam war); passed a highway beautification program; authorized expenditures of more than $15 billion for space, farm, and foreign aid programs; and enacted clean air and water legislation.

And, furthermore, Congress approved a series of seven major education bills, enacted various public works and antipoverty programs costing some $8 billion; appropriated $2.5 billion for the atomic energy program; created a new Department of Housing and Urban Affairs; passed a voting rights bill; and authorized a $7 billion omnibus Housing Act.

Of course, that's only a few of the 260-odd new laws that came out of the first session. (More than 14,000 bills were filed since January, so there is still plenty of unfinished business.)

A HEALTHY OUTLOOK

As I mentioned in my last newsletter, the Commerce Committee worked many hours on legislation affecting the health of our Nation. (This is one of the areas of prime responsibility for this important committee.) In addition to the heart, stroke, and cancer legislation which has been discussed in an earlier report, the committee approved bills dealing with drug abuse control (pep pills), clean air and solid-waste disposal, cigarette labeling, expansion of the community immunization program, financial aid for staffing community mental health centers, health professions educational assistance, and authorization of further public health research projects.

CONGRESS STILL HAS THE LAST WORD—AT TIMES

It hasn't all been roses for the administration. Republican opposition and criticism were major factors in halting or modifying greatly some of the more overly enthusiastic Federal programs.

Funds for the Teacher Corps, for example, were held up when it was pointed out that the Federal Government's complete responsibility for recruiting, training, and paying teachers for services in local school districts could lead to too much Federal interference at the municipal level. And, Congress changed its mind about appropriating money to supplement rent payments (and also 40-year home mortgages at 5¾ percent interest) when debate indicated that, under proposed regulations, some beneficiaries could be earning $10,000 a year and have up to $20,000 in assets.

We Republicans are in the minority—very definitely—but we have had varying degrees of success this session in our role as the loyal opposition. The greatest contribution that we were able to make was in the committees of Congress—here the spending was cut, the programs tightened up, and the role of private enterprise and the responsibilities of State and local governments recognized and defended.

Believe it or not, even after the rapid-fire lawmaking of the past session, there is still a backlog of unfinished business. The fight over repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act is yet to be settled. The proposal for an increased Federal minimum wage will be before the second session. Differences between House and Senate versions of the oceanography legislation must be ironed out. And we're likely to have a package of controversial new maritime legislation to consider. And much more.

A HOOVER COMMISSION FOR BETTER GOVERNMENT

High on my own priority list in 1966 will be a bill I have filed calling for a new Hoover Commission-type of study of the executive branch. The multilayered maze of interlocking and often overlapping Federal bureaus, agencies, departments, et cetera, et cetera, clearly needs an overhaul. I've mentioned before that 19 different agencies have a hand in the national oceanography program, with none having a controlling responsibility. This situation applies in other areas of Government, and the result can only be waste and inefficiency. There are no less than 42 bureaus involved in some aspect of education, for example. The situation in transportation is perhaps even worse. We have the amazing total of 296 Federal programs in the field of consumer protection—administered by some 33 separate agencies or bureaus.

A HUMAN INVESTMENT FOR BETTER JOBS

Next year I will also work for action on another bill I have sponsored—the Human Investment Act—which is based on an idea championed by Vermont's Senator PROUTY. This attacks the problem of a growing shortage of skilled workers by giving private companies the incentive to undertake their own training program, not through the creation of some new federally financed project. The incentive would be a tax credit for authorized apprenticeship and training advancement programs. This is a job that private industry is equipped to do, and one that it can do much better and cheaper than the Government.

Nationwide, about 4.5 percent of our labor force is unemployed. Experts tell us that such unemployment could be wiped out entirely if jobless men and women had the skills sought by industry. This legislation is a sound and practical way of developing those skills.

Safer and better harbors: Southeastern Massachusetts economy has been historically linked with the sea and the coastline. This is still true today with the increasing importance of fishing, boating, and tourism. I'm glad to report, therefore, that $1,377,000 of this year's rivers and harbors appropriation is earmarked for the 12th Congressional District.

Clevelanders Support H.R. 10518—Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, petitions in support of H.R. 10518 signed by thousands of Greater Clevelanders have been presented to me. The petition reads as follows:

PETITION TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 89TH CONGRESS

The present Federal minimum wage law is inadequate in meeting the needs of our times. The $1.25 minimum wage level is too low to provide a decent living standard at today's living costs; in addition, far too many workers remain beyond the protection of the law altogether. In order that

it may effectively do the job for which it was designed, and that it may make a substantial contribution in the national war on poverty, our minimum wage law must be brought up to date, and made more realistic in the light of today's living and working conditions.

To this end, we, the undersigned, urge passage of H.R. 10518, as reported by the Education and Labor Committee of the House of Representatives on August 3, 1965, to include an increase in the minimum wage, in steps, to $1.75 per hour, to include the addition of some 6½ million additional workers to the ranks of those protected by the law, and to include a percentage rise in minimum wage rates for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands to parallel the increase provided for mainland workers.

I have placed these petitions in the custody of the Clerk of the House of Representatives. I urge the leadership of the House to schedule H.R. 10518 for floor debate as early as possible in the next session.

The 20th Anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946 To Be Marked by All-Day Economic Symposium

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, February 20, 1966, marks the 20th anniversary of the enactment of the Employment Act of 1946, and several months ago a special committee of five distinguished economists from outside the Government was set up to formulate specific plans for a bipartisan observance of this occasion. Today, the Joint Economic Committee, which was created by the Employment Act of 1946, issued the following press release giving details of the program of activities that has been arranged to commemorate this event:

THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1964 TO BE MARKED BY ALL-DAY ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM

The four senior leaders of the Joint Economic Committee, in a bipartisan action, today announced plans for an economic symposium to be held February 23, 1966, to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the Employment Act of 1946. The plans for this occasion have been developed by a special five-man committee of distinguished economists whose appointment to plan and carry out an observance of this anniversary was announced recently by the committee. Today's announcement, like the preceding one, was made by Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee; Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, Republican, of New York, ranking minority member, Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, vice chairman; and Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, Republican, of Missouri, senior minority member from the House of Representatives.

The special committee, after extensive consultations with the Joint Economic Committee, the Council of Economic Advisers, and former members of both groups, and other interested parties, has arranged a program which includes morning, luncheon, and afternoon sessions of the symposium in the New Senate Office Building, and a reception and dinner at the Washington Hilton in the evening. The subjects to be discussed include: (1) The Employment Act objectives—after 20 years; (2) aggregative or structural approaches to achieving Employment Act objectives; (3) using fiscal and monetary policies to further Employment Act objectives; (4) sharing the increasing productivity of our economy in a manner consistent with Employment Act objectives; (5) administration of the Employment Act.

Each subject will be discussed by at least two persons who have had intimate experience and responsibility under the act during the past 20 years. Time has been allowed for audience participation.

Following the reception and dinner a summary of the day's symposium will be presented by the executive director of the Joint Economic Committee and discused by two ranking members of the committee and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. President Lyndon B. Johnson and former Presidents Dwight D. Eisenhower and Harry S. Truman have been invited to attend and participate. Details of the all-day program are attached.

The Joint Economic Committee plans to publish the proceedings. Copies will be sent to research groups and scholars with a request for their comments. The responses, along with other statements prepared by various groups on the occasion of the 20th anniversary, will be published as a followup volume to the proceedings.

The sessions will be open to the public. There will be no registration or admission charges, except for meals. Luncheon will be at the New Senate Office Building. The capacity of the room for the luncheon is limited to a maximum of 200, and tickets will be on a first-come, first-served basis. As soon as the capacity of the room has been sold out, the admission to the luncheon will be closed. Tickets will be $4. Tickets for the reception and dinner at the Washington Hilton will be $15. Requests for tickets for the luncheon as well as the reception and dinner should be sent to: Special Committee, room 908, Colorado Building, 14th and G Streets, NW., Washington, D.C. Checks should be made payable to: Special Committee on 20th Anniversary of the Employment Act.

The special committee chosen to plan and carry out the observance consists of Dr. Grover W. Ensley, chairman, now executive vice president of the National Association of Mutual Savings Banks and formerly executive director of the Joint Economic Committee from 1951–57 and associate director from 1949–51—serving under both Democratic and Republican leadership of the committee and the Congress; Dr. Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–64; Dr. Raymond J. Saulnier, professor of economics, Barnard College, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1956–61, and a member of the Council, 1955–56; Dr. Gerhard Colm, chief economist, National Planning Association, and a senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52; and Dr. Henry C. Wallich, professor of economics, Yale University, and a member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1959–61.

ECONOMIC SYMPOSIUM ON THE OCCASION OF THE 20TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1946

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 23, 1966

General chairman: Dr. Grover W. Ensley, executive director of the Joint Economic Committee, 1951–57, Associate Director, 1949–51.

Morning session, 9:30 a.m., New Senate Office Building

Introduction: Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee and member of the committee since 1946.

The Employment Act Objectives—After 20 Years

What was the original commitment of the Federal Government under the act? Has passage of time changed the consensus as to that commitment? Does the act give sufficient weight to stability of prices? What has been the effect of the Nation's international obligations on achievement of domestic economic goals?

Dr. Roy Blough, professor of international business, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1950–52.

Dr. Henry C. Wallich, professor of economics, Yale University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1959–61.

Aggregate or Structural Approaches To Achieving Employment Act Objectives

What does the act call for by way of economic analysis by Federal policymakers? Can goals and gaps be quantified or are qualitative factors more important? What weight should be given to aggregative or structural approaches?

Dr. Leon H. Keyserling, president, Conference on Economic Progress; Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1950–53; and Vice Chairman, 1946–50.

Dr. Arthur F. Burns, president, National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc.; Chairman, Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–56.

Luncheon session, 12 m., New Senate Office Building

Using Fiscal and Monetary Policies To Further Employment Act Objectives

What should be done about a Federal tax system with a capacity to produce increasing revenues in an expanding economy? What weights should be given to expanded Federal programs, tax reduction, debt retirement? What is the role of monetary policy in an expanding economy? How can fiscal and monetary policies contribute to economic stability in a period of mounting aggregative demand?

Dr. Walter W. Heller, professor of economics, University of Minnesota, and Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–64.

Dr. R. J. Saulnier, professor of economics, Barnard College, Columbia University, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1955; Chairman, 1956–61.

Afternoon session, 2:30 p.m., New Senate Office Building

Sharing the Increasing Productivity of Our Economy in a Manner Consistent With Employment Act Objectives

What is the effect of technological advances on the economy? What role—direct and indirect—should the Federal Government play with respect to distribution of income resulting from technological advances, e.g. wage-price guidelines, antitrust actions?

Dr. Kermit Gordon, vice president, the Brookings Institution, and members of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1961–62.

Dr. Paul W. McCracken, professor of business conditions, School of Business Administration, University of Michigan, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1956–59.

Administration of the Employment Act

What are the most constructive roles and relationships of the President, the Council of Economic Advisers, other executive agencies, the Joint Economic Committee, other committees, the Congress as a whole, and nongovernment groups.

Dr. Gerhard Colm, chief economist, National Planning Association, and senior staff member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52.

Mr. Bertram M. Gross, director, national planning studies, the Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University; executive secretary of

the Council of Economic Advisers, 1946–52; and staff adviser to congressional sponsors of the Employment Act of 1946.

Dr. Neil H. Jacoby, dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, and member of the Council of Economic Advisers, 1953–55.

Mr. John W. Lehman, regional director, bureau of Labor Statistics, and member of the staff of the Joint Economic Committee, 1947–62.

Questions and observations from the audience.

Recess: 5:30 p.m.

Reception and dinner, 7:00 p.m., the Washington Hilton

Greetings from Representative WRIGHT PATMAN, chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1946; and Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, ranking minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1959.

Messages from former President Harry S. Truman, who signed the Employment Act, February 20, 1946; former President Dwight D. Eisenhower; and President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Summary of symposium: Mr. James W. Knowles, executive director of the Joint Economic Committee from 1963 to present, and member of the staff of the committee since 1950.

Responses to summary: Senator PAUL H. DOUGLAS, vice chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1949; Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS, senior minority member of the Joint Economic Committee, and member of the committee since 1955; Dr. Gardner Ackley, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers from 1964 to present, and member of the Council since 1962.

My Experience With the Dispensing Physician

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Richard G. Cook, of Iola, Kans., has made available to me a most interesting and enlightening statement entitled "My Experience With the Dispensing Physician." It is based on his own experience. I am pleased to place the thesis in the RECORD in order to bring it to the attention of all my colleagues:

MY EXPERIENCE WITH THE DISPENSING PHYSICIAN

(By Richard G. Cook)

FOREWARD

I have been associated with the dispensing physician for many years. I have known the workings of their offices for a long while. I have tried to outline a few of the pitfalls of this type of practice as it affects me and will affect pharmacy before many more years. I believe that every word can be substantiated and can be verified if necessary. This subject is far too broad to be covered completely by me in writing. I will be most happy to answer questions about it at any time.

THESIS

Everyone is an authority about one subject or another, and usually the authority is someone that is connected or has been connected with a happening for some time. I claim to be an authority on the dispensing physician as the term applies to physicians in the Iola area and in some parts of the southeastern Kansas area. In order to make a thorough study of the dispensing physician, it is necessary to divide our study into several parts. Some will be repetitious of the other, but they will go hand in hand to make a complete picture as I have known it since childhood and how I have seen it grow and the pharmacist get smaller in stature. Let us first turn time back a bit and start prior to World War II.

In this time period, economic conditions had been bad after the prosperity of the twenties and during and after the great depression. Many local physicians dispensed their own drugs rather than write prescriptions, because they felt, or rather so they said, that this method was necessary for them to make a living. I believe some people believed this and even some pharmacists of my acquaintance. The doctor had the complete control of the patient; he examined, diagnosed, dispensed the medication, or had his assistant do the dispensing as he became busier. In doing this, he also found that all the accounts receivable on his books were not collectible and that some of his patients whom he had treated and cured, not only owed him for the treatment and his knowledge that he placed into play to heal them, but also for the medication that he supplied them, and he found that he could stand the loss of income from his knowledge, in part, but when they failed to pay him for the medicine he was actually losing money that he had invested in the medication. This fact brought some doctors to change their style and method, some became writers, as others were all over the country, and some decided to continue supplying both treatment and medication, thus taking the loss when it became necessary, and hoped that the profit would offset the loss. During World War II, the few doctors that were left were overworked, as there were not enough to take care of the people at home. In a case such as this you would think they would share part of their burden with the pharmacist rather than spend a great amount of their time delivering medicine instead of seeing more of the ill. This was not the case, and many became so entrenched in this system that they couldn't break the habit if they ever tried. This bit of history brings us to the time period after World War II and up to the present time.

The dispensing physician has a great many ways that he can dispense pills to his patients. Most of these men employ a woman or two that don a white dress and parade about like a registered nurse. They give shots, take blood pressure, and hand out pills. Some doctors allow the handing out of medicine whether they are in the office or not. They use the excuse that they keep an accurate card file and all the office girl has to do is refer to this card file and then do as the file indicates. Some, however, are more conscientious about their practice and insist that the office girls not hand out any pills when they are out of the office or out of town. Others use it as a way to have some income when they are out of town, either on a business or pleasure. One doctor once told my father, "I can have the girls sack 'em up while I am gone and she will take in $75 to $100 a day." Thank goodness all of them don't handle their practice in this manner.

Naturally the dispensing physician can make a little more money, if all of his accounts are good or at least a high percentage. He buys in great quantity from "generic-name houses" (50,000 tablets at a time). If this particular tablet is of a greater quantity than he needs, he splits with another of the dispensers and thus takes advantage of the price.

It is argumentative whether the doctor fits the medicine to the patients disease or the patient to the medicine on his shelf. The same man, up until a few years ago, prior to the great number of "generic-name houses" that make everything from Tetraclycline to aspirin, would dispense the inexpensive medicine and write prescriptions for the expensive such as achromycin, ilosone, furadantin, thorazine, and so forth. I have noticed that they still write for the more expensive drugs, and some are reluctant to get away from using strictly the cheaper common medicine.

I had an experience with an osteopath which should prove interesting. The patient had been getting at his office some prednisolone, 5 milligrams and had been getting these regularly for a period of time. One time when the patient needed the medicine, the doctor of osteopathy was out and he wrote a prescription. He first told the patient that the drugstore would probably have it, and if they did it would be quite a bit higher in price. The patient insisted that he get a prescription so the doctor obliged with the writing of the prescription, using metacortelone, 5 milligrams, on the prescription blank. When the prescription was filled, the patient felt that the price charged was much higher than he had been paying for the "same little yellow tablet." I had the patient get on the phone and call the doctor, asking if the pill he wrote for was the same as he had been supplying. I listened in on another phone and the doctor said this, "I told you it would be a lot higher over there." At this point I broke into the conversation and asked the doctor if he had been supplying Scherrings metacortelone or was he using someone else's. He told me that it wasn't Scherrings but it shouldn't make any difference. At this point, I thanked him for the information and hung up, the patient hearing both ends of the conversation. I had asked permission to use a cheaper prednisolone, 5 milligrams, and had gotten the doctor's OK. Then I filled the prescription and undersold the physician as much as I could.

Prescriptions from out-of-town doctors are a large percent of my business here in Iola. Over 40 percent of all of my private prescriptions are brought to me from out-of-town physicians. This percentage seems strange as we have seven M.D.'s and two D.O.'s in our town, all of whom dispense most of their medication except welfare. Some patients decide to try another doctor from out of town, and after having gone to him, and been examined, they feel pangs of guilt about sidetracking the family physician and they take their prescription to their hometown physician. This is bad for the druggist because the dispenser will take the prescriptions, fill what he can, and either say that they, the patient, really doesn't need all of them or will in turn write a prescription for the medicine he didn't have until he can get some of if it is something he will not use much of, he will let the druggest take the risk on having the part of bottle left over. In either case, I don't believe the druggist gets a fair chance at them and there is no way to fight it. Last year, I filled a prescription from a local doctor, one of four that the patient had taken to the doctor from the doctor in Kansas City. He supplied the other three, the druggest got to supply the odd one that had to be ordered.

The prices of a dispensers medicine is not something that is easy to put one's finger on. They vary and I must admit, in some instances are consistent with the ability of the patient to pay. I have had patients show me small envelopes of phenobarbital in all sizes and colors that range from $1 for 30 up to $4.50 for 30. Some sell only in 100's of certain medicines. There prices are usually higher than they are in the drugstore. Some examples of over-the-counter items sold by dispensers in the area are as

follows. I will list the OTC price and then the price I can prove a dispenser charged for the same thing.

Item	Drugstore price	Dispenser
Casyllium, 8 oz	$2.55	$4.00
Vidaylin drops, 30 cc	2.29	3.50
Vi-Mix drops, 30 cc	2.34	4.00
Gelusil liquid, 12 oz	1.49	3.00
Maalox liquid, 12 oz	1.57	3.00

These are just a few and used only to illustrate a point. I do not say that all drugstore prices are fair and just but I do believe they are more in line than the ones listed above.

The druggist's image is further lowered because the only prescriptions written by most of our doctors are for expensive medicine. The patient brings the prescription to the drugstore and finds that they are charged $5 or $6 or more for just a few pills or capsules, and never gets anything for $1 or $1.25 from the druggist. Naturally, the question would be asked, "Why is everything so high at the drugstore?" The answer is obvious but most difficult to explain to a patient.

Just recently I have had a doctor who had switched mostly to prescribing, change back, his reason when asked was that drugs cost too much, not just here but all over the country. This statement is probably true as he is using a lot more expensive drugs than he did 20 years ago, as there are more available and the job that they do is much superior to the job they did 20 years ago. I believe that there was another factor, different than this and different than the idea that the druggist was making all of the money.

This newly introduced factor is the one where the physician owns a pharmacy or a pharmacist as is the case in Yates Center, which I will relate now. Dr. X came to Yates Center, Kans., a few years ago and set up shop. The towns people were most anxious to have him come as the only doctors they had were old and not long for this world. Dr. X moved in, set up shop, hired a couple of office girls, and went to work. In no time at all he was in the healing and dispensing business in a big way. He introduced his own numbering system so that the patient could bring the bottle back to the office for a refill just like the drugstore. In no time at all, he had more prescriptions in his file than Pharmacist Y who had been in business for 40 years. You see, the old doctors had been dispensers and Pharmacist Y hadn't been allowed to fill many prescriptions in the years gone by. In fact I believe Pharmacist Y had forgotten that he was supposed to fill prescriptions. When the new doctor moved to town, Pharmacist Y did what he could for him, but the new doctor said that Pharmacist Y wasn't available when he needed him. Consequently, he had to introduce this new system. As the story goes, dispensing got to be so good that Dr. X brought a pharmacist to Kansas from Oklahoma, our board licensed him and now he can fill Dr. X's prescriptions. I must admit at this point that it is a better way than having some housewife in a white dress do it. The primary reason Dr. X made this move was because the way that the new welfare machinery is set up, he can't get paid for medicine if there is a druggist available. Dr. X couldn't get a cut from the druggist that was available so he brought his own in.

I have told the above story in order to relate a point. My doctor who has suddenly decided to dispense again, is a good friend of Dr. X, and now has his own numbering set up for bottles he dispenses. The welfare part does not apply here as he sees very few welfare people. This type of operation, the numbering system, still hasn't been accepted by the other dispensers. They still just write the name on a card and when the patient comes back, they ask them which color the pill was and supply it from there. I am sure that this idea will spread like cancer to all dispensers of medicine.

My last example is what happens when a patient insists on getting a prescription. Some will, after much deliberation and discussion, concede and give them a prescription. Others will be most emphatic about not letting their patient have a prescription. This last example happened when an aunt of my pharmacist asked her doctor for a prescription of dartal with phenobarbital. Her husband had been taking these for a few months and took two daily, the doctor sold her nine for $1. She asked me what the price would be if she could get a prescription from her doctor, and if she did she would get one for a hundred tablets. I priced them to her at the same price that we would sell them to anyone else. She related this to her doctor when she asked him for a prescription and he said that he could sell them as cheap as I could so she should find out my price and he would sell them for the same. She told me about her conversation with her doctor and I priced them to her at cost and told her to tell him what my price was and see if he would meet it. I felt that my cost would be a little lower than his and hoped that if he stuck by his guns, he would lose money on each sale. I have known him for years and knowing the way he loves the buck, this would probably cause a coronary faster than anything I could do. I don't believe it affected him as I have not heard from the lady as to the outcome of her last visit with him. He, no doubt, is selling her at my figure, or found through extensive study that her husband needed a different medication.

I wish that I could reason the whys and wherefores of the situation here in Iola. To my knowledge, we have never shot at anyone of the doctors here, we haven't stolen from any of them, nor have we been at war with them. We do not counter prescribe to any great extent. We usually send patients to the doctor of their choice if asked for guidance. In most cases, we have always been friendly to them and worked with them, rather than aaginst them. It is beyond my comprehension as to what started it and why it continues. It puts the pharmacist at a great disadvantage as he can't fill as many prescriptions as he would like to, therefore, he must occasionally order drugs that should be in stock, but because of lack of demand and expense of the tablets, must order rather than stock.

The dispensing doctor will fit the patient to his shelf stock rather than maybe using something that would speed recovery and save them loss of time at work. He employs a housewife or single girl, with a high school education, enlists her in the Medical Assistants Society of Kansas, places her in a white dress, allow her to wear an obscure pin that has a combination of a Caduceus, a registered nurse emblem, a pharmacist emblem, some Latin, and very medical in looks. He can pay this lady from $40 upward per week and make much money on her talents. A pharmacist on the other hand must pay another pharmacist if he wants to be away from his store, to cover for him, fill all prescriptions, handle all medicines, or he must lock his doors when he is away. The price of a pharmacist is not unreasonable and my complaint doesn't start here. My complaint is that by law all prescriptions must be filled by a registered pharmacist. Why then can a doctor have a lady in white fill his prescriptions and call it legal? If this trend is not stopped, we must all look for work in the future, as the need for pharmacists, not tied to a doctor's pocketbook, is fast diminishing. The statistics on doctor-owned pharmacists, and dispensing housewives must be appalling. Is there anything we can do to stop this?

A Review by Paul Brindel of the Book "Public Regulation of the Religious Use of Land," by James E. Curry, From the Notre Dame Lawyer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in the June 1965 issue of the Notre Dame Lawyer there appeared a book review, by Mr. Paul Brindel, of the first legal text of its kind, "Public Regulation of the Religious Use of Land," by James E. Curry, of the Washington, D.C., bar.

Mr. Brindel notes that the book is basically a historical and critical analysis of the approximately 100 cases concerning attempts to regulate the religious use of land. Mr. Brindel refers to the book as a monumental work and one of substantial significance as a future point of reference for county, city, town, and village planning commissions and their professional planning staffs across the country.

Under unanimous consent I include this review in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point:

"PUBLIC REGULATION OF THE RELIGIOUS USE OF LAND" BY JAMES E. CURRY (CHARLOTTESVILLE, VA., THE MICHIE CO., 1964, P. XXII, 429, $12.50)

(Book review by Paul Brindel)

This is the first definitive work of its kind, "a historical and critical analysis, in more-than-usual depth, of approximately 100 cases in which attempts to regulate the religious use of land have resulted in court decisions published in the official reports." The preface continues: "So far as I know, no previous author has tried to bring so much of this material together. Because church and church school zoning cases are not usually classified as such in the various legal encyclopedias, digests, etc., that legal writers use as 'casefinders,' there is no certainty that I have found them all. If any are omitted they may be included in supplements."

This book has been long needed. The author reminds us: "Church construction is big business (over a billion dollars in 1960). As the number of new churches increased after 1949, so did the number of church zoning cases. There also ensued a heightened realization on the part of judges of the need for redefining the relative rights of churches and municipalities with respect to the control of religious land use."

It was only 39 years ago that the first comprehensive municipal zoning ordinance was given validity by the Supreme Court of the United States in *Village of Euclid* v. *Ambler Realty Co.* In this "cornerstone of modern land use zoning," the Court did not pass directly on the validity of the sections excluding churches, but it did note their existence. Comments the author:

"If the exclusion of churches from residential districts was as evil as the New York City planners of 1916 thought, the Supreme

Court passed up an ideal opportunity to say so.

"In spite of this early record, there has been what almost seems like a campaign of learned articles to convince lawyers and the courts that any exclusion of churches from a residential area is ipso facto invalid."

In 1949 came the now famous Porterville Mormon case, which was denied a review by the Supreme Court of the United States. This was the first, and remains the only church zoning decision which sustained total exclusion of churches from residential zones by express provision, rather than by indirection through the use of such arguments as inadequate parking facilities, alleged discrimination and balancing of conveniences.

"This milestone in the development of church zoning law," as the author terms it, continues to influence the courts of California and other States. Of nine California cases covered in this book, only three were decided in favor of religious appellants. One of these was the epochal Piedmont school case which invoked the 1925 United States Supreme Court's decision in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*. "The Piedmont case may have pointed the way to future determination based on religious liberty rather than property rights," comments the author.

What of the future as county, city, town and village planning commissions, and their professional planning staffs in nearly every State, come up with "master plans" and initiate restrictive ordinances as to the sale of property, number of a householder's pets, limitation of paying guests, and what not? Few of these planners have any legal training, yet often they act in a quasi-judicial capacity. The author warns, "Religious liberty, which is largely an individual right, must be carefully distinguished from the special status that some courts have bestowed on churches in consideration of the great public service they render."

And he closes with this constructive note:

"The trend of future restrictive legislation depends on the success of voluntary action. If developers can be induced to provide suitable church sites in new subdivisions, and if church planners and church administrators choose and use sites carefully, with full regard for protection of the public interest, public action will be limited. If voluntary action is lacking, or inadequate, there will be increasing pressure for public controls."

This monumental work is more than the years of research of one man. Two pages list those to whom the author acknowledges deepest gratitude. The bibliography—books, periodicals, articles, public addresses and authors—covers seven pages. Cases are cross indexed as to religious denominations (21 Catholic, 17 Jewish, 13 Jehovah's Witnesses, etc., State municipalities, and case titles. A chronological index starts with the Holy Bible, Magna Carta, and St. Thomas More, and concludes with eleven 1962 entries. In fact, the author believes that "Utopia" may be the first book on city planning.

Behind the Headlines

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN A. RACE

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, an incisive observation on the pacificist demonstrations was eloquently expressed in an editorial, "Behind the Headlines," in the current issue of the Machinist publication.

For those who wish to have a clearer understanding of the significance of these demonstrations, I commend this editorial and include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Union members have reason to be puzzled by the pacifist demonstrations of the past fortnight.

We are not surprised that some college students are able to demonstrate how little they have learned about the world they live in.

We know that many young people grow through a period of rebellion. In college, some of them become political proteges of older faculty members, who should know better. Others, we suspect, are victimized by Communist agents.

We have confidence that the authorities have both the wit and the will to deal intelligently with those who are responsible.

The cause of our puzzlement is not the demonstrators, but the attention they get in the newspapers and on radio and TV. Small wonder that Hanoi and Peiping are saying that the U.S. Government is about to fall.

The newspaper editors know that even if all the college students in the country agreed with the demonstrators, they would represent less than 3 percent of the American people. And most students don't even vote yet.

The editors also know that the overwhelming majority of young Americans, out of college as well as in, are patriotic and loyal 100 percent against the spread of communism. Lump all the demonstrators together, the pro-Russian Communists, the pro-Chinese Communists, the Socialists, the pacificists, the nonresistors, the beatniks, and they represent less than 1 percent of the college students—a few thousand in a nation of 200 million people.

We have to remind ourselves that it is because they are a small, freakish group that the newspapers give them attention and big headlines. The American press is most interested in what is sensational, what is exciting, what is unusual—the oddballs, the freaks. That's what makes news in this country.

Somehow, editors are not interested, for example, when 60,000 union Yankees, speaking through the New England Conference of Machinists, show that they know something about communism. The recent New England IAM Conference, like most union meetings these days, adopted a resolution praising President Johnson for his policies in southeast Asia and called for full support of the American troops in Vietnam.

You didn't read about it because the editors know that is the way most Americans feel. It isn't news that adult Americans know which side their liberties depend on. We can only hope that Hanoi and Peiping also understand the American press.

Baltimore Boy Given New Opportunity Through Job Corps

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SAMUEL N. FRIEDEL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRIEDEL. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of O'Neil Leroy Costley, of Baltimore, Md.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the Management and Engineering Services Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source."

Mr. Speaker, I believe this account merits the attention of my colleagues and I include the article in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neil Leroy Costley, 18, of Balitmore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21, of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talents, self-confidence, and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EFFECTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started to work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the Management and Engineering Service Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand, and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plush Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years, but we're in no hurry."

Three trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour dur-

ing a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the District, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He's general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball than I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quit school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph. D from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and eight who are attending college on scholarships, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Alabama, where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bull-headed. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the ninth grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Personal Explanation

SPEECH

OF

HON. DONALD RUMSFELD

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, on six occasions during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, rollcall votes developed at a time when it was necessary for me to be out of town. Had I been present, I would have voted as indicated below:

On rollcall No. 7, motion to recommit House Joint Resolution 234, supplemental agriculture appropriations, to bar the use of funds to finance exports of agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 196, motion to recommit H.R. 8283, Economic Opportunity Act amendments, to delete provisions for review of Governors' vetoes of projects and reduce authorization of funds to current level, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 246, motion to recommit H.R. 10586, supplemental appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare, I would have voted "nay."

On rollcall No. 249, final passage of H.R. 2580, Immigration and Nationality Act amendments, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 253, final passage of H.R. 9022, elementary and secondary school aid in areas affected by major disasters, I would have voted "yea."

On rollcall No. 259, final passage of H.R. 5863, high speed ground transportation research, I would have voted "yea."

For Shame, Jim Farley

SPEECH

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, former Postmaster General James Farley, who is now chairman of the board of the Coca Cola Export Co., may have a remarkable memory for faces but his judgment clearly "ain't" what it used to be.

The thought comes to mind in reading over his recent pronouncement in my hometown of Omaha that today's postal employees are not as dedicated as they were in his time.

Addressing the National Association of Postmasters, he was quoted as saying:

Prior to and during the time I was head of the Department, we had excellent postal employees. But times have changed, and the employees today are not as dedicated as they were then, despite attempts made by the postmasters.

Whether he was shooting from the hip, voicing a considered judgment, or merely pandering to his audience, Mr. Farley is guilty of trying to indict a whole body of Federal employees.

As a student of politics, Mr. Farley has forgotten the immortal words of Edmund Burke, some 200 years ago, who told Parliament:

I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.

His ill-considered statement indeed has evoked resentment throughout the postal service, as well it should, for it constitutes in fact an irresponsible slander against the motivations of half a million postal employees. Perhaps, as the official organ of the United Federation of Postal Clerks observed editorially this month, Mr. Farley had one coca cola too many. In any case his statement cannot be permitted to stand unchallenged.

George A. Bang, an Omaha letter carrier for the last 36 years and a national officer of the National Association of Letter Carriers, stated:

Speaking on behalf of the Omaha and Nebraska letter carriers and all letter carriers in the Nation, I must say that we were terribly hurt and chagrined at the statement made in the October 10 issue of the Omaha World Herald wherein former Postmaster General James Farley was quoted as saying "that postal employees today are not as dedicated as they were then." Insofar as I am concerned the current letter carriers are truly dedicated and loyal members of the Post Office family.

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee for 9 years, I think I know something about the problems, the aspirations and, yes, the dedication of today's postal employees as they go about their daily business of moving 70 billion pieces of mail—a volume more than double what it was in Mr. Farley's time although the total number of employees is not very much greater. These two facts, in themselves, tell us much about the productivity of today's employees compared with those of a quarter century ago.

Let Mr. Farley tell us how this amazing increase in the per capita productivity of individual employees has been achieved without dedication—if he can.

I will not argue, of course, that there are not a few time servers or deadbeats in the ranks of postal employees any more than we can say that there are no deadbeats or time servers in the ranks of any craft or profession—including ex-politicians and the Coca Cola Co. But if they were not a tiny minority, as they are in all crafts and professions, how would the work of the Nation ever be accomplished whether it is moving the mail or growing food or building automobiles or providing the myriad services that have made our society the richest and most efficient on earth?

The real wonder in the postal service is that there is so much dedication among so many employees considering the disadvantages in wages and working conditions under which most of them are required to function.

In Mr. Farley's day, not because of him, but due to the general economic conditions of the time, the wages and working conditions of postal and other Federal employees were by and large far superior to equivalent jobs in private industry. World War II changed all that. Yet postal workers stuck to their dedicated tasks when most of their friends and neighbors moved into the shipyards and great defense factories at wages far more attractive and rewarding.

Postal employees have been trying to catch up ever since.

Even with the latest postal pay increase, enacted a few days ago by Congress which included—for the first time in history—overtime pay for thousands of postal employees who have never before received a penny of overtime, al-

though they have been working 50, 60, 70, and even 80 hours a week, the Nation's postal clerks and letter carriers are still substantially below the income levels of workers in private industry. These are facts which Mr. Farley's offhand views cannot alter or erase.

There have been changes since Mr. Farley's long ago day but they are not in the hearts and minds of our postal employees.

The changes have been in the degree of automation being developed with little or no concern for the future of the men and women who are being displaced.

The changes have been in the attitude of postal management which, more and more, has placed emphasis on costs rather than public services.

The changes have been in dubious new patterns of mail distribution which have sought to replace human skills and human hands with an alphabet soup of ZIP codes and stopwatch measuring techniques like the hated work measurement system and by POMSIP, ABCD, VIMS, and other methods of trying to wring an extra ounce of standardized work out of men and women regardless of the God-given diversity of human beings.

Yet with all of the difficulties brought on by change and growth, the one continuing thread has been the very dedication of employees which Mr. Farley professes to find lacking.

I suggest to Mr. Farley that he read some of the essays produced a couple of years ago by more than 600 postal clerks from every State in the Union as part of the national essay contest sponsored by the United Federation of Postal Clerks on the broad question of why they found fulfillment in their jobs.

Three eminent Washington newspapermen who judged that contest each wrote later public tributes of their own to the astonishing level of dedication revealed in the avalanche of responses.

I commend to Mr. Farley the winning entry penned by a 26-year-old San Francisco postal clerk of Chinese ancestry, Mr. Robert David Wong, which reads as follows:

It is not the thought of being a public servant in a Government postal installation as much as it is the chance and privilege of serving others through my job as a postal clerk.

It is the knowledge that what I am doing is essential to the happiness and well-being of my community and my Nation—for to millions joy is imparted each day through letters they received from friends and loved ones who wrote a thought, and in faith, placed a postage stamp on an envelope—which eventually passed through my hands and on its way.

It is the assurance that these letters will reach their destination; for somewhere, a letter of my own is intermingled within millions of parts of machinery and of human hands—and I am confident that this combination of automation and the untiring efforts of the human heart—working together—will bring the mail to its goal.

It is the way of life that I have chosen for mine own. As the privilege of voting is inseparable from a democratic government, so also is my indisputable right to voice my thoughts through my postal union, and through its legislations, better my working conditions, benefit from health and sickness insurance plans, receive reasonable living wages, as well as representation that will continually seek to further my welfare while I am serving the public.

It is a warm feeling to know that as a postal clerk I am doing my duty well, and through faithfulness excel. In giving a part of myself, I am doing the best I can—I am being a good and useful citizen—I am serving my fellow man.

For shame, Mr. Farley.

Rent Supplement Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES HARVEY
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, the rent supplement program, once characterized as a "dead horse" during House debate, will apparently be at the starting gate and off and running when the 2d session of the 89th Congress convenes on January 10.

Personally, I welcome the special emphasis which has been placed on the proposed program by the President and the administration's announced intention to seek $30 million to start the program early next year through another supplemental money bill.

If there is a genuine effort by the administration, the next 10 weeks can be used wisely in establishing a case for this program. It is a legislative matter that can be considered quickly by the Congress.

In this review of congressional action and events concerning the rent subsidy program, which generated so much debate and, unfortunately, some harsh and bitter words as Congress refused to appropriate contract authority funds in the 1966 supplemental appropriation bill, I would respectfully suggest that the administration carefully consider the words of chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations the gentleman from Texas, GEORGE H. MAHON. The following quotation of Congressman MAHON'S can be found on page 26863 of the October 21, 1965, CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

This conference bill eliminates the rent supplement item put in by the other body, but language is contained in the statement of the managers stating that this is done without prejudice to the program. However, the program had been launched under such an ill omen it became necessary to call a halt, because the administrator of the agency had indicated the announcement and the promulgation of rules and regulations which were abhorrent to many Members of Congress, many of whom were strong supporters of the rent supplement program.

It is true when he observed that he was running against the wishes of the Congress he came to Capitol Hill with a series of letters saying, in effect, "I am sorry, we will change this," and he then offered a different type of proposition than had previously been offered, but a man convinced against his will is somewhat of the same opinion still, and we felt it was wise to take a little time to digest this program and let the agency come up with regulations and let us see with our own eyes what the regulations will be before we take action. If there is anything wrong or illogical with that approach, I fail to see it. This is not a repudiation by this body, it is not a veto of the program. It is an action in good commonsense under the circumstances.

Mr. Speaker, the real issue, which still must be resolved, is whether the HHFA will develop and present reasonable evidence that it intends to comply with intent of Congress; namely, that the rent subsidy program be limited to low income groups having an income less than that prescribed for public housing under the Public Housing Act of 1937—title I, section 101(c)(1).

From the time that the President submitted his housing message to Congress last March, his proposal to inaugurate a multibillion-dollar Federal rent subsidy program has been under fire. I can recall that, during our several weeks of testimony before the Housing subcommittee, even stalwart friends of the administration, both inside and outside of Congress, were openly skeptical with regard to this proposal. When the omnibus housing bill reached the floor of the House last June the issue of rent subsidies completely dominated the debate for three full afternoons. At the time, there was not a single objective veteran Washington observer who did not report that the rent subsidy proposal, as reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee, was in deep trouble. In fact, it was facing nearly certain House defeat. Only after a last-minute floor amendment by the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. STEPHENS], limiting the program's benefits to families below public housing income limits, did the House approve the proposal by a slim 6-vote margin. We should recall at this point that this last-minute change on the floor of the House had never been discussed in committee, thereby creating a situation where a majority of the Members of the House were not at all certain as to precisely the nature of that which they had agreed to accept.

In all fairness to those who voted for rent supplements last June, I feel certain most thought that they had some fairly certain idea of the maximum income limits of families eligible for rent subsidies. On the other hand, those of us who opposed this last-minute amendment warned that entirely too much discretion was being left in the hands of housing agency officials and that Congress, in effect, was approving a concept, while permitting the HHFA to do the actual legislating through regulations.

Then on September 28, the Housing Agency released its rent supplement regulations. When I reviewed these regulations I was disturbed at what I saw. Among other things, they made it clear that the Federal Government was willing to subsidize up to 70 percent of monthly rental payments for families earning at least the maximum allowable under public housing regulations. Superimposed on this was the revelation that elderly or handicapped families could have net assets three times the maximum family income limits, with nonelderly families limited to net assets of twice these same

maximum family income limits. Nowhere in the regulations, however, was it spelled out for Members of Congress precisely the dollars and cents limits of these public housing income limits. Nor did the regulations indicate the mortgage limits for the units to be occupied by rent subsidy families. Again we were told that these would be supplied at a later date.

Without going into further details in describing the September 28 rent subsidy regulations, it is only fair to recall that these were not available to most Members until 20 days after the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Independent Offices had held its hearings in considering the administration request for an initial first-year $30 million funding for rent supplements. The Appropriations Committee did not have the needed information contained in these regulations with which to constructively question housing officials during the hearings.

The House Appropriations Committee cut the $30 million contract authority request back to $6 million. On the theory that this program needed further study and that if once it received even a token appropriation it would be off and winging for 40 years, I offered an amendment on the floor to delete the $6 million. This amendment carried by a 23-vote margin with nearly as many Democrats as Republicans voting in support of it—99 Republicans and 86 Democrats. I do not think there is any doubt whatsoever that the House action reflected general disenchantment with the September 28 regulations and that most members thought that the intent of Congress had been grossly violated.

When I offered my amendment to strike out the funds for this program on October 14, I emphasized that it was not my motive to kill the program. The sum of $170,000, later increased to about $450,000, was left in specifically for the administration of the rent supplement program, under section 101, so that the Housing and Home Finance Agency would have the money to proceed and to continue to work on regulations.

I also added:

I had not intended to speak on this subject again this year for, very frankly, I believed the question of rent supplements was fully debated over a period of 3 days during the month of June. It was a good debate. It was a fair debate.

My only concern, my only intent—and it remains so today—is that this program should be for the low-income groups, a program for the poor people of America that it was purported to be when it was authorized by the House of Representatives last June.

When on the next to the last day prior to adjournment the Senate-House conferees on the supplemental appropriations bill agreed to comply with the House position in denying contract authority funds for rent supplements, they did so with the apparent support of a vast majority of the conference committee, controlled by a 17-to-8 margin by members of the majority party. It is in this environment that the President issued on the following day, October 22, his blistering indictment of a Congress that otherwise gave him nearly all he asked for. The President blamed defeat of funds for rent subsidies on what he termed "propaganda of fear and mistrust" and "false propaganda and misrepresentation." The President also declared that "cynicism and self-interest preyed on fear of the new and imaginative" and that the "old voices of doubt and misunderstanding were raised once more.

I have recently taken the liberty of writing a personal letter to the President in an attempt to better relate exactly what took place and why. In particular, I stressed the excellent statement by Mr. MAHON which is included earlier in this report. Further, I emphasized that if HHFA submits a revised set of regulations limiting rent subsidies to the needy, as authorized by Congress, a new, more reasonable approach would not only have my support but that of an overwhelming majority of Members.

With regard to the charges of "false propaganda and misrepresentation," I would point out that during the October 14 debate not a single Member of Congress disputed the facts that I revealed with regard to the maximum income limits and other matters covered in the September 28 HHFA regulations.

Certainly, I would be the first to concede that the administration did not envision that the majority of rent supplement families would be earning $8,100, with $25,000 assets living in four-bedroom apartments with as few as four children. But we should keep in mind that these unrealistic limitations were inserted in the regulations and that in the face of the nationwide controversy over the rent supplement program, the better part of valor would have been for the Housing Agency to have drafted more reasonable and defensible income and asset limitations. On the other hand, in view of the sharp debate over rent subsidies,I feel certain the HHFA must have thought that what some of us regarded as being unrealistic limitations were, in fact, needed in order to make the program work.

With this in mind, it is interesting to recall that on several occasions during the past year the Housing Administrator, Dr. Weaver, admitted that this program would not work for low-income families. It was he, not opponents of the program, who said to a Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce audience shortly after the authorization bill passed that a nonprofit or limited-dividend organization would have to have "a heart of gold or a head of lead" to participate in this program if it were limited to low-income families. To his credit, Dr. Weaver, throughout the year, has never backed down from his original premise that rent subsidies could not be effectively implemented unless such payments were directed at families above the public housing income range. I do not think it would be idle speculation to assume that the September 28 regulations reflected these sentiments when they greatly exceeded what most Members of Congress thought they had voted for.

Now is there any need for this alleged mass confusion to have arisen with regard to the maximum family income limitation under the proposed rent subsidy program? Section 101 of Public Law 89–117 stated clearly that the recipients were "to have an income below the maximum amount which can be established in the area, pursuant to the limitations prescribed in section 2(2) and 15(7)(b)(ii) of the U.S. Housing Act of 1937, for occupancy in public housing dwellings." I submit that the HHFA in its regulations could have advised Members of Congress precisely what these maximum income ranges were. Within a few days, data could have been developed by the HHFA which would have specified these maximum income limits in communities where there are existing public housing authorities. We have never seen a complete list of these family income ranges. I do know, however, that Marie McGuire, Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, stated during our subcommittee hearings that the maximum net family income range for public housing in New York City was $8,100.

I have written to Dr. Weaver wherein I specifically ask for such a list. If this is supplied, then maybe for the first time since this issue began, all Members of Congress will have some idea of the maximum income limitations under the President's proposed rent subsidy program.

In light of all the circumstances surrounding this controversy, I must confess that I have to agree with President Johnson when he said that "the old forces of doubt and misunderstanding were raised once more." However, the doubt and misunderstanding that I refer to was initiated and generated completely within the Housing Agency and not on the floor of the House or Senate.

Where does this leave us now? I think there can be little doubt that the Congress, in refusing to appropriate funds for rent subsidies, made clear its intention and demand that, once and for all, the Housing Agency set forth a complete set of regulations before any funds are forthcoming. During the House floor debate there was absolutely no confusion over the intent of my amendment to strike the $6 million contract authority appropriation. Ample funds for developing new and more reasonable regulations were left intact.

If, on the other hand, the administration insists upon ignoring Congress' desire to become better acquainted with the broad outlines of this program, then I think there can be no doubt whatsoever that rent subsidies will confront the same difficulties next year that it faced during the first session of Congress.

Speaking for myself, I have the utmost confidence in the commonsense of the American people when this issue is brought before them for their judgment. I am convinced beyond any reasonable doubt that our citizens will reject any multibillion-dollar, 40-year, Federal rent subsidy program directed to families whose incomes center around or exceed the median family income in the United States.

Such adjectives as "collectivist," "radical," and "socialistic," in describing this program, did not originate with

me or those Members who opposed this program. These were words used by such widely read and respected news columnists as Arthur Krock of the New York Times, Stewart Alsop, of the Saturday Evening Post, and Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, of Publisher Newspaper Syndicate in their honest interpretations of President Johnson's rent subsidy proposal.

In conclusion, may I call your attention to the following two articles from the New York Times and the Wall Street Journal, which very accurately describe the situation which brought about the final defeat of the rent subsidy appropriation:

[From the New York Times]

BLOCKING THE RENT SUPPLEMENT

(By Arthur Krock)

WASHINGTON.—Of all the President's Great Society programs, his rent supplement proposal was the most vulnerable to the objection that it adopts a basic theory of modern socialism. But this concept, that the national income should be allocated by Government action to assure an equitable sharing of its benefits, was only one of the causes of the refusal by Congress to start the program with an appropriation for the first year.

There was an intense dislike in Congress of the principle inherent in a proposal that part of the rent of low-income groups for improved housing should be financed out of general tax revenues. To some Members this undermines the incentive of individuals to better themselves by their own efforts, a traditionally American economic philosophy. To others it was an unconstitutional penalty imposed on honest achievement in a free enterprise society, and a bonus for shiftlessness and other defects of individual character.

WELFARE STATISM

But this country has moved so far toward becoming a collectivist, welfare state by its political decisions since the reelection of President Eisenhower that it required more than the extreme expression of collectivism in the rent supplement measure to block it in Congress. And by the same token the block may prove to have been only a postponement when the question of financing the proposal recurs at the next session. This will happen as a matter of routine, because Congress has already authorized an appropriation to begin it.

WEAVER'S ERROR

This appropriation was denied the President at the current session because the Federal Housing Administrator, Robert C. Weaver, made several grave tactical errors which, superimposed on the burden the project already carried as clearly socialistic in concept, proved too heavy for it to bear. In advance of action by the House Appropriations Committee, he prepared administrative regulations for the program that could be and were successfully attacked on the following grounds:

1. The criteria listed as determinants whether a rent supplemental project would be approached included "full consideration of its contribution to assisting in integrating income groups and furthering the legal requirements and objectives of equal opportunity in housing." In other words, the program was to be used, beyond its stated legislative purpose as housing assistance to low-income groups, as an economic club to compel racial integration.

2. The regulations were so loosely drawn as to support the charge of critics that a family with a net income of $25,000 a year could qualify for a rent subsidy; and a family with four children could be subsidized for occupancy of a four-bedroom apartment.

3. The text of the regulations was withheld from the House Appropriations Committee by Weaver until 20 days after the ending of its hearing on the measure.

4. The regulations failed to set a mortgage limitation on rent supplemental projects. Hence, Congress was left in the dark as to the type of units which would be built with its appropriation.

These aspects of the regulations left them wide open to effective attack from supporters of the proclaimed objective of the legislation—to help the poor get decent housing—as well as from Members of Congress who oppose its basic political philosophy.

The only appropriation in furtherance of the rent supplement that Congress retained is $450,000 for replanning of the operation by Weaver, and for redrafting the administrative regulations,. But this itself is evidence that Congress has not yet rejected the basic concept of the legislation. When the next session assembles in January 1966, there will first be a request from the President for an appropriation for the remainder of the fiscal year with which the Housing Administration can enter into contracts for rent supplement units. The President announced today, somewhat defiantly, that he would ask the full $30 million authorized for the first fiscal year, though the fiscal year will then be half over. If Congress supplies the $6 or $8 million now indicated, the program will be underway. And a Presidential request for second-year appropriation of $75 million or more can then be confidently expected, with good prospects of approval at least in part.

HOW MUCH SOCIALISM?

Therefore, while the President has suffered a sharp setback in the refusal of Congress at this session to give him starting funds for the project, he has not yet suffered defeat. What finally happens will depend to a large extent on whether a majority of Congress, particularly the large Democratic majority in the House, will risk the venture of a socialist program in a general election year.

That the venture is an extreme socialistic concept is implicit in a story told by Marshal Montgomery, of Alamein, of an exchange he once had with Marshal Stalin. Asked by Montgomery for a statement of the difference between Russian communism and Western socialism, Stalin explained that under Soviet communism everyone contributes according to his abilities and receives according to his needs, whereas under democratic socialism the receiver shares according to his merit. "Then you haven't a Communist state in the U.S.S.R.," said Montgomery. "Not yet," said Stalin. "There is only one nation which could afford it—the United States of America."

[From the Wall Street Journal]

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORITY GIVES CONGRESS CHANCE TO REVIEW GREAT SOCIETY IN 1966

(By Arlen J. Large)

WASHINGTON.—It would be a serious distortion of events to dwell too heavily on the rent subsidy defeat suffered by President Johnson in the last hours of the congressional session. Denial of subsidy funds in the final appropriation bill stands out starkly against a landscape of year-long revolutionary lawmaking. In terms of important legislative tonnage, the 1st session of the 89th Congress was all it has been cracked up to be.

Yet the rent subsidy incident is worth special study as a specimen of next year's possible lawmaking trends. Right now, anyway, everyone says the 1966 session will be different: It will be time to digest the Great Society just wolfed down whole. Things may not turn out that way, of course. New racial emergencies or foreign crises could require continued full-throttle production; what L.B.J. regards as a bland 1966 legislative diet may seem strong spice to others.

But Congress is leaving town now with the expectation that next year's session will be confined mainly to polishing up its 1965 handiwork. On the House Education and Labor Committee, Representative EDITH GREEN, Democrat, of Oregon, plans to birddog the efficiency with which the Office of Education deploys its multibillion-dollar array of new school aids. Chairman PATMAN, Democrat, of Texas, of the Joint House-Senate Economic Committee is getting ready for an ambitious survey of the Great Society as a whole; his staff of professional economists hopes, among other things, to concoct long-range cost projections of Uncle Sam's new activities.

THE MARCH TO CAPITOL HILL

This kind of function is known as congressional oversight, a jargon term for riding herd on the executive branch. And one of the most important mechanisms for overseeing the work of bureaucrats is the appropriations procedure which snared the rent subsidy plan last week. New or old, nearly all Federal activities require annual appropriations of fresh money from the Treasury to keep them going. Fewer new programs may go on the lawbooks next year, but the specialized House and Senate Appropriations Committees will have a heavier workload than ever as Mr. Johnson's agency heads march to Capitol Hill to justify their spending plans.

Congressional appropriations cuts are usually made in the name of economy; in years past such career economizers as the late Representative Clarence Cannon thundered annually against the inflationary perils of all presidential budgets in their uncut stage. Starting last year, however, President Johnson grabbed the pennypincher image away from Congress; his huge budgets have been successfully sold as "preshrunk." Only a pittance was chopped from his appropriations request this year, and with the same big Democratic majority returning in January there's little prospect of a 1966 outbreak of economy fever.

But even in such an atmosphere the appropriations process still gives lawmakers a powerful lever for influencing Federal programs. Housing Boss Robert Weaver lost his measly $12 million in rent subsidy money not because the House thought it would break the Treasury, but because of dissatisfaction with his startup plans. Those Great Society administrators who fear a lot of congressional back-seat driving next year may profit by analyzing the rent subsidy fiasco.

The rent subsidy plan is intended to lure private builders away from the luxury market and put up more new moderate-rent apartments. The landlords would be churches or other nonprofit groups, receiving Federal rental payments on behalf of poor families; officials hoped to work a little social engineering into the program, encouraging landlords to take nonsubsidized as well as subsidized tenants. Mr. Weaver visualized a happy mixture of rich and poor, black and white, living constructively together at the Methodist Arms.

But for such a simple goal, the rent subsidy mechanism for achieving it was incredibly complex. Everyone—liberals and conservatives alike—kept asking Mr. Weaver how rich a person could be and still get rent subsidies. Because the limit would vary from place to place, Mr. Weaver could quote no single figure. His vague answers either sparked suspicions of a boondoggle for the rich, or confused people hopelessly.

Baffled or not, the Senators agreed to give Mr. Weaver $10 million in initial funds, but only after he bowed to their demands for a change in the proposed eligibility rules.

But the House wasn't convinced that Mr. Weaver, deep down, really wanted to change the original rules. "A man convinced against his will is somewhat of the same opinion still," rhymed Chairman MAHON, Democrat, of Texas, of the House Appropriations Com-

mittee. So the rent subsidy money is being held hostage by the House until Mr. Weaver drafts a new plan. In Mr. MAHON'S words: "Let us see with our own eyes what the regulations will be before we take action."

VARIATION BY PERSONALITY

The rent subsidy example shows that the appropriations process can be a powerful digestive organ indeed for a raw new Federal endeavor. But results in the past have been spotty, depending on the personalities in charge of reviewing each fragment of the budget. State Department officials testifying before the Appropriations Subcommittee of Representative ROONEY, Democrat, of New York, can assume they'll get a general dressing down for profligacy. But Representative FOGARTY, Democrat, of Rhode Island, just as regularly upbraids Federal health researchers for spending too little.

A Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress may submit proposals next year for making the appropriations process more efficient. This study panel has heard suggestions for increasing the Appropriations Committees' staffs of investigators, and using computers to keep track of all the budget's nooks and crannies. Senator MAGNUSON, Democrat, of Washington, thinks Congress ought to spend the first part of each session considering regular legislation, devoting all of its energy later in the year to appropriation bills.

Any such reform is years away. Meanwhile, the existing appropriations process promises to be a lively battleground in the 1966 session even if the White House runs out of new ideas. If you don't believe it, ask Mr. Weaver.

Report to 23d District

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, I include the following letter to residents of the first and fourth wards of the city of Cleveland as a part of the RECORD:

DEAR FRIEND: As you may know, the 105th General Assembly of the Ohio Legislature last year changed the boundaries of Ohio's congressional districts, which will take effect in the 1966 elections. Although the new area of the 23d District still represents many of the suburbs around the city of Cleveland, it now also includes the ward in which you live.

Since 1955 I have represented the 23d District in the U.S. Congress. During my 11 years in Washington I have made it a practice to keep in the closest possible touch with constituents through frequent newsletters, radio, and television appearances, occasional opinion polls and, when length of the session permits, a traveling office. At the end of each session I send a summary of the year's legislative actions to my district and a copy of this year's report is enclosed for your information.

For your convenience, I maintain a year-round office at 525 Federal Building, Cleveland, CHerry 1-7900, extension 7360, in addition to my office in Washington, D.C. During the months ahead I hope I will have the opportunity of meeting you.

Meanwhile do not hesitate to give me the benefit of your counsel and advice. Please remember I am always ready to be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM E. MINSHALL,
Member of Congress.

Address of Hon. James E. Webb on the Dedication of Space-Science Laboratory at University of Chicago

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on October 13, 1965, the Honorable James E. Webb, Administrator of the National Space and Aeronautics Administration, dedicated a new space-science laboratory at the University of Chicago, and it gives me great pleasure to be able to share his comments on that occasion with the Members of this body:

ADDRESS BY JAMES E. WEBB, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL AERONAUTICS AND SPACE ADMINISTRATION, AT THE DEDICATION OF SPACE-SCIENCE LABORATORY, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, CHICAGO, ILL., OCTOBER 13, 1965

It is a pleasure to participate here today at the dedication of this new laboratory for astrophysics and space research. As you know, I have, from the beginning, followed with great interest the creation of this highly promising new resource for the University of Chicago.

The research efforts of Chicago scientists will be significantly extended as a result of the laboratories made available here. By bringing together the various scientific and engineering disciplines, the new facility will contribute to increased cross-fertilization of ideas and research. This broadly based multidisciplinary team will be better able to work with others in the scientific community, as well as the industrial and business communities, in pursuing new opportunities for research and the application of specific developments to the problems of Chicago's social, business, and economic structure.

It seems particularly appropriate that these facilities should be built at this great university which has made such valuable contributions to the Nation's scientific and technological development through the years. Indeed, it was only a short distance from this site that Enrico Fermi and his team of dedicated and brilliant scientists set in motion the first nuclear chain reaction. Thus began a progression of events which led our country through a series of major research and development efforts of rapidly increasing scope; these, in turn, brought us to the present era, which is often called the age of space, but which might perhaps appropriately be called the age of science and technology.

What our Nation is experiencing today, and has been experiencing in the almost quarter of a century since that atomic pile was started behind Stagg Field, is a scientific and technological revolution. Cooperative effort on the part of the Government, universities, the scientific community and industry has been the prime mover in this revolution.

Without such team work and cooperation, our Nation could not have developed the immense technological power that it now possesses—the technological power that makes possible supersonic aircraft, ballistic missiles, nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, and many other elements of our peacekeeping machinery. This cooperation has given us tremendous capability for technological research and development, now being extended and augmented for space exploration, which will be available to meet the national security requirements of the future.

Much of our basic research, although not in areas specifically related to weapons programs, has led to later applications which have helped preserve the peace. The fields of cybernetics, cryogenics, solid-state physics, and microminiaturization are examples that come immediately to mind.

The influence of our technological progress and prowess is and has been the deciding factor in keeping the peace; technological and scientific capabilities constitute a basic source of national power. Preeminence in the field is an instrument in international relations, and influences our dealings with other nations involving peace and freedom in the world.

Thus we can neither wish away nor afford to ignore political realities which make the capability to explore space a matter of strategic importance as well as a challenge to man's scientific and engineering ingenuity. We can no more afford to falter in space than we can in any earthly pursuit in which the security and future of our Nation and the world hang in the balance.

As President Johnson has said, "The question is not whether we can afford to go to the moon. It is whether we can afford not to go, for to default would be as catastrophic as if we had defaulted exploration of the atom."

The space effort is really a research and development competition—a competition for technological preeminence, which demands and creates the quest for excellence. In this quest, the space program is increasing our scientific and technological power—a resource as important as raw materials and productive capacity. Should we fall behind in the area of space technology, we would jeopardize our ability to progress, on earth as well as in space. At stake is the technological balance of power in the world.

In space we are using science and technology to build our national competence and to work toward a peaceful and better world. We believe that the reinforcement of this new foundation of power—based on advanced technology—can provide new means to provide more assurance of meeting man's needs for security, freedom, dignity, and opportunity.

By mastering the restrained but decisive use of the powers that modern science and technology give us, we are providing the Nation with the capability to achieve greater cooperation toward a world consistent with the ideals we seek for others as well as ourselves. In the Cuban crisis of 1962, and again in Vietnam today, this advanced strategic technological capability has given the United States the kind of large capacity to act in various ways and combinations of ways that enables us to fit our responses to the need in a judicious and measured way.

Another aspect of our space program, and one which is very closely related to technological power, is the matter of how others view our capability to act and the sureness, swiftness, and self-improved restraints that show through our decision to put our power in motion. Our space program—and manned space flight in particular—may be considered as a vital element in demonstrating to the world that the United States is a "can do" country, able to compete with a formidable rival that has prepared in secret for technological surprise, to utilize methods consistent with our best traditions, and in an open and cooperative manner worthy of emulation by other peoples.

Our national goal is to build the equipment and use it enough to acquire a sure know-how in every important phase of space activity, then to build working systems that use this know-how to do useful work—in satellites, orbiting observatories, communications, and other fields. It is the objective of the Apollo program as a focal point of our national space program to make our capability clear to the entire world within this decade by flying outward a quarter

million miles from earth, landing on the moon, and returning safely. I am proud to be able to report today that we are on schedule in the Apollo program, and the recent highly successful Gemini flights have greatly increased our confidence that we can continue meeting our key milestones.

Prestige is meaningful, however, only to the extent that it reflects the substance, not the shadow, of power. Thus, the value of the space effort must be judged in terms of how well it provides a visible focus of power, evident to all the world, of a broad capability to do whatever is necessary to insure the security of the Nation and the peace of the world.

Thus far, I have directed my remarks primarily toward the importance of technological power in terms of the national security and international prestige aspects of the space program. These are the imperatives that motivate us to explore and utilize the new element of space. Basic to this technological strength, as I indicated earlier, is the individual and collective role of scientists, and also of our universities.

While the scientific community is playing a leading role in the space effort, the space program in turn is exerting a significant and beneficial influence on science. New approaches to established disciplines have appeared and there has been a tremendous increase in interdisciplinary research activity.

A particularly significant aspect of the space program is that, in its breadth, it involves almost every known science and technology—physics, chemistry, biology, astronomy, geology, geodesy and cartography, heat studies, cryogenics, particles and fields, to name but a few—and its needs spread across the entire industrial spectrum—electronics, metals, fuels, ceramics, machinery, plastics, instruments, textiles, and many others.

The impact of the space program on science and technology is, however, far greater and broader in scope than this.

The history of science and technology indicates that a small spring of basic research is often the source of a mighty river of technology. Thus, it is most imperative to augment our reservoir of knowledge with new concepts that can come only from basic research.

To maintain technological power, we recognize that knowledge and trained people are essential elements and that our Nation's universities are a resource which must be encouraged, nourished, and involved on a broad basis.

Universities have traditionally been the main source of new ideas in science through research carried out by faculty members and graduate students. This interaction of education and research in academic institutions thus contributes both to the training of scientific and technical manpower and to the advancement of research.

President Johnson again emphasized these principles last month in his statement of policy to the Cabinet on strengthening the academic capability for science throughout the Nation. In this statement, the President pointed up the importance of the Nation's support of science as having a "decisive role in determining the extent to which we fulfill our potential as a nation—and a free society * * *. We must," he continued, "devote ourselves purposefully to developing and diffusing—throughout the Nation—a strong and solid scientific capability, especially in our many centers of advanced education."

The new policy, the President stated, will "increase the capacity of our universities to produce well-trained scientists and to serve as a source of the ideas upon which our national welfare depends." As one of the actions under this policy, the President asked each Federal agency, to the fullest extent possible, to "provide research funds to academic institutions under conditions affording them the opportunity to improve and extend their programs for research and science education and to develop the potentialities for high-quality research of groups and individuals."

NASA programs already in being seek to assist in the education of the highly trained scientists and engineers whose services will be required in the future, and to strengthen university research capacities through resources such as this laboratory.

To further these goals, NASA has established a sustaining university program that will eventually assist in the training of 1,000 Ph. D.'s a year to provide the highly qualified persons who will be needed not only in the space sciences but also for other scientific and technical endeavors.

At the same time, NASA finances and supports research in programs designed to increase the broad body of scientific and technical knowledge which underlies the future advancement of the Nation's welfare, economic growth, and security. This is particularly true of basic research, concerned with increasing knowledge about man, and the universe, and which lays the groundwork for applied research and development.

One of the most important of the capabilities being provided by the space program is experience in the management of large scientific and technological enterprises. The scope of the effort to manage a very large space program is several orders of magnitude beyond that of even the largest industrial operations. The Apollo program, for example, is one of the largest peacetime research and development undertakings in our history.

The development of the ability to manage such vast programs began with the Manhattan project during World War II and was later expanded and refined in the ballistic missile programs of the 1950's. Their use in the Apollo program and other NASA efforts is an outgrowth and a further utilization of the necessary decisionmaking processes, management techniques, and professional skills to a higher degree and more comprehensively than even was necessary to meet the requirements of the earlier programs. These techniques, skills, and trained people have great potential application to aid in other large-scale programs that would satisfy important national needs.

One of these skills is that of systems engineering, which has been described as an approach to a project which encompasses the whole, rather than a separate handling of component parts. From this viewpoint it is but one element in a transportation system that includes bus lines, subways, railroads, freeways, air transport and so forth. It is possible that the application of this technique may lead to the solution of many of the intricate problems of modern life.

One State is already actively studying whether systems engineering can be applied to everyday problems here on earth. California has recently completed an experiment, in which it awarded $400,000 to four aerospace firms for such studies. One company examined ways to rationally handle and effectively use the mass of paperwork issued daily by State and Federal agencies. Another study dealt with transportation in a State which, in the words of one California official, "lost the race to the automobile a decade ago." A third company examined the problems of air and water pollution and waste disposal. Finally, a fourth company took a cold engineering look at the problems of crime, delinquency and punishment. The studies have been submitted to the Governor, and the conclusions are being analyzed for potential applications, with possible nationwide implications.

Other areas of concern which may prove susceptible to these techniques include such matters as nuclear desalinization of water, water resources management, urban planning and development, and high speed transportation systems, such as the rail link planned between Washington and Boston.

These problems are all matters of major national concern, and their solution is of utmost importance in the achievement of the goals of our society. As our economy continues to grow, increased resources may well become available to devote greater attention to these matters. Work at the facility that we are dedicating today could very well lead to similar studies of how modern science and technology might contribute to the solution of problems of a like nature in Illinois and the Midwest.

Of particular interest to the scientific and academic community, I am sure, are the scientific and applications aspects of our space program, which are further elements of our national technological power.

In the applications area, the Nation has made rapid progress so that we now have the capability to develop and fly highly sophisticated and useful satellites, such as the Tiros weather satellites, the Syncom and Early Bird communications satellites, and the Navy's navigation satellites. In the scientific area similarly long strides have been taken in orbiting observatories and lunar and deep space probes. A magnificent scientific and engineering achievement was accomplished on July 14, when Mariner IV completed its epic fly-by of Mars, taking history's first closeup pictures of the Martian surface and greatly increasing our understanding of that planet.

The recently completed Ranger program had previously transmitted more than 17,000 high-quality, closeup pictures of the lunar surface, the last of which were dramatically broadcast on television by Ranger 9 "live from the moon." Forthcoming NASA programs should give us a great deal more information on the structure and composition of the moon, and should provide additional data regarding the Martian surface.

We are now defining programs for flying much larger and more sophisticated payloads and manned applications satellites and laboratories. Many new ideas are under consideration on how to use man's capabilities in space to yield great benefits to mankind in his daily life on earth.

There are opportunities for significant improvements in our earthly existence through general observation of the earth's atmosphere and surface from a manned orbiting spacecraft. Weather forecasting is one specific example. Another is surveying agriculture and forestry acreage and species. In general, we can learn more in every way about the size and shape of the earth. We will know more about the earth's physical surface features; more about its climate, plants, and natural resources; more about its lakes, oceans, and mountains, including the remote and lesser known arid and polar regions.

We are also defining manned missions both in orbit about the moon and for exploration of the moon's surface. In lunar orbit, we can do mapping, surveying, and exploration of the moon by various means. On the surface of the moon, we plan to conduct exploration missions for extended periods of time.

Many of these application will capitalize on the presence of men in space. Scientific and technological groups throughout the United States are developing experiments that will take advantage of man's abilities to use his senses, to manipulate instruments and experiments, to evaluate what he observes, and to conduct investigations in earth orbit, in lunar orbit, and on the surface of the moon. I suggest to those scientists wishing new and promising fields of investigation to consider how best to participate in this program of utilizing and exploring the scientific and technological po-

tentials inherent in these programs, unmanned as well as manned.

Today I have discussed importance of technological power in an era of scientific and technological revolution, and some of the applications and implications of that power. It is clear that science and technology are becoming increasingly major forces in all aspects of human activity. Our national security, our ability to lead the free world and preserve the peace, and our future economic growth are all bound up in the efforts which we expend to excel in the acquisition of new scientific knowledge and the development of new technology.

Our space programs constitute an essential element in these efforts to achieve and maintain scientific and technological leadership.

President Johnson expressed this well, after the successful conclusion of the Gemini V flight, when he said:

"Today the capacity of this country for leadership in this realm is no longer in valid question or dispute any place in the world. Openly, proudly, we are proceeding on our course, willing always to share our knowledge and our gains with all mankind. So, I would repeat, and I would renew again America's invitation to all nations to join together to make this adventure a joint adventure. This globe seems smaller today than ever before."

Aid for the Victim of a Crime

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDITH GREEN
OF OREGON
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. GREEN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the victim of a crime is in a very real sense a double victim. He is attacked by the assailant, often brutally beaten, left senseless by the criminal, stripped of his possessions, his body battered and torn. At times, there is only death or permanent injury to one who supports a family or is responsible for the care of children.

The assault victim also loses in another way. Society, which takes upon itself the responsibility of repressing crime and prosecuting those who violate its laws, at present shows little concern for the victim of the mugger, the rapist, or the murderer. Where the accused is provided the important constitutional guarantees of a fair trial and free legal assistance, if necessary, the only interest in the victim on many occasions is that he is in good enough condition to be a possible witness in a prosecution. He is afforded little, even though it is he that has suffered the most.

On October 22, I introduced legislation which would provide some care for the victim.

The problem of how to help the victim is an old one. The ancient penal codes of Babylon, Israel, Greece, Rome, and Anglo-Saxon England required the criminal to reimburse the victim with money or property. The same principle was followed in cases of theft in Connecticut and Massachusetts in the 17th century. During the late 19th century compensation of victims was a topic of discussion at five different international conferences on prison reform, but even though resolutions were passed favoring relief of the victim, nothing further came of the idea. Now Great Britain, as the result of a white paper on the subject, and New Zealand, both have compensation plans, and the State of California recently embarked on such a course.

The distinguished Senator YARBOROUGH, of Texas, has introduced legislation to better balance the values of police protection and constitutional rights for the accused and community care for the victim. His bill would be limited to victims of violent crimes in the District of Columbia and certain other jurisdictions where the Federal Government has general police powers. My own bill has somewhat broader application, and would cover every victim of crime, whether under State or Federal law.

This legislation—H.R. 11818—proposes setting up a Federal Violent Crimes Compensation Commission, a three-man tribunal chosen for their legal prowess, which would consider the claims of those who suffer physical injuries during the commission of crimes. The Commission will decide if the victim is actually an innocent party and it will determine the level of compensation. In setting the compensation the Commission will provide for actual medical costs suffered by the victim, including rehabilitation services involved. In the event of murder, the victim's survivors would be paid, but in no event would the compensation exceed $25,000. A victim of a crime of violence, to receive compensation, would have to give notice of intent to submit his claim within 1 month of injury. In no event would the Commission consider claims that did not total $300. There would be no appeal from the decision of the Commission.

Compensation plans have the backing of some of the Nation's most distinguished jurists. As former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg has pointed out, the victim of a violent crime "has been denied the protection of the laws in a very real sense, and society should assume some responsibility for making him whole."

Such a law, it seems to me, is the very lease we can do for those who innocently suffer from the wanton assaults of those who have no respect for law or authority—or who decide to take the law into their own hands. So far, society has shown little concern for those who must pay the most. There are the days lost from work, the medical costs of recuperation. There is the pain and suffering. There may be years of physical and psychological torment. It is hoped that in a small way this proposal can start the national effort necessary to insure that victims of crimes are protected by society and returned to their jobs and families as quickly and painlessly as possible.

I include the bill in its entirety at this point and I welcome comments and recommendations from members of the bar, penologists, sociologists, and others interested in this area:

H.R. 11818

A bill to provide for the compensation of persons injured by certain criminal acts

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

TITLE I—SHORT TITLE AND DEFINITIONS

Short title

SEC. 101. This Act may be cited as the "Criminal Injuries Compensation Act of 1966".

Definitions

SEC. 102. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "child" means an unmarried person who is under eighteen years of age and includes a stepchild or an adopted child;

(2) The term "Commission" means the Violent Crimes Compensation Commission established by this Act;

(3) The term "dependents" means such relatives of a deceased victim as were wholly or partially dependent upon his income at the time of his death or would have been so dependent but for the incapacity due to the injury from which the death resulted and shall include the child of such victim born after his death;

(4) The term "personal injury" means actual bodily harm and includes pregnancy and mental or nervous shock;

(5) The term "relative" means his spouse, parent, grandparent, stepfather, stepmother, child, grandchild, brother, sister, half brother, half sister, or spouse's parents;

(6) The term "victim" means a person who is injured or killed by any act or omission of any other person which is within the description of any of the offenses specified in section 302 of this Act.

TITLE II—ESTABLISHMENT OF VIOLENT CRIMES COMPENSATION COMMISSION

Violent Crimes Compensation Commission

SEC. 201. (a) There is established a Violent Crimes Compensation Commission which shall be composed of three members to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, solely on the grounds of fitness to perform the duties of the office. The President shall designate one of the members of the Commission who has been a member of the bar of a Federal court or of the highest court of a State for at least eight years, as Chairman.

(b) No member of the Commission shall engage in any other business, vocation, or employment.

(c) The Chairman and one other member of the Commission shall constitute a quorum; and where opinion is divided and only one other member is present, the opinion of the Chairman shall prevail.

(d) The Commission shall have an official seal.

Terms and compensation of members

SEC. 202. (a) The term of office of each member of the Commission taking office after December 31, 1966, shall be eight years, except that (1) the terms of office of the members first taking office after December 31, 1966, shall expire as designated by the President at the time of the appointment, one at the end of four years, one at the end of six years, and one at the end of eight years, after December 31, 1966; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed, shall be appointed for the remainder of such term.

(b) Each member of the Commission shall be eligible for reappointment.

(c) A vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers.

(d) Any member of the Commission may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office.

(e) Each member of the Commission shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level IV of the Federal Executive Salary Schedule of the Federal Executive Salary Act of 1964 except the Chairman who shall be compensated at the rate prescribed for level III of such schedule.

Attorneys, examiners, and employees of the Commission; expenses

SEC. 203. (a) The Commission is authorized to appoint such officers, attorneys, ex-

aminers, and other experts as may be necessary for carrying out its functions under this Act, and the Commission may, subject to the civil service laws, appoint such other officers and employees as are necessary and fix their compensation in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949.

(b) All expenses of the Commission, including all necessary traveling and subsistence expenses of the Commission outside the District of Columbia incurred by the members or employees of the Commission under its orders, shall be allowed and paid on the presentation of itemized vouchers therefor approved by the Commission or by any individual it designates for that purpose.

Office for service of process

SEC. 204. The Commission shall maintain an office for the service of process and papers within the District of Columbia.

Powers and procedures of the Commission

SEC. 205. (a) Upon an application made to the Commission under the provisions of this Act, the Commission shall fix a time and place for a hearing on such application and shall cause notice thereof to be given to the applicant.

(b) For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act, the Commission, or any member thereof, may hold such hearings, sit and act at such times and places, and take such testimony as the Commission or such member may deem advisable. Any member of the Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before the Commission or before such member. The Commission shall have such powers of subpena and compulsion of attendance and production of documents as are conferred upon the Securities and Exchange Commission by subsection (c) of section 18 of the Act of August 26, 1935, and the provisions of subsection (d) of such section shall be applicable to all persons summoned by subpena or otherwise to attend or testify or produce such documents as are described therein before the Commission, except that no subpena shall be issued except under the signature of the Chairman, and application to any court for aid in enforcing such subpena may be made only by said Chairman. Subpenas shall be served by any person designated by the said Chairman.

(c) In any case in which the person entitled to make an application is a child, the application may be made on his behalf by any person acting as his parent or guardian. In any case in which the person entitled to make an application is mentally defective, the application may be made on his behalf by his guardian or such other individual authorized to administer his estate.

(d) Where any application is made to the Commission under this Act, the applicant, and any attorney assisting the Commission, shall be entitled to appear and be heard.

(e) Any other person may appear and be heard who satisfies the Commission that he has a substantial interest in the proceedings.

(f) Where under this Act any person is entitled to appear and be heard by the Commission, that person may appear in person or by his attorney.

(g) Every person appearing under the preceding subsections of this section shall have the right to procduce evidence and to cross-examine witnesses.

(h) The Commission may receive in evidence any statement, document, information, or matter that may in the opinion of the Commission contribute to its functions under this Act, whether or not such statement, document, information, or matter would be admissible in a court of law.

(i) If any person has been convicted of any offense with respect to an act or omission on which a claim under this Act is based, proof of that conviction shall, unless an appeal against the conviction or a petition for a rehearing or certiorari in respect of the charge is pending or a new trial or rehearing has been ordered, be taken as conclusive evidence that the offense has been committed.

Attorneys' fees

SEC. 206. (a) The Commission may, as a part of any order entered under this Act, determine and allow reasonable attorney fees, which if the award is more than $1,000 shall not exceed 15 per centum of the amount awarded as compensation under section 301 of this Act, to be paid out of but not in addition to the amount of such compensation, to the attorneys representing the applicant.

(b) Any attorney who charges, demands, receives, or collects for services rendered in connection with any proceedings under this Act any amount in excess of that allowed under this section, if any compensation is paid, shall be fined not more than $2,000 or imprisoned not more than one year, or both.

Finality of decision

SEC. 207. Except as otherwise provided in this Act, orders and decisions of the Commission shall be final.

Regulations

SEC. 208. In the performance of its functions, the Commission is authorized to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend rules and regulations prescribing the procedures to be followed in the filing of applications and the proceedings under this Act, and such other matters as the Commission deems appropriate.

TITLE III—AWARD AND PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION

Awarding compensation

SEC. 301. (a) In any case in which a person is injured or killed by any act or omission of any other person which is within the description of the offenses listed in section 302 of this Act the Commission may, in its discretion, upon an application, order the payment of compensation in accordance with the provisions of this Act.

(b) The Commission may order the payment of compensation—

(1) to or on behalf of the injured person; or

(2) in the case of the personal injury of the victim, where the compensation is for pecuniary loss suffered or expenses incurred by any person responsible for the maintenance of the victim, to that person; or

(3) in the case of the death of the victim, to or for the benefit of the dependents of the deceased victim, or any one or more of such dependents.

(c) For the purpose of this Act, a person shall be deemed to have intended an act or omission notwithstanding that by reason of age, insanity, drunkeness, or otherwise he was legally incapable of forming a criminal intent.

(d) In determining whether to make an order under this section, the Commission may consider any circumstances it determines to be relevant, including the behavior of the victim which directly or indirectly contributed to his injury or death.

(e) No order may be made under this section unless the Commission, supported by substantial evidence, finds that—

(1) such an act or omission did occur; and

(2) the injury or death resulted from such act or omission.

(f) An order may be made under this section whether or not any person is prosecuted or convicted of any offense arising out of such act or omission. Upon application from the Attorney General, the Commission may suspend proceedings under this Act for such period as it deems appropriate on the ground that a prosecution for an offense arising out of such act or omission has been commenced or is imminent.

Offenses to which this Act applies

SEC. 302. The Commission may order the payment of compensation in accordance with the provisions of this Act for personal injury or death which resulted from the commission of a criminal offense which is a felony under State or Federal law.

Nature of the compensation

SEC. 303. The Commission may order the payment of compensation under this Act for—

(a) expenses actually and reasonably incurred as a result of the personal injury or death of the victim; and

(b) any other pecuniary loss resulting from the personal injury or death of the victim which the Commission determines to be reasonable.

Limitations upon awarding compensation

SEC. 304. (a) No order for the payment of compensation shall be made under section 301 of this Act unless (1) the Commission has been notified within thirty days after the date of the personal injury or death that an application will be filed with the Commission for the payment of compensation under this Act, and (2) such application has been made within one year after the date of the personal injury or death. Such notice shall be filed with the Commission in such manner and in such form as the Commission may by regulation prescribe.

(b) The Commission shall not enter an order for the payment of compensation under this Act unless it determines that the sum of (1) the expenses incurred as the result of the personal injury to, or the death of, a victim of a criminal offense, and (2) any other pecuniary loss arising out of such personal injury or death, exceeds $300. If the Commission determines that such sum exceeds $300, it may order the payment of compensation in an amount not to exceed $25,000. Nothing in this Act shall be construed as authorizing compensation for damage to or loss of any personal or real property.

(c) No compensation shall be awarded if the victim—

(1) is a relative of the offender; or

(2) was at the time of the personal injury or death of the victim living with the offender as his wife or her husband or as a member of the offender's household.

Terms of the order

SEC. 305. (a) Except as otherwise provided in this section any order for the payment of compensation under this Act may be made on such terms as the Commission deems appropriate.

(b) The Commission shall deduct from any payments awarded under section 301 of this Act any payments received by the victim or by any of his dependents from the offender or from any person on behalf of the offender, or from the United States (except those received under this Act), a State or any of its subdivisions, for personal injury or death compensable under this Act.

TITLE IV—MISCELLANEOUS

Reports to the Congress

SEC. 401. The Commission shall transmit to the President and to the Congress annually a report of its activities under this Act including the name of each applicant, a brief description of the facts in each case, and the amount, if any, of compensation awarded.

Penalties

SEC. 402. The provisions of section 1001 of title 18 of the United States Code shall apply to any applicaton, statement, document, or information presented to the Commission under this Act.

Appropriations

SEC. 403. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

Effective date

SEC. 404. This Act shall take effect on July 1, 1966.

United Nations Speech of Congressman Barratt O'Hara

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the Honorable BARRATT O'HARA, of Illinois, now a delegate from the United States to the 20th session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, made the following speech on the floor of the Assembly:

ADDRESS BY HON. BARRATT O'HARA BEFORE THE LEGAL COMMITTEE OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, ON TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO PROMOTE THE TEACHING, STUDY, DISSEMINATION, AND WIDER APPRECIATION OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

Distinguished colleagues, I should like to state that, as a lawyer, I can think of no item on the agenda of the General Assembly on which it gives me greater pleasure to speak. I can think of no audience more seasoned than this by experience, learning and dedication, to share in the making of vital determinations in this area of our deep and mutual interest.

I heartily express my personal appreciation as well as that of my Government to Ambassador Dadzie and Mr. Bal for their lucid and informative statements. We are grateful to the special committee for the excellent work they have done as well as to the Secretariat for the helpful information they so kindly and competently supplied.

As the report of the special committee indicates and as we have heard, many of the most important contributions in this field can be made on a bilateral basis, and many have been. There is a need for multilateral effort, but, in planning that effort, full account needs to be taken of what otherwise is being done. I should like to point with what I hope is pardonable pride to the record of my own Government and private American foundations in this field, both prior to and in response to resolution 1816 of the 17th General Assembly and resolution 1968 C of the 18th General Assembly.

I refer to the extensive comments of my Government contained in documents A/5455, addendum 1 and A/5744, addendum 2. I shall merely touch briefly on what is more fully described there.

My Government maintains a number of programs in the field of international law, including scholarships and fellowships, distribution of books and publications, and exchanges of professors, lecturers, and specialists. Efforts are being undertaken so that these agencies will be able to respond to additional requests stimulated by the welcome increase of activity and interest by the United Nations and member nations in this field. The Department of State awards approximately 150 grants annually in the field of law. Of these, roughly two-thirds are to foreign students to enable them to study law in the United States. The remainder include grants to foreign professors and specialists who come to the United States for short periods, and to American professors and students. These grants are primarily for graduate study in international and comparative law.

In the private sector—and here again with what, I hope, is justifiable pride—more than 250 colleges and universities offer training in international law. Many of these schools maintain scholarship programs for foreign scholars and programs to support research in international law by scholars of diverse nationalities, whether student or faculty. A number of leading law schools, like Harvard, Yale, Columbia, New York University, Chicago, and Stanford, offer extensive studies in international law. Certain universities participate in student and faculty exchanges with foreign universities and nations in the field of international law. Now, we think that all of this is worthwhile.

Professional societies and private foundations have extensive programs relating to international law. Professional groups such as the American Society of International Law, the American Bar Association through its committee on world peace through law, and the American branch of the International Law Association issue learned publications, hold professional conferences and sponsor research projects. Mr. Chairman, I should also like to mention the Federal Bar Association which is composed of lawyers working for the Federal Government.

Foundations such as the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Asia Foundation have made grants for study and travel, and sponsored international conferences and made studies. They have provided grants to universities and societies, located, among other places, in India, Burma, and the United Arab Republic. The Carnegie endowment is presently sponsoring the preparation of a basic textbook or manual of international law, with the various chapters being written by outstanding scholars representing all the major geographical areas, legal systems, and traditions.

I have only touched the surface. Nor do we intend to settle for that and rest on the record.

In response to the resolutions of the General Assembly, particularly resolution 1816 (XVII), and in view of the importance the United States accords to the teaching, study, dissemination, and wider appreciation of international law, my Government is planning to assist in the holding of a special international seminar for lawyers, largely from the newer and developing states. It is presently anticipated that the seminar will take place in New York City for about a month in August and September 1966. It is anticipated that young lawyers, preferably in government service, and advanced law students will study salient problems of international law and organization under the leadership of a distinguished faculty. After the seminar, we would hope that the participants will have an opportunity to follow the United Nations General Assembly, acquaint themselves with methods of work of the Office of the Legal Adviser of the Department of State, and visit leading American universities.

The details of the program will be worked out by nongovernmental sources. The U.S. Government will provide full travel grants and per diem to participants. My Government has expressly requested me to invite my colleagues in this committee to help recruit the most qualified participants. Any such help, I can assure you, would be greatly appreciated.

In light of contributions from various quarters, my Government wishes to insure that in this field of such paramount importance there is no waste due to duplication. Each country, each institution, must contribute what it is best, if not uniquely, capable of contributing. My Government has studied the report of the committee with this basic criterion in mind. We have asked ourselves: What aspects of the great need in the field can best be met by multilateral United Nations efforts?

We suggest the following:

The distribution of United Nations publications such as the yearbooks of the International Law Commission, the United Nations Juridical Yearbook, and the invaluable Repertoire of Practice on as wide a basis as possible is of great importance.

The study on training in international law presently being conducted by UNESCO and referred to in paragraph 15 of the special committee's report represents a valuable step toward the type of capital investment in knowledge and understanding that is called for.

My delegation also generally approves the recommendations set forth in paragraphs 36 to 40, that international law be given full attention by the United Nations Training and Research Institute.

My delegation also supports the idea of on-the-job training in the form of intern programs. We would be in favor of such programs at the United Nations headquarters or at the seats of the specialized agencies. Where the training is to take place at the headquarters we would be inclined to explore further the suggestion contained in paragraph 38(b)(i), that the program, insofar as possible, be coordinated with the United Nations Training and Research Institute.

As a natural consequence of the views which I have just expressed, my delegation finds much of merit in the proposed 3-year program set forth in the special committee's report.

Before proceeding to a somewhat detailed examination of parts of this proposed program we are constrained to call attention to the following. As the Secretary General himself has stated, the financial crisis of this Organization has—and I quote—"by no means been dispelled." The Secretary General also stated that the conference program has reached almost unmanageable proportions. It seems clear, particularly in light of the very informative discussion in the committee yesterday, that financing a program of technical assistance in international law through the regular budget would—as a practical matter—most certainly mean additional appropriations. The decision of the technical assistance committee, discussed at some length in the committee yesterday, that it would not be possible under existing EPTA legislation to permit consideration of requests for assistance in the general field of international law, must also be taken into account.

These are sobering facts, Mr. Chairman, facts which must be borne in mind when we examine each proposal for action. These facts make it even more strongly incumbent on us to ask, with respect to each proposal, whether it would duplicate existing efforts, and whether a multinational organization represents the optimum means of meeting the need. They make it incumbent upon us to establish a list of priorities to insure optimum utilization of such funds as may become available through voluntary contributions or otherwise.

I should now like to turn to the program proposed for the first year, limiting, for the time being, my specific comments on the committee's proposals to that year.

In general, it comports with our view that one of the most important functions the United Nations can serve is as an information center and clearinghouse, to pinpoint needs, elicit resources, and match the two. The United Nations, in short, is perhaps uniquely equipped to serve as catalyst for increased bilateral efforts.

Now, one or two particular matters. So far as co-sponsorship of international meetings is concerned, I should like again to call attention to the Secretary General's plea for nonproliferation of conferences. It is to be hoped that any conference will, in large part, be paid for by the host governments or institutions, with the participation of the United Nations or UNESCO being sufficient to assure that the purposes and mode of operation of the conference are such as to justify the use of the name of the interna-

tional organization. And that, I think, is important.

Insofar as item VII set forth in paragraph 98(a) of the committee's report is concerned, it would seem advisable to await the completion of the study of training in international law being conducted by UNESCO before determining that a model curriculum is desirable. Curriculum is, after all, a function of the skill of the particular teacher, the level of the students, the quality of the library and the nature of other courses being offered—in short, basically a matter for each school to decide for itself.

Subject to the approval by the governing board of the United Nations Training and Research Institute, as my earlier remarks indicate, my Government would hope to see international law play a significant role in the training and research programs of the Institute.

Mr. Chairman, these comments cover only the smaller portion of the specific suggestions contained in the report of the special committee. Since others of these suggestions will doubtless be discussed and perhaps made the subject of proposals before this committee, I should like to reserve the right to speak again as the occasion might require. May I simply note at this point, with respect to the proposals of the special committee for the second and third and succeeding years of the program, that my delegation particularly favors the provision of United Nations legal publications, the provision of advisory services, if they are requested by developing countries, and the award of fellowships for study of legal aspects of U.N. activities. It would hope that priority would be accorded to these proposals. While there is certainly merit in courses and seminars, these are less well-suited to U.N. contributions. We do have doubt about the United Nations giving subventions to international nongovernment institutions active in the field of international law, however meritorious their work. May I now make a few very general remarks on the question of the financing of any projects of assistance in international law, and the question of the practical steps which the sixth committee might take at this stage.

In light of the various financial considerations which have been brought to the attention of the committee, some of which I have alluded to today and many of which were placed before us yesterday, by delegation believes that a renewed call by the Secretary-General for voluntary contributions, from both governmental and private sources, represents the most practical step open to us at this time to obtain the requisite funds. We are hopeful that, in addition, some funds will be available through the expanded program for technical assistance, for that part of any program—which may well be a significant part—for which a case can be made out for EPTA assistance under existing legislation.

Regardless of what financial approach is adopted, Mr. Chairman, it will not be possible for the committee to know exactly how large a sum will be available to it. Accordingly, in our view, it would be wise for any action by the sixth committee at this stage to include the establishment of—

First, certain priorities among possible projects of assistance;

Second, certain guidelines governing the execution of these projects and the use of funds which become available; and

Finally, an advisory committee such as that suggested in paragraph 103 of the report of the special committee, charged with the task of assisting in carrying forward as much of the program as is possible in view of the funds that are made available.

I should like to add one final note, Mr. Chairman. My Government notes with appreciation the tentative commitments made by UNESCO as set forth in document A/C.6/L.565 and as further explained by the distinguished representative of UNESCO yesterday. We find the possibility of a training course for Africa, should the necessary financing become available, of particular interest. In our view this project might well be considered a useful opportunity for cooperation between the United Nations and UNESCO in the planning and execution of technical assistance projects in the field of international law.

In this connection, my Government would like to associate itself with the remarks of our distinguished colleague from Belgium that the maximum benefit will be derived from such a program, and the ends of the international organization involved will be best served, if, and only if, the subjects taught are of a strictly legal nature and are in those areas where the law is well established and not a matter of major contention between the differing legal, political, and social systems of the world. The topics suggested—international rivers, the role of law and the lawyer in the foreign office, certain aspects of treaty law, and the law of the United Nations—would largely seem to comport with these criteria.

A Challenge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial from the September 1965 issue of the Volta Review, entitled "A Challenge—The National Technical Institute for the Deaf," be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A CHALLENGE—THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

The bill establishing a new National Technical Institute for the Deaf was signed into law by President Lyndon B. Johnson on June 8, 1965, on the lawn of the White House. Among those who viewed the signing of the bill and who later received one of the many pens used by the President to sign his name, were such stanch friends of the deaf as Senator LISTER HILL and Representative HUGH L. CAREY, both of whom introduced in their respective branches of Congress bill for the new Institute.

Also in the audience were representatives of virtually every national organization concerned with the education and rehabilitation of the deaf and hard of hearing. The day was hot, and the enthusiasm was warm for the most recent enactment of law which has as its special concern the creation of new opportunities for obtaining a technical education by the deaf.

There was also concern expressed for the ultimate nature of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf. If this institution is organized and implemented on a positive and high level, it will be looked back upon as one of the most significant moves of the century in creating new opportunities for the deaf. By its very association with a university for hearing students in an urban area, a requirement written into the law itself, the Institute can be expected to provide many opportunities which have long been sought by the deaf and those interested in them. By emphasizing the development of educational and social skills necessary for work in a normally hearing community, there should be the maximum preparation for prosperous careers in whatever fields are chosen. Among those emphasized will certainly be such areas as engineering, scientific technician, drafting, science, and others.

If, on the other hand, the new Institute is organized along the lines of an extension of the vocational programs of present schools for the deaf, it may be looked upon by historians in our field as a tragedy. If there is not a broad approach to the jobs of the future, then we will have advanced little from where we are today. If there is not a coordinated and cooperative affiliation with industry, labor organizations, professional organizations, and civic groups, then the student graduating from such an institute will have little more to look forward to than he has today.

Unquestionably, there should be on the 12-man advisory committee which selects the university to which the Institute will be attached, some people who are knowledgeable about the education of the deaf. There should be a successful technically trained deaf person, too. There must also be a number of representatives of those parts of the American public who will be expected to accept the graduates of this Institute, once it is in operation. Fresh insights from the fields of engineering, labor, management, and education in general will be imperative if this Institute is to serve its proper purpose. Of utmost importance, also, will be the qualifications of the Director of the Institute. If his background is limited strictly to the education of the deaf, the Institute may have difficulty fulfilling the high purpose set for it by the people of the United States.

There is no precedent for this school. No one else has even attempted what is to be attempted under this new law. It can succeed, or fail miserably. The deciding factor will be the uninhibited foresight of those selected by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to serve on the advisory committee.

TEXT OF PUBLIC LAW 89-36: THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

An act to provide for the establishment and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act."

AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 2. For the purpose of providing a residential facility for postsecondary technical training and education for persons who are deaf in order to prepare them for successful employment, there are authorized to be appropriated for each fiscal year such sums as may be necessary for the establishment and operation, including construction and equipment, of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf, including sums necessary for the acquisition of property, both real and personal, and for the construction of buildings and other facilities for such Institute.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this Act—

(a) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

(b) The term "institution of higher education" means an educational institution in any State or in the District of Columbia which (1) admits as regular students only persons having a certificate of graduation from a school providing secondary education, or the recognized equivalent of such a certificate, (2) is legally authorized within such State (or in the District of Columbia) to provide a program of education beyond secondary education, (3) provides an edu-

cational program for which it awards a bachelor's degree, (4) includes one or more professional or graduate schools, (5) is a public or nonprofit private institution, and (6) is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association. For purposes of this subsection, the Commissioner of Education shall publish a list of nationally recognized accrediting agencies or associations which he determines to be reliable authority as to the quality of training offered.

(c) The term "construction" includes construction and initial equipment of new buildings, expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings and equipment thereof, and acquisition of land; including architect's services, but excluding off-site improvements.

PROPOSALS

SEC. 4. Any institution of higher education which desires to enter into an agreement with the Secretary to establish and operate a National Technical Institute for the Deaf shall submit a proposal therefor at such time, in such manner, and containing such information as may be prescribed by the Secretary.

AGREEMENT TO ESTABLISH INSTITUTE

SEC. 5. (a) The Secretary, after consultation with the National Advisory Board created by section 6, is authorized to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education for the establishment and operation, including construction and equipment, of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf. The Secretary, in considering proposals from institutions of higher education to enter into an agreement under this Act, shall give preference to institutions which are located in metropolitan industrial areas.

(b) The agreement shall—

(1) provide that Federal funds appropriated for the benefit of the Institute will be used only for the purposes for which paid and in acocrdance with the applicable provisions of this Act and the agreement made pursuant thereto;

(2) provide that the Board of Trustees or other governing body of the institution, subject to the approval of the Secretary, will appoint an advisory group to advise the Director of the Institute in formulating and carrying out the basic policies governing its establishment and operation, which group shall include persons who are professionally concerned with education and technical training at the postsecondary school level, persons who are professionally concerned with activities relating to education and training of the deaf, and members of the public familiar with the need for services provided by the Institute;

(3) provide that the Board of Trustees or other governing body of the institution will make an annual report to the Secretary. The Secretary shall transmit the report of the institution to the Congress with such comments and recommendations as he may deem appropriate;

(4) include such other conditions as the Secretary, after consultation with the National Advisory Board, deems necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act; and

(5) provide that any laborer or mechanic employed by any contractor or subcontractor in the performance of work on any construction aided by Federal funds appropriated for the benefit of the Institute will be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary of Labor in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a—276a-5); and the Secretary of Labor shall have, with respect to the labor standards specified in this paragraph, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 5 U.S.C. 133z-15) and section 2 of the Act of June 13, 1934, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276c).

(c) If within twenty years after the completion of any construction (except minor remodelying or alteration) for which such funds have been paid—

(A) the facility ceases to be used for the purposes for which it was constructed or the agreement is terminated, unless the Secretary determines that there is good cause for releasing the institution from its obligation, or

(B) the institution ceases to be the owner of the facility,

the United States shall be entitled to recover from the applicant or other owner of the facility an amount which bears to the then value of the facility the same ratio as the amount of such Federal funds bore to the cost of the facility financed with the aid of such funds. Such value shall be determined by agreement of the parties or by action brought in the United States district court for the district in which the facility is situated.

NATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD ON ESTABLISHMENT OF THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

SEC. 6. (a) There is hereby established a National Advisory Board on Establishment of the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, which shall consist of twelve persons, not regular full-time employees of the United States, appointed by the Secretay without regard to the civil service laws. The Secretary shall appoint one of the members to serve as Chairman. The appointed members shall be selected from among leaders in fields related to education and training of the deaf and other fields of education, and from members of the public familiar with the need for services provided by the Institute. The Commissioner of Education and the Commissioner of Vocational Rehabilitation shall be ex officio members of the Board.

(b) Members of the Board, while serving on business of the Board, shall be entitled to receive compensation at rates fixed by the Secretary, but not exceeding $100 per day, including traveltime, and while so serving away from their homes or regular places of business, they may be allowed travel expenses including per diem in lieu of subsistence, as authorized by section 5 of the Administrative Expenses Act of 1946 (5 U.S.C. 73b–2) for persons in the Government service employed intermittently.

(c) It shall be the function of the Board (1) to review proposals from institutions of higher education which offer to enter into an agreement with the Secretary for the construction and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf, (2) to make recommendations to the Secretary with respect to such proposals, and (3) to make such other recommendations to the Secretary concerning the establishment and operation of the National Technical Institute as may be appropriate.

(d) After the Secretary enters into an agreement under this Act, the Board shall cease to exist.

TESTIMONY EXPLAINING THE AIMS AND PURPOSES OF THE NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF ACT

(May 25 (legislative day, May 24), 1965—Senator LISTER HILL, From the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare)

SUMMARY OF THE BILL

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare would be authorized to enter into an agreement with an institution of higher education for the establishment, construction, equipping, and operation of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf for the purpose of providing a residential facility for post-secondary technical training and education for persons who are deaf in order to prepare them for successful employment. A 12-member National Advisory Board on the Establishment of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf would be appointed by the Secretary to review proposals from institutions of higher education which desire such an institute, to make recommendations to the Secretary concerning such proposals, and to make such other recommendation concerning the establishment and operation of the National Technical Institute as may be appropriate. The Commissioners of Education and of Vocational Rehabilitation would be ex officio members of the Board.

NEED FOR THE LEGISLATION

There are approximately 3,000 deaf students above the age of 16 who leave or graduate from State and local schools and classes for the deaf each year. A large number have indicated their intense interest and desire for further educational opportunities. Dr. Leonard M. Elstad, president of Gallaudet College, the only institution for higher education for the deaf in the world, in his testimony reported that over 600 student applications were received and reviewed this year. He reported that 275 of these students will be admitted in September 1965.

The other 325 students who could not meet the entrance requirements of the college, by the very act of submitting an application expressed their desire for further education. This number coupled with some 75 to 100 annual withdrawals from the college at various levels from freshmen to seniors, in addition to numerous other deaf persons among the unemployed or underemployed who desire further training, indicates that well over 400 students each year would be eligible for a program that could be offered in a National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

The recent report on the "Education of the Deaf" prepared by the National Advisory Committee on Education of the Deaf in 1964, appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, stated that "five-sixths of our deaf adults work in manual jobs as contrasted to only one-half of our hearing population." If the door to further educational opportunity is not opened for the group who could not be admitted to Gallaudet College, including other qualified students, they have almost no other alternative than to join the ranks of the nonskilled labor force.

Population and enrollment

The Office of Education estimates that there are 37,000 school-age seriously hearing impaired children in our country. According to the American Annals of the Deaf (January issue, 1965), 83 public and private residential schools are attended by approximately 18,400 deaf students. About 12,300 attend 355 public and private special day schools and classes for the deaf. It is estimated that 6,000 additional students not accounted for by the American Annals of the Deaf are either in public school classes that do not provide necessary special education services for these children or they are not in school at all.

Special problems in education of the deaf

Dr. S. Richard Silverman, director of the Central Institute for the Deaf and professor of audiology at Washington University Medical School in St. Louis, in his testimony before a subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor on April 27, 1965, described the educational problems brought about severe hearing impairment. A portion of this statement was as follows:

"For the persons we are here concerned with, the essential and primary channel for receiving the acoustic symbols we call speech is either absent or severely restricted. All the skills of communication that depend on learning over this channel are adversely affected. From infancy to early school age, the chief mode of communciation for the normal hearing child is auditory. The child

hears and learns to talk from what he hears. Furthermore, he not only learns how to communicate; he also learns what to communicate.

"For a child who does not have the daily experience of listening to language, its acquisition is indeed difficult, if not impossible for some, even within struction. The teacher is confronted with the task of communicating language to a child in the absence of the sensory system considered to be essential for its acquisition.

"The educator, therefore, must seek ways to manipulate information so that it can be transmitted over whatever sensory system or combination of systems are available—such as vision, touch, and residual hearing. At the same time, we are concerned about the content of what we communicate—language and subject matter, as it is influenced by the demands of society and the child himself."

A young child who has a substantial or total hearing loss, acquired at birth or before the normal age for learning language through hearing, has a serious educational handicap. Every attempt has been made by educators of the deaf to accelerate the acquisition of reading, language, and communication skills by deaf children. For the most part, the objective has been to teach the basic language and communication skills well enough at the elementary level so that these children could go on with their education or further vocational training in our colleges, universities, and vocational training facilities for normal hearing students.

Philosophically, this goal would appear to be a reasonable one. Many educators have been convinced that this kind of preparation is the best way for the deaf child to become a full participant socially and economically in a hearing world. Numerous individual success stories can be and have been produced to support this theory. However, the facts reveal that for the general deaf population this has not been achieved.

Most residential schools for the deaf offer programs that provide for the equivalent of an eighth grade education. Very few of the specialized day school programs go beyond this level. Students desiring more than this are expected to enroll in regular high school and other vocational schools for the hearing. This is a commendable objective and its practice should be encouraged wherever and whenever possible. However, because of the serious communication problem involved a relatively small percentage of these children can really communicate well enough to do this.

A NATIONAL TECHNICAL INSTITUTE FOR THE DEAF

The establishment of a National Technical Institute for the Deaf would, by providing a broad flexible curriculum, be able to meet the many and varied special needs of able young deaf adults who seek the opportunity for further education and training. Adequately trained staff members, who are resourceful, flexible, and imaginative would be required for the successful operation of a technical training program.

Size of the Institute

Since the estimates that have been made regarding the number of students who would be able to profit from a specialized program indicate that at least 400 students each year could qualify for enrollment, provision should be made initially to enroll at least 200 students each year with adequate planning for necessary future expansion. The special needs of individual students for program planning purposes would be determined following complete physical, psychological, audiological evaluations, and a program of orientation and guidance counseling. The goals established for some students could be accomplished in 1 year. The objectives for others might require 2, 3, or even 4 years to complete.

Program objectives

The principal objective of the institute should be the employment of the student upon completion of a prescribed educational and training program. The environment of the school, the curriculum, and general living conditions, along with health and recreational services, should be designed to help the student achieve a high degree of personal development and a sense of social responsibility. The educational and training program should be supplemented by varied civic and social group activities to provide the proper environment for developing concepts of responsible citizenship and social competence.

The focus of effort of the entire faculty on behalf of the students attending the Institute should be directed toward the goals of successful employment and preparation for full participation in community living.

Location

The National Technical Institute for the Deaf should be located in a large metropolitan industrial area so that it could be designed to serve the special needs of deaf youth from any community in the Nation. The area should also have a wide variety of nationally representative types of industrial activities in order to make it possible for the student to return to his home for eventual employment. The Institute should be affiliated with a major university for the administration of its program. This would facilitate securing the medical, audiological, psychological, and psychiatric services needed to supplement appropriate guidance and counseling services provided by the staff of the Institute.

The community where the Institute is located should be able to offer a variety of opportunities for training and experience in a wide range of modern industrial settings. The community should be one that would generally be receptive to a program of this nature and be sympathetic with training needs of the deaf.

Curriculum

The curriculum of the Institute should be very flexible so as to permit a variety of adaptations to meet the needs of individual students without the absolute necessity to conform to traditional accreditation standards, such as course credits, fixed period scheduling, and other curriculum restrictions. Courses of study should be available to meet the needs of students attending the Institute. Upon successful completion of a prescribed curriculum, each student should receive a certificate or other formal recognition that would attest to what has been accomplished. The standards and quality of training offered in all areas will have to be high enough to meet the usual requirements as recommended by labor, industry, and professional associations, including certifying and licensing agencies.

The program offered should be broad enough to include a basic or preparatory curriculum of a remedial nature in such subjects as English, reading, science, and mathematics as may be required to prepare deaf students to take the postsecondary courses intended to increase their educational and work skills to enable them to become qualified candidates for employment at levels commensurate with their ability and training. A supplementary curriculum including such courses as humanities, government, history, and economics should be offered to properly prepare students for living in a modern urban society. A comprehensive suporting curriculum in such subject areas as physics, chemistry, biology, and higher mathematics, should be offered where required as prerequisites for training in technical areas.

The course work offered in preparatory, supplemental, and support curriculums should follow a logical sequence in preparing students for training and experience in a wide variety of technologies. The following suggested technological programs are illustrative of some of the kinds of training opportunities that should be made available to deaf students:

Automotive technology: mechanics and body repair, automotive refrigeration, diesel engine technology; aviation technology: mechanics and engine repair, drafting; building and construction: carpentry, plumbing, architectural drawing; paramedical and chemical technology; chemistry, microbiology, dental prosthetics, optical instruments, embalming; engineering technology: technical math, physics and chemistry, technical drafting, enginering fundamental, surveying, technical report writing; business accounting, data processing, computer operation, programing; commercial art: basic design, basic drawing, dress design; electronic engineering technology: rado and television repair, industrial electronics; technical graphic arts: lithography, offset; mechanical and metals technology: machine shop, welding, air conditioning, sheet metal work, refrigeration, tool and die.

An enrichment curriculum should be made available to those students who have the ability and desire to pursue further professional training in other institutions of higher learning. Such courses as literature, history, psychology, sociology, foreign language, philosophy, and political sciences could be offered in the Institute itself or arrangements for study in these areas could be made for the student in other regular university programs.

Essential to the overall program would be the opportunity for continued instruction in communication skills. These would include work toward improving speech and speech reading skills in addition to a continuing support program of auditory training.

Administration

The Institute should be directed by a person who has had professional training and experience as an educator of the deaf. He should be qualified to recruit and direct a competent staff that would be able to organize all the resources of a community and other institutions of higher education in the area in order that the needs of students to be enrolled could be served. All staff members, including counseling, placement, psychological, and instruction specialists, should be adequately trained to deal with deaf students from all types of schools and educational backgrounds. These personnel should know and understand deaf students thoroughly, including their special education and social problems.

Under the provisions of the bill, the governing body of the institution of higher education, subject to the approval of the Secretary, would appoint an advisory group to advise the Director of the Institute in formulating and carrying out the basic policies governing its establishment and operation. Because of the Federal support for the National Technical Institute for the Deaf, it would be anticipated that congressioanl representation would be included in the membership of the advisory group among those who are designated as members of the public familiar with the needs of educational services for the deaf.

Placement officers on the staff of the Institute should provide for initial placement and followup services directly as well as through appropriate liaison with community vocational rehabilitation agencies throughout the Nation.

As a byproduct, in providing this kind of expert service, the Institute could serve as a practice teaching center for the training of special guidance and rehabilitation counselors of the deaf.

One of the responsibilities of the placement guidance and counseling staff should be to maintain continuous liaison with personnel in all schools and classes for the deaf, vocational rehabilitation agencies, and industry, in order to keep these individuals informed and up to date on all pertinent activities of the Institute and to kep the Institute informed about the employment needs of industry.

Standards for admission

Admission to the Institute should be based on a complete comprehensive evaluation of each student's potential for successfully completing one of the courses of study offered at the Institute. The information needed for this purpose as a part of the application process should include a review of medical, psychological, and audiological records; academic achievement and school progress reports; and recommendations from teachers, school principal and others who are acquainted with the student. Wherever possible personal interviews with potential students at the Institute, at home, or in school should be made by the appropriate staff members of the Institute.

A period of orientation, evaluation, and counseling at the Institute in order to properly prepare the new student for full participation in the program, should be available to those who need it.

Research

In addition to serving as a practice teaching center for the training of teachers, instructors, and rehabilitation counselors the Institute will serve as a research facility for the study of educational problems of the deaf. The Institute will be an excellent proving ground for the development of new and better educational teaching techniques. Such information will be useful to all programs where deaf children are taught.

During the hearings the question was raised as to whether the language of S. 1650 and H.R. 7031 authorized the Institute to conduct research. On this point the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare submitted the following letter:

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., May 21, 1965.

Hon. LISTER HILL,
Chairman, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR HILL: This is in response to your request for clarification of the question raised by Senator MURPHY in the May 17, 1965, subcommittee hearing on S. 1650 regarding plans for including research as an essential component of the program to be conducted at the National Technical Institute for the Deaf.

The concept that the National Technical Institute should serve as a focal point for research related to the education of the deaf was thoroughly discussed in numerous planning sessions that preceded the presentation of our testimony in support of this legislation. The Institute would be an excellent proving ground for the development and evaluation of new and better ways for teaching deaf children. The knowledge that results would be useful to all programs where deaf children are taught.

Our plans definitely include recommending that the research component of the Institute be charged with the responsibility for organizing, conducting, and interpreting research, and for disseminating research information on all educational aspects related to the education of the deaf.

In our opinion the National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act authorizes conducting research as outlined above.

If you have any further questions on this matter, I hope you will get in touch with me.

Sincerely yours,

WILBUR J. COHEN,
Assistant Secretary.

Physical facilities

The Institute should have a sufficient number of flexible classroom accommodations to handle at least 50 groups or classes simultaneously; dormitories for 600 residential students equipped with recreation room, social center, reading and study areas; laboratory and shop facilities for all technological and occupational programs; a special library and instructional media center; group auditory training equipment available in all classroom and other meeting or assembly areas; an auditorium adequate to accommodate the entire student body and staff at one seating; and a completely equipped guidance and counseling and psychological services center.

PROGRAMS FOR THE EDUCATION OF THE DEAF

The National Institute for the Deaf is a most worthwhile, constructive, and long overdue measure. However, the committee regards it as only a step in what should become a comprehensive program to meet the educational needs of the deaf.

The Advisory Committee on the Education of the Deaf appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare pursuant to an authorization contained in the 1965 appropriation for the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare submitted a detailed report to the Secretary early in February 1965. The report contained a careful analysis of the problems of education of the deaf and made a number of constructive recommendations for both administrative and legislative action.

The committee hopes that the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare will soon be in a position to make available his analysis of the Advisory Committee's report, and to include with his analysis a summary of the administrative actions to be taken and legislative proposals to be supported in the general area covered by the "Report on Education of the Deaf."

COSTS

Because of the nature of the legislation it is impossible to specify exact costs on an annual basis. However, the committee anticipates that approximately $200,000 will be needed for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, as a planning year budget. Costs for construction, equipping, and operation of the Institute over the first 4 years will amount to approximately $13,500,000. Annual maintenance and operation costs once the construction and equipping expenses are met will require an appropriation of approximately $2 million per year.

Retirement of Digest Editor Jerry Allen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES A. BYRNE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, with the adjournment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress the House will lose the services of Jerry E. Allen, House editor of the Congressional Daily Digest, due to retirement. Mr. Allen has edited the House proceedings since March 17, 1947, when the Daily Digest began publication pursuant to the Congressional Reorganization Act of 1946. Before coming to Capitol Hill Mr. Allen had worked at the Government Printing Office for 21 years in various capacities ranging from apprentice boy to copy editor. So after 40 years of Government service I am certain I speak for the entire membership of the House when I say "a long and happy retirement to you and yours, Jerry." It will be my earnest prayer that the good Lord will continue to shower you and yours with His blessings and good health.

Big, Beautiful Hunk of Skin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I know of no writer who so accurately and vividly describes the unexplained action on the part of the President in exposing his scar to the photographers as Charles McCabe, a writer for the San Francisco Chronicle.

His column follows:

BIG, BEAUTIFUL HUNK OF SKIN
(By Charles McCabe)

Millions of Americans last week enjoyed their grape nuts and cream at the family breakfast table to the accompaniment of a picture that made the front pages of the world's newspapers. It showed a man pointing with obvious pride to a scar on a sizable swatch of his belly, the result of having a bladder and a kidney stone excised.

It was not the sort of picture that one usually sees while trying to take on the first and, it is said, most important meal of the day. It was not a part of the anatomy that is usually exposed to gentle ladies, unless their husbands are forward lads.

But this was an unusual man. This man had recently classed up the gall bladder. He had done the same for the lowly kidney stone. Now he was giving the ignoble belly an exposure and dignity it had never before earned in all the eons it has done its useful, though less than inspiring, labors for mankind.

The caption identified our man. "Baring his abdomen, President Lyndon B. Johnson points to the wide incision cut by surgeons who removed his gall bladder and a stone at Bethesda Naval Hospital near Washington."

Now, it is not altogether clear that the American people were on the clamor to get a view of this delicious incision. There's nothing wrong with good, healthy American flesh, I always say. Good healthy American flesh from Texas has traditionally been labeled choice by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Especially since Mr. Johnson took office.

But there is flesh and flesh.

There were people of a nature sufficiently squeamish to take the view that the President's scar was strictly his business, and that their breakfast was strictly their business, and that they wanted to keep their breakfast just as ardently as the President wanted to lose his scar.

Doubtless some of these people, especially the ladies, were motivated by gross partisan considerations in the disapproving view they took of the Presidential divestiture. They may, for instance, have been ladies and even gentlemen.

Such a one was the lady who wrote in to the New York Herald Tribune, a daily of the Republican persuasian.

"I trust," the lady wrote, "that the President never needs to be operated on for hemorrhoids.

Though the pride in the Presidential countenance, as he unveiled his incision, was obvious, I am frankly puzzled at just what it is that he's so proud about. Because he got rid of a bladder and stone? Because his recovery was remarkably quick? Or because it was his bladder and stone—now, alas, gone—and his scar, now happily going?

I think we must incline to the latter view. The President has developed the view that he is now a kind of a national monument, above and beyond considerations of privacy; that withholding, in the smallest particular, any info about the functioning of his soma and psyche, is simply too cruel a deprivation to inflict on the American electorate.

If there is one thing Mr. Johnson and I agree on, it is that he thinks he knows what is good for us here Americans. Mr. Johnson seems determined the American people are going to like abdominal scars for breakfast. And if that's what Mr. Johnson is determined we are gonna like, then, palsies all, that's what we are gonna like.

I too, along with the Herald Tribune's lady correspondent, hope the Prez stays in cracking good health, in every single one of his members, for the rest of his public, and private, life.

Deep Sea Science Achievements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, American progress in space technology has captured the public imagination to the extent that other noteworthy scientific achievements are sometimes slighted. Litton Industries in my district, Minneapolis, constructed the submarine *Alvin* which recently made a record-breaking dive to a depth of 6,000 feet. This remarkable achievement deserves recognition.

The record-breaking dive was made on July 20 of this year, near New Providence Island in the Bahamas. While Bathyscaphs have gone deeper, the *Alvin* descent was the first time that a neutral buoyancy submersible had reached a depth of 1 nautical mile.

Alvin's chief pilot was Mr. William Rainnie and its copilot was Marvin McCamis. They reported that they were able to see 30 to 40 feet with the aid of exterior lights. Rainnie and McCamis stopped the submarine every thousand feet on its descent to check all its systems.

While *Alvin* was submerged in its testing procedures, a heavy thunderstorm arose on the surface, with winds in excess of 25 knots. The recovery operation was the roughest to date. The craft was taken aboard its catamaran tender and brough back to Port Canaveral, Fla., for a postdive checkout. The 22-foot *Alvin* was conceived and designed through the cooperative efforts of the Woods Hole Oceanographic Institution and the Applied Sciences Division of Litton Industries. The construction of the craft by Litton and the research program are supported by funds from the Office of Naval Research.

In our enthusiasm over the Gemini project, we should not forget comparable undersea achievements. Everyone connected with the *Alvin* project should be congratulated.

Vice President Humphrey's Remarks Before the Economic Club, Detroit, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Vice President HUMPHREY before the Economic Club, Detroit, Mich., under date of October 22, 1965:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

There is one great all-important fact which faces us today. It is the fact of interdependence. Interdependence has been thrust on man, involuntarily, by the reality of his ability to destroy himself. Interdependence has been created by man, voluntarily, through his efforts toward more rapid communication, commercial and cultural exchange.

There are very few things in this world which are not tied in some way to something else. We of our generation have certainly learned that during our lifetimes.

But it took us awhile to learn it.

Take the world of economics.

I can remember how, in this country, there were once voices raised debating what was good for business or labor, producer or consumer as if they were separate, unrelated, independent units. There was talk about economic royalists and labor bosses.

There were those who thought that our economic prosperity was a pie of fixed size, with so much for one man, so much for the next, and who seldom thought in terms of a bigger pie for all.

There were those who said that we in America could enjoy prosperity and security with little or no concern about the rest of the world.

Yes, even in the business community there were far too many who believed that foreign trade was something that foreigners did, among themselves—and that trade was of little importance to America.

But, we have learned some hard lessons. We learned lessons of recession and depression. We learned lessons of costly struggle and unresolved dispute within our own society. Most of all, we learned the lesson that a policy of "me first" is wasteful, costly and dangerous. Today we seem to have learned those lessons—at least our domestic economic lessons.

We are in our 56th consecutive month of domestic economic expansion. Wages are up, profits are up, gross national product is up, prices are relatively stable, unemployment is down.

We enjoy this expansion thanks to a creative burst of expression by our private initiative economic system. We also enjoy it because people who used to be antagonists are today working in common cause—business, labor, Government, citizen.

We are agreed to an almost surprising degree on our economic goals and how to get there.

We know the lesson of interdependence in our domestic economy—and, I might add, in other parts of our American society.

But have we learned the lesson of economic interdependence in the world around us?

I have my doubts. I hear lots of talk about the need for a reformed monetary system; about foreign aid; about better credit terms for export; about foreign investment; about commercial negotiations with our Western partners; about trade with the East. But I hear very little about the interdependence of these things.

What are the economic realities of the world?

First, there is the overwhelming reality that two-thirds of mankind is awakening to the fact that poverty is not written in the stars, that life can be better than it is.

Before World War II, there was no such thing as a "developing country."

Our Foreign Service officers—and those of other Western nations were not in fact concerned with economic development. Their days were largely spent dealing with other Western diplomats and occasionally talking philosophy and political theory with the local elite. Now and then an anthropologist, or a student of language or literature, would make his appearance—but seldom someone so mundane as an economist or a businessman.

And, isolated from the world around them, the people in these places lived a miserable peasant life in a modern world. Some of them, in fact, lived literally outside history itself. But in these past few years they have caught up with history and then some.

In the past 15 years alone, over 60 nations have entered the United Nations—nations many of which had previously not existed, except as colonial enclaves, or tribes, or protectorates. Today they are the "developing," the "underdeveloped," the people who live in poverty and want out.

The unpleasant reality is that the rich nations of the world are getting richer, and the poor, poorer.

And there is an unfortunate but growing tendency among the developing nations to regard the three major international economic institutions—the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade—as rich men's clubs, pitted against the poor.

What will be our answer to the demands of these people who see unshared affluence around them?

Second, we see the fact of a rapidly expanding world economy trying to exist on slowly increasing monetary reserves and credit.

The fact is that our present monetary system, as useful as it has been, could be a drag on the world economy unless it meets the legitimate need for added economic fuel.

The time will come when our own balance of payments will again come into equilibrium. The resulting shortage of new dollar balances in other places could stifle economic growth in the world.

There was a time for study. Now there is a time for negotiation. There will also be a time to act. We must act to modernize and expand the system which is so indispensible to the general welfare.

In the long run, the situation cannot be solved by restrictive trade policies which limit imports to reverse a balance-of-payments deficit, by emergency loans to prevent one country from foreclosing on another, by patchwork adjustments of interest rates.

Third, we see the need for reduction of trade barriers in the rich, industrialized countries.

There was a time when tariffs produced revenue and protected young, infant industries. But the rich Western World has long since learned that barriers to trade—both tariff and other barriers—often become excuses to protect uncompetitive domestic industries.

There is a good case to be made, in fact, that those nations which have most reduced their own tariffs have most benefited economically by becoming more competitive and export minded.

Today we attach barriers to trade in the Kennedy round negotiation in Geneva. But tariff reduction alone will not solve the problems of international commerce. In fact, global reduction of tariffs, among developed and developing countries alike, would clearly not benefit the developing nations to the degree we would seek. For they are, in the Biblical phrase, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," nations without strong and balanced economies.

Nor can trade liberalization be undertaken without appropriate monetary mechanisms to handle liberalized trade, without elimination of pernicious practices which mock tariff reduction, without the building of competitive industries in nations which yet lack those industries.

Fourth, we face the fact that the old economic alinement of the world is changing.

We used to talk about a world divided between those who lived by the rule of the marketplace and those who were so-called state traders. But let us not fool ourselves. The world today is made up of many and varied complex national economies. Even the Soviet economy has been making great strides toward adopting indeed a profit system—call it "revisionism," or "libermanism," or whatever you will. And many Western nations today engage in trading practices which would hardly bear scrutiny by Adam Smith.

The world economy is in constant change. And how would you classify those young nations where there is today hardly any monetized economy at all?

Can we adjust to this changing world economy by the sending of a few trade missions to previously unknown parts, by reminding ourselves every so often that there have been some changes in commercial regulations or investment policy, or by making speeches to the effect that we can transplant our own economic system, as is, to places whose needs and experiences are far different than our own? Of course not.

We must learn that the world economy is interdependent, too. We must learn that, just as the answers to domestic prosperity are found in a thousand interrelated factors, so are the answers found to a more just and prospering world economy.

Let me give you one simple and concrete example of what I mean. Earlier this week I addressed a meeting of the National Export Expansion Council in Washington. Some of you may be members of that Council. At that meeting I pointed out that our favorable trade balance this year will be almost $1½ to $2 billion less than it was in 1964. I further noted that had our trade surplus not been reduced, we would have achieved this year a surplus in our international accounts for the first time since 1957.

Now, we seek a balance in our payments accounts particularly because we wish to maintain world confidence in the dollar which underpins the world trading system.

A sound dollar will also facilitate discussions toward monetary reform. We consider monetary reform to be of highest priority for developed and developing nations alike—for the developed so that they may expand their commerce; for the developing so that they may in turn have means to build competitive, self-sustaining economies of their own.

The strengthening of these young economies has a great deal to do, in turn, with the size of our commitments in foreign aid and technical assistance—with foreign investment, with creating markets for our own products.

I pointed out to the National Export Expansion Council that only 4 percent of our gross national product is devoted to foreign trade. For American business—with its efficiency, its skilled labor force, its mass production, its management, its capacity for growth—has today still not seriously entered the world market in a competitive manner. If the United States, as other nations, were fully alert to export opportunities, our trade surplus could today be doubly large. And the fact is that a trade surplus would have an effect on all the interrelated matters I have mentioned.

I am not here this evening to preach any sermon of discontent. I am here to reaffirm, for the good of all of us, the fact that man is interdependent and that his economy is especially interdependent.

What can we do in this country to meet this era of international economic interdependence?

First—and most obviously—we must all realize that it is here. Then, each of us who has responsibility in this society—and that includes all of us here tonight—must view this country's foreign economic policy in large perspective.

Let us cease asking: Is a high tariff on product X good or bad? Is monetary reform necessary? Is foreign aid worthwhile?

By now we should know the answers. Let us instead ask these questions:

How can striving, desperately poor young nations become members of a world society without being lost to totalitarianism along the way?

How can a freer world be built unless we have freer exchanges of peoples, goods, and capital?

How can we benefit and our economy prosper if there are not others in the world with income enough to buy our goods?

How can we provide for the needs of a growing world population without a strong world economy to build upon?

Let us then devote ourselves to answering them with positive, forward-looking policies, both public and private. Let us commit ourselves—as businessmen, as Government officials, as a nation—to helping the young and weak nations become economically free and strong.

There are many ways: Through private investment that may sometimes involve some risk, through fair commercial treatment for the products of the developing nations, through foreign aid and technical assistance, through private and public loans, through commitment to international and multilateral institutions devoted to economic development, through encouragement of common-market concepts where those concepts have value, through open consultation and spirit of cooperation among the rich and poor alike.

Let us commit ourselves to the maximum possible reductions of all barriers to trade among the developed nations.

This means full and determined commitment to the Kennedy round negotiation. This means acceptance of the fact that, in any trade liberalization, there must be reciprocity and that we must give as well as get. This means patience and fortitude in finding solutions to the knotty problems of agricultural trade liberalization. This means—yes—the acceptance by those American industries not fully competitive that they must become competitive. This means giving highest priority to the avoidance of inflation, for inflation could rob us of the growth and prosperity we have achieved. This means the examination by many nations of their policies of subsidy, price-support, export-financing, antitrust. This means moving ahead with sometimes painful changes in trading pattern. This means undertaking of measures by business, Government, labor to ease impact of these changes.

Let us commit ourselves to the construction of a world monetary system with adequate liquidity.

This will involve the maximum of tact and restraint in difficult negotiation in the Group of 10 and with other members of the International Monetary Fund—the creation, perhaps, of a new reserve asset, the necessity for discipline in maintaining a strong position in our own international accounts, the recognition that not only the rich and industrialized must be taken into consideration in shaping that system.

The answers lie in the intelligent and sophisticated blending of trade, aid, investment, monetary, and domestic economic policies of this Nation and our partners.

They lie in the increasing recognition by those who are not our partners that they cannot live in a closed economy.

They lie, most of all, in the realization by all of us that we have a common destiny on this planet, shared but a short time, and that man's interdependence need not be a proscribed necessity—it can be a means of extending the benefits of mankind to more of mankind.

Young Americans for Freedom Supports a Strong Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLOTTE T. REID
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. REID of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.—YAF—is generally recognized as the leading student organization in the Nation in support of a strong U.S. foreign policy position in Vietnam. For several years, YAF has been regarded as the Nation's largest conservative youth organization on the college campus and in the young business community, but the organization's position in support of a strong U.S. commitment in southeast Asia has given it even greater recognition.

It is indeed encouraging to hear of student organizations who are supporting a strong U.S. foreign policy. During the past few months, when student protest demonstrations against U.S. involvment in Vietnam have increased in number and strength, it is encouraging to hear of students' groups offsetting the protest demonstrations by offering constructive programs for fighting Communist aggression in Vietnam and all of Asia. YAF is such an organization.

Mr. Speaker, the position of YAF on foreign policy questions is derived from the Sharon statement which was adopted in conference at Sharon, Conn., September 9–11, 1960, at the founding of the group on the estate of William F. Buckley, Jr., editor of National Review. In the Sharon statement is found the policy guideline for determination of foreign policy questions by YAF:

In this time of moral and political crisis, it is the responsibility of the youth of America to affirm certain eternal truths.

We, as young conservatives, believe—

That the forces of international communism are, at present, the greatest single threat to these liberties;

That the United States should stress victory over, rather than coexistence with, this menace; and

That American foreign policy must be judged by this criterion: does it serve the just interests of the United States?

YAF is comprised of thousands of college students across the Nation, and YAF's position becomes even more important, when one considers that those YAF members calling for stronger action in Vietnam are eligible for the draft and service in Vietnam themselves. Responsible students do not have sympathy for the students of the political left who are burning their draft cards, deliberately blocking the troop and supply convoys and trains, picketing Selective Service System local board offices, and by staging riots in major cities which flagrantly disrespect the law. YAF is representative of the other elements of the college campus who are supporting a strong policy. YAF is helping to offset the demonstrations of the student left-wing groups.

Mr. Speaker, the newly elected national chairman of YAF, Tom Charles Huston, a student at Indiana University Law School, recently made a trip to southeast Asia to view the situation first hand. Upon his return to the United States, Mr. Huston issued a press release calling for more effective use of our allies in Asia. This release follows:

CONSERVATIVE HEAD SAYS L.B.J. NOT MAKING GOOD USE OF ASIAN ALLIES IN VIETNAM

The national chairman of Young Americans for Freedom, a 25,000-member conservative group, charged today that the war in Vietnam is being prolonged by the failure of President Johnson to take advantage of offers of assistance by America's allies in Asia.

Tom Charles Huston, 24, Logansport, a senior in the Indiana University School of Law, recently returned from a 25,000-mile tour of the Far East during which he met with governmental leaders in Korea, Philippines, and the Republic of China.

"There is tremendous support for our strong anti-Communist policy in Vietnam among the peoples and governments of Asia," Huston said. "The only fear is that America, in an effort to achieve peace, will sacrifice the aspirations of the Vietnamese people in order to pacify Red China."

Huston reported that Prime Minister Chung Il Kwan of Korea told him that the Republic of Korea was anxious to send two or three combat divisions to Vietnam. He quoted the Prime Minister as saying that "Koreans are honored to shed blood with their American allies once more in the fight against communism. It is the least we can do to express our gratitude for the American sacrifices made during the Korean war."

Huston also met with President Chiang Kai-shek and Premier C. K. Yen, of the Republic of China, who told him that China was anxious to assist in any way possible in the struggle against communism in Vietnam. According to Huston, President Chiang Kai-shek observed that Chinese personnel are presently assisting in refugee relief and relocation work in South Vietnam, but expressed the hope that the U.S. Government would make it possible for the Republic of China to take a more vigorous part in the struggle. Both leaders denied reports circulating in the United States that Chinese involvement in South Vietnam would be met with resentment from the Vietnamese people. Huston said his conversations with Vietnamese leaders, including former Prime Minister Phan-Huy-Quat, indicated that there is no reason why Chinese personnel could not actively participate in the anti-Communist effort in South Vietnam.

The Philippines, which currently has several medical teams in Vietnam, is anxious to expand its role, Huston reported. "While the Philippines is not in a position to make an extensive commitment of military forces to the war in Vietnam, it is willing and able to extend increased technical assistance," Huston said.

"There is general agreement among Asian leaders," Huston said, "that the war in Vietnam will be won only if there is a two-pronged counteroffensive against communism. The major thrust must, of course, be made by the military. However, political stability must be achieved, and this will occur only if an increased effort is made to provide economic assistance to Vietnam. It is in this area that the present administration has conspicuously failed. Our allies in Asia are willing to help by sending civic-action volunteer teams composed of doctors, nurses, engineers, agriculturists, and socio-economic development experts, and administrative, military, and other technical advisers in an effort to assist the Vietnamese people and win their hearts and minds away from the clutches of communism. This is the key to permanent peace and stability in South Vietnam. If this administration is anxious to achieve a lasting solution to the Vietnamese war it must rally the support of our Asian allies and take advantage of their offers of assistance."

Huston concluded: "This administration talks of peace. Our Asian allies talk of victory. The time has come for the administration to show some initiative in international affairs and encourage the active participation of our Asian allies in the war in Vietnam. Victory is attainable if only the United States is determined enough to seek it."

Mr. Speaker, at the National Convention of YAF, held in Washington, D.C., during late August of this year, the organization passed a resolution unanimously which called for the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam. It also called for several other actions to help win the war. This resolution follows:

RESOLUTION ON SOUTH VIETNAM

Whereas we share the administration's view that what the Communists chose to call "wars of national liberation" constitute nothing more than a new form of aggression which must be resisted as a threat to the establishment of true peace; and

Whereas the current aggression against South Vietnam takes its primary inspiration and direction from the north and has as its ultimate object the conquest of all of southeast Asia; a fact recognized by those countries in the area who have sent significant amounts of combat personnel to share in the burden of defeating the Communists; and

Whereas we believe that this Nation is required by considerations of national interest and by moral considerations of the highest order to come to the aid of the people of South Vietnam and other countries of southeast Asia in their defense against aggression; and

Whereas, While South Vietnam fails to measure up to the full standards of freedom to which we in this country have become accustomed, the present form of government nevertheless affords a greater opportunity for the ultimate development of truly liberal institutions than would a Communist regime: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Young Americans for Freedom applauds the committment of U.S. might and prestige on behalf of South Vietnam and supports the recognition that this war must be won on the ground in South Vietnam as military success is a precondition for the political and social developments which will ultimately decrease the ability of Communist recruiters to lure local peasants into giving aid and comfort to the Vietcong; and be it further

Resolved, That we urge the administration demonstrate its intent to take whatever action proves tactically necessary to assure that the successful termination of the war will not be unduly delayed, including such measures as (a) the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam; (b) effective air action against Soviet-built missile sites around Hanoi and Haiphong, (c) the beginning, by calculated aerial and naval bombardment of the destruction of the industrial capacity of North Vietnam; (d) by instituting a naval and air blockade of North Vietnam, all of these steps to be taken to induce North Vietnam, to cease in its support of the troops in the South, and (e) the clear communications to Communist China that any overt intervention by that country will result in retaliation by the United States and by our allies such as Nationalist China.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution clearly indicates the clear and sound position which YAF has taken on Vietnam. YAF stands on that resolution today as much as it did then, if not more so.

One of the most notable accomplishments of YAF with respect to Vietnam events was the sponsorship of a symposium for freedom in Vietnam. This symposium was held at the International Inn here in the Nation's Capital on Saturday, October 16, 1965, under the sponsorship of the YAF-created Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam. This project was YAF-created, YAF-directed, YAF-sponsored, YAF-financed, and YAF-attended. Its national coordinator was the able Alfred Regnery, a recent graduate of Beloit College in Wisconsin and a recent enlistee for duty in the armed services, who is the college director of Young Americans for Freedom, Inc.

This symposium was attended by nearly 1,000 students from throughout the Nation. Prominent officials from the Department of State, staff members from senatoral and congressional offices, prominent scholars, students recently returned from Vietnam, and press corpsmen participated in the symposium. The symposium was climaxed by a peaceful march to the Vietnamese Embassy for presentation to the Ambassador with an American flag as a symbol of YAF's support for the defense of freedom in Vietnam.

It was a substantial contrast to witness this peaceful and orderly march in support of U.S. policy as compared to the nearly riotous protest demonstrations conducted by the Vietnam Day Committee—VDC—and the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—throughout the Nation which featured such things as the burning of draft cards.

It was most encouraging to hear of this symposium on October 16 at the same time that leftwing students were burning their draft cards, conducting rallies which nearly resulted in riots in major cities, and calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Vietnam. The VDC, led and directed by

leaders of the SDS, was one of the most irresponsible events to have occurred in this Nation in many years.

Mr. Speaker, when students, as they did during the VDC demonstrations, call for open defiance of Federal statutes, when they call for avoiding the draft, when they call for physically blocking troop and supply trains, when they call for withdrawal from Vietnam of American troops, when they call our valiant fighting men in Asia war criminals, it seems to me that it borders on sedition.

Mr. Speaker, it is almost unbelievable to see the amount of disgusting "hate" material that the student left put out during the VDC demonstrations. In California the VDC and its associates were circulating handbills with a picture of former Ambassador Maxwell Taylor with the caption, "Wanted for Mass Murder." It was encouraging to see an organization like YAF out there leading demonstrations to offset such VDC and SDS activities.

I think some of the materials which the YAF-sponsored symposium issued about the event will give everyone a clear idea about the symposium.

A news release of October 9, 1965, giving the general scope of the symposium follows:

SENATOR DODD, COLUMNIST ROWLAND EVANS, TO ADDRESS SYMPOSIUM FOR FREEDOM IN VIETNAM OCTOBER 16

WASHINGTON, D.C., October 9.—Alfred S. Regnery, national college director of Young Americans for Freedom and member of the steering committee of the Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam, sponsors of the symposium for freedom in Vietnam, announced today that Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, and syndicated columnist Rowland Evans will address the student symposium to be held in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, October 16.

Senator DODD, a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and an outspoken defender of the Johnson administration's policy in Vietnam will make a major address at the morning session of the symposium.

Evans, who, along with Robert Novak, writes the widely quoted column, "Inside Report", will analyze the Vietnam war and moderate the panel discussion at the afternoon session. Evans has visited Vietnam several times and will give his first-hand impression of the war's course.

Approximately 1,500 students from across the Nation are expected to attend the reverse teach-in in Washington, which will be the only student meeting that day endorsing current U.S. policy in Vietnam. The weekend is expected to be filled with left-wing "peacenik" protests against American firmness in that southeast Asian territory.

Representing the State Department will be Joseph Luman, former press attaché in Saigon, who will discuss at the morning session the legal and political reasons for U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Participants in the afternoon panel discussion are four distinguished professors: David Rowe, Yale University; Frank Trager, New York University; Oliver Martin, University of Rhode Island; and Franz Michael, George Washington University.

A special feature of the daylong meeting will be a student panel discussion conducted by four student leaders who have visited Vietnam. They are Arthur Collingsworth, University of Michigan; Jolynn Cappo, Michigan State University; Jay Parsons, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; and Don Emerson, Yale.

Symposium schedule follows:

10:00: Opening remarks, introductions.

10:15: Address, questions and answers; Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut.

11:00: Address, questions and answers; Republican Senator.

11:45: Address, questions and answers; Mr. Joseph Luman, State Department.

1:30: Panel discussion; moderator, Rowland Evans; Profs: Frank Trager, New York University; David Rose, Yale University; Oliver Martin, Rhode Island University; and Franz Michael, George Washington University.

3:00: Student panel discussion; Arthur Collingsworth, University of Michigan; Jolynn Cappo, Michigan State; Jay Parsons, SAIS, Johns Hopkins University; and Don Emerson, Yale.

4:30: General discussions, reactions, etc.

5:15: Adjournment.

The meeting is open to the public.

The following is from the initial announcement of the symposium:

The symposium for freedom in Vietnam is a meeting national in scope and international in importance. It is a meeting of students who support the U.S. commitment in Vietnam, and who approve of our Government's strong stand against Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

This symposium offers an opportunity to examine the U.S. foreign policy in relation to this country's present involvement in Vietnam. The symposium is an answer to the demonstrations, picket lines, and civil disobedience of those who would have us withdraw from Vietnam. It is a call to all people in the academic world to show support for strong American foreign policy, and a call for a halt to Communist aggression.

This symposium shall also serve as an opportunity to constructively criticize the present U.S. position to halt Communist aggression in southeast Asia. This is the first of a series of meetings. It will be up to you to take what you have learned to your campuses, and to show the people of America and the people of the world that American students support our Government's action in Vietnam. It will also be up to you to take the projects which will be discussed here to your campus, and to see that these projects are undertaken to help the people of South Vietnam.

The list of the supporting professors of this symposium was most impressive. The list of those professors follows:

SYMPOSIUM FOR FREEDOM IN VIETNAM—SUPPORTING PROFESSORS

Comer Clay, professor of government, Texas Christian University.

Leslie Pruitt, associate professor, Parsons College.

Allen G. Erickson, associate professor of education, Moorhead State College.

Theodore L. Shay, professor of political science, Willamette University.

Donald P. Kilpatrick, instructor of mathematics, Siena.

Dr. Frank J. D'Amico, professor, Spanish, studies abroad, Parsons College.

Dr. Kenneth H. Thompson, associate dean of the college, Berea College.

William H. Clements, professor of education, Wisconsin State University.

Walter C. Kitzerow, instructor, Morton Junior College.

Paul Warren Allen, director, School of Music, North Central College.

Stephen A. Janto, professor of history, Siena College.

Beauvais Fox, assistant professor, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn.

L. Lautenbach, dean, School of Business Administration, Bob Jones University.

Lionel Crocker, Department of Speech, Denison University.

Prof. Anthony T. Bouscaren, professor of political science, Le Moyne College.

W. L. Furman, associate professor of mathematics, Spring Hill College.

Rev. Martin A. Stillmock, CSSR, chairman of English department, St. Joseph's.

Dr. L. A. Dellin, chairman of the East European studies, University of Vermont.

O'Neill K. Kane, instructor, Palm Beach Junior College.

Donald L. Strand, associate professor, Bradley University.

David Dautenhahn, associate professor of mathematics, Missouri Valley College.

Kenneth D. Mackenzie, assistant professor of industrial administration, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

George G. Thielman, Ph. D., associate professor of political science, Georgia State College.

Robert T. Gillespie, assistant professor, Gettysburg College.

Rev. Daniel Lyons, S.J. sociologist, Gonzaga University.

Dr. Raymond C. Suiter, faculty research engineer, Montana State University.

Roland I. Perusse, associate professor of government, Texas Western College.

John J. Kennedy, College of Business Administration, Arizona State University.

Albert Wass de Czege, assistant professor, University of Florida.

Robert R. Neff, associate professor of history, Grove City College.

Robert Samuel Rogers, chairman, classical studies, Duke University.

Edward J. Rozek, professor of political science, University of Colorado.

David N. Rowe, professor of political science, Yale University.

Francis G. Wilson, professor of political science, University of Illinois.

Dr. Justus M. van der Kroef, chairman, Department of Political Science, University of Bridgeport.

William F. Wagner, professor of Spanish, Louisburg College.

William A. Nye, associate professor of insurance, San Diego State College.

Wayne L. Shick, professor of general engineering, University of Illinois.

Maurice G. Porter, associate professor, University of Illinois.

Arthur R. Williams, psychology, Shimer College.

William Nelson, instructor, University of Arizona.

Raymond Eling, assistant professor of pharmacology, University of Cincinnati.

William Fleming, chairman, Department of Political Science, Ripon College.

Oscar Ibele, professor of political science, Kent State University.

Michael Lindsay, professor of Far Eastern studies, the American University.

William Oliver Martin, chairman, Department of Philosophy, University of Rhode Island.

Demetrios F. Nixon, chairman of Social Studies Department, Louisburg College.

William F. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions, Claremont Men's College.

Dr. Walter S. Blake, Jr., dean of students, Willamette University.

Dr. Anthony Kubek, chairman, Department of History, University of Dallas.

W. P. Shofstall, dean of students, Arizona State University.

Father Hugh Halton, chairman, Department of Government, Providence College.

Dr. Nicholas Nyaradi, School of International Studies, Bradley University.

John Alden Clark, professor of mechanical engineering, University of Michigan.

F. T. Quiett, professor of engineering, San Diego State College.

A letter was sent by the Student Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom in Vietnam to the editor of every campus newspaper in the Nation. This letter follows:

DEAR STUDENT NEWSPAPER EDITOR: You are invited to attend the symposium for freedom in Vietnam in Washington, D.C., on October 16. This will be the only national meeting

on that day in support of U.S. action in Vietnam. On the same day, from New York City to Berkeley, Calif., students by the thousands will demonstrate, protest, and commit acts of civil disobedience against our foreign policy.

It is therefore of utmost importance that you join with us in this meeting supporting our action in Vietnam. Student body presidents and newspaper editors from all parts of the Nation will participate in this meeting.

The program will include addresses by a Republican and a Democratic Senator, a panel discussion of five professors, all experts on southeast Asia, a panel discussion of five students who spent the summer in Vietnam, an address from a newspaper reporter who recently returned from Vietnam, and an address by an official of the State Department.

We are arranging a briefing with either the President or one of his top aids. One of the most interesting highlights of the afternoon will be a discussion of how students can help the people of South Vietnam—projects such as the collection of money for war orphans, and a program whereby student governments adopt a Vietnamese village.

If you can possibly be in Washington on the 16th, we will look for you. If you cannot attend yourself, send a representative from your paper. Please make every effort to attend this important function to show support for our strong policy in Vietnam.

Sincerely yours,

ALFRED REGNERY.

Mr. Regnery also issued a letter dated October 3, 1965, to the general membership of YAF on the symposium detailing its plans and purposes. The letter follows:

OCTOBER 3, 1965.

To: Members of Young Americans for Freedom.

From: Alfred S. Regnery, YAF college director.

Re an item of vital importance.

On Saturday, October 16, one of the major student activities of the fall will take place in Washington. The symposium for freedom in Vietnam, a meeting of national scope and of tremendous importance, will be sponsored by a bipartisan committee of student leaders. Students from all parts of the Nation will take part in this meeting. The symposium will serve as the starting point of a coalition of liberal and conservative, Republican and Democratic anti-Communists.

This meeting will be the only national effort to counteract the thousands of radical students who will be picketing, protesting, breaking the law, and actually aiding the Vietcong in protest of American involvement in Vietnam on that day. The leftwing students will be on the front page of every newspaper in the country. In order that the entire American population not come under the false illusion that the American student in general is opposed to our anti-Communist stand in Vietnam, you must participate on October 16. You, a member of Young Americans for Freedom, will play a vital role in this meeting by presenting the young conservative voice.

If the efforts of the left are to be counteracted on October 16, this meeting must be successful. To be successful, you must be there. You will hear speeches by Republican and Democrat Senators, an official of the Department of State, panel discussions of professors and of students who have been in Vietnam. Programs will be discussed which can be undertaken by local groups. There will be no charge for this meeting.

If you are in a chapter, help your chapter chairman arrange for a carload or busload of people from your area. If you are not in a chapter and need transportation, contact one of the following people.

A news release on the symposium was also issued by the student ad hoc committee right before the symposium took place. The release follows:

STUDENTS FROM 55 COLLEGES TO ATTEND TEACH-IN SUPPORTING U.S. ACTION IN VIETNAM HERE

WASHINGTON.—The sympsium for freedom in Vietnam, the first major win-the-war teach-in, will be attended by students from 55 colleges, it was reported today.

The meeting, to take place Saturday at the International Inn from 10 a.m. to 5 p.m., will be keynoted by Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut. Other speakers include Joseph Luman, past aid to Maxwell Taylor, Syndicated Columnist Rowland Evans, of the Evans-Novak team, and a host of professors and students who have spent time in southeast Asia.

Students from as far away as Colorado will fly into Washington for the occasion. Three busloads of students will come from Philadelphia, and official delegations are expected from most eastern universities.

The symposium, being sponsored by a bipartisan committee of members of the Young Republicans, Young Democrats, and Young Americans for Freedom, was organized to counteract leftist demonstrations protesting American involvement in Vietnam. Demonstrations will supposedly take place this weekend in some 28 cities and university campuses. The "peace-niks" are expected to commit acts of civil disobedience and to draw attention to themselves by being arrested. In spite of this, "a great majority of students support administration policy in Vietnam," Alfred S. Regnery, member of the steering committee said. "They simply have not yet had the opportunity to demonstrate that support."

A highlight of the meeting, to take place during the afternoon, will be a panel discussion of four American students who spent last summer in Vietnam. They will discuss their reactions and ways in which American students can show support for U.S. Vietnamese policy, and ways in which they can help the people of South Vietnam.

Mr. Speaker, the symposium was a success. Nearly a thousand college students attended the gathering. Similar symposiums on a more localized level are planned by YAF chapters for this fall and winter.

Typical of the activities of various YAF leaders to aid the war effort in Vietnam is a news release issued by Randal C. Teague, YAF's southern regional director and member of the its national board of directors. YAF leaders throughout the Nation are trying to win press support for the war effort in Vietnam, to arouse public opinion behind the war effort, and to gather the support of college students. The news release follows:

YAF LEADER BLASTS VIETNAM PROTESTS

WASHINGTON.—A leader of the Young Americans for Freedom (YAF) blasted the student anti-Vietnam protests here in the Nation's Capital today as a deliberate attempt to defeat the cause of freedom in Asia and the world. YAF is regarded as the leading student organization supporting a strong policy in Vietnam. It is behind the administration's strong policy there.

In making the denouncement, Randal C. Teague, a member of YAF's board of directors and the leader of its southern program, said, "Students who are burning their draft cards and organizing programs to avoid the draft and to thwart the American effort against communism in Asia are in a minority on the college campus. What they are doing is wrong—legally and morally. Those who are in violation of Federal laws should be prosecuted and severely punished by the courts."

Teague, a student himself, went on to say, "These students are not conscientious objectors. Their actions show shades of absolute anarchy. As many national leaders have pointed out, there is strong evidence that many of these protests have been led by the extremists of the radical left who often associate themselves with Communist-leaning groups. Responsible students have no sympathy with those who are deliberately flaunting the law by burning their draft cards, by blocking troop and supply convoys, and worst of all by demoralizing those valient fighting men in Vietnam today who are risking their lives to insure the security of freemen."

The YAF leader concluded by saying, "When our Nation issues a call to arms, it is our duty to respond to it, whether we personally like it or not. Every American, from the youngest to the oldest, deserves to support his Government in time of national emergency, and surely the war in Vietnam is one of the gravest situations confronting the world today."

At its recent national convention in Washington, YAF passed a strong resolution unanimously calling for the commitment of sufficient numbers of ground troops to combat the guerrillas now active in South Vietnam. The resolution also called for effective air action against Soviet-built missile sites around Hanoi and Haiphong, the beginning by calculated aerial and naval bombardment of the destruction of the industrial capacity of North Vietnam, and by the institution of a naval and air blockade of North Vietnam. The resolution concluded with the call to issue a clear communication to Communist China that any overt intervention by that country will result in retaliation by the United States and by our allies.

The national office of YAF has been in the front position on the Vietnam program. YAF is developing a constructive program to aid the war effort, and some of these constructive programs were detailed in a chapter-State-regional chairmen's newsletter issued by David R. Jones, the executive director of YAF. This newsletter follows:

VIETNAM

October 15 and 16 have been designated "Vietnam Day" by the left, and all signs seem to indicate that the "new left" will be very active picketing, protesting, parading, and committing acts of civil disobedience or, more exactly, breaking the law on that day. It is therefore important that members and chapters of Young Americans for Freedom demonstrate their support of a strong policy in Vietnam, in a positive fashion. The national office therefore recommends a number of projects, to be started on the 16th and to be carried out throughout the coming months.

Crisis fund for Vietnamese children of the International Rescue Committee, 460 Park Avenue South, New York, 10016. A fund to send food and clothing to war orphans of South Vietnam. This project should receive prime importance—money should be collected and sent to New York. For more information and brochures, send to the International Rescue Committee.

Vietnam mail call, Post Office Box 3104, Columbus, Ga.: A program of letterwriting to American soldiers in Vietnam. Letters should be written and addressed to Columbus, Ga., and will in turn be forwarded on to soldiers in Vietnam, showing the sup-

port of the American people of the Vietnam war. Christmas cards can also be sent.

Petition campaign: A simple petition should be drawn up and as many signatures as possible gathered supporting our war efforts in Vietnam, and sent to the President of the United States. Gather as many names as possible for this program.

Poster and letterwriting campaigns should be launched. Posters should go up on your campuses and in your communities calling for victory in Vietnam, and many letters should be written to the editor of your local papers.

Mr. Speaker, the most encouraging aspect of the YAF participation in the great debate raging on the college campuses of this Nation today over involvment in Vietnam is the constructive aspect of their policy. Instead of merely demonstrating, they are developing comprehensive programs to help the Vietnamese and the American fighting men there. YAF chapters across the Nation are participating and cooperating with the Crisis Fund for Vietnamese Children of the International Rescue Committee in New York. This is a fund to send food and clothing to war orphans of South Vietnam. This project is receiving prime importance on many campuses. Money is being collected and sent to the International Rescue Committee by YAF members to help in this program.

YAF chapters and members are also cooperating with Operation Vietnam Mail Call which operates from Columbus, Ga. This is a program to send letters to soldiers in Vietnam telling them of the support which many college students have for their efforts. Christmas cards by the thousands will be sent to these fighting men who will be on the front fighting for the freedom of a troubled world. They are going to be out in the jungles on Christmas Day, when most of us will be in our comfortable homes enjoying a fine holiday. We must not forget these men and thank them for their efforts. YAF is trying to do just that.

YAF has a nationwide campaign in operation to obtain tens of thousands of signatures supporting our war efforts in Vietnam. These petitions are being sent to the President of the United States, to Senators and Congressmen, and other prominent national political figures.

In cooperation with other organizations, YAF is helping to collect clothing to be sent to refugees fleeing from North Vietnam. Victory in Vietnam committees are being established by YAF on hundreds of college campuses. Students will be sent to Vietnam during future months to look at the situation first hand.

Mr. Speaker, when a student recently burned his draft card in New York, attracting national attention, many Americans were incensed at the idea. Here was a student burning his draft card before a rally of students protesting American action in Vietnam and burning it in open violation of Federal law. The national chairman of YAF, Tom Huston, responded with an outcry which was carried in hundreds of newspapers across the Nation. At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the news release which was issued from the national offices of YAF in response to this event:

NEWS RELEASE

A national student leader today supported the action of the Justice Department in arresting David J. Miller, the "pacifist" who burned his draft card during last weekend's anti-Vietnam demonstrations.

Tom Charles Huston, national chairman of the conservative Young Americans for Freedom, advised Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach in a telegram today that Miller "must be prosecuted if respect for law and order is to prevail in the student community.

"The demonstrations against the U.S. presence in Vietnam," Huston added, "represent a very small minority of student opinion and of American opinion in general. We certainly support their right to protest by all legal and peaceful means, but we must demand that their protest—and the protests of any other groups, on any other issues—be carried out only through legal and peaceful means."

Young Americans for Freedom also called upon its members "to isolate the new left; to render it impotent" in an editorial in the October issue of the organization's magazine, the New Guard.

The editorial, entitled "Aid and Comfort to the Enemy," says that the anti-Vietnam demonstrators "are not pacifists (though there are pacifists among them); they are a fifth column.

"The touchstone of the antiwar activity," says the New Guard, "is not true pacifism—for that would involve stern condemnation of the Vietcong invaders—but rather a hatred of Western, and especially American institutions, beliefs, and strategic security."

Mr. Speaker, YAF is not merely responding to the demonstrations of the student left. It is taking the initiative. Tom Huston was not satisfied with sitting back and merely issuing news releases. He went right to the heart of the agitation. With courage which few individuals have demonstrated, Tom Huston flew to San Francisco, and during the height of the protest demonstrations, this young man from Indiana led a demonstration supporting U.S. policy. Tom Huston spoke from the steps of the infamous hall at Berkeley, Calif., which was made infamous by the so-called Free Speech Movement several months ago. He was one of the few conservatives to ever speak to a mass audience from those steps, and I think I can safely say that the remarks which Mr. Huston made there were more consistent with the national interests of America than were the remarks made by the Free Speech Movement leaders, the Students for a Democratic Society leaders, and the Vietnam Day Committee spokesmen. Mr. Huston spent several days going from one end of California to the other rallying support for America's strong commitment in Vietnam. His speeches and appearances attracted statewide coverage by the press.

Mr. Speaker, I think that there is little doubt that YAF represents the majority opinion on this issue on the college campus. YAF deserves to be commended for its efforts, and I sincerely hope that their efforts will be successful in convincing the students on America's campuses that they should support a strong U.S. position in Vietnam. I commend YAF for its efforts.

Congressman Edward R. Roybal Reports From Washington

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my October 1965 newsletter, the 11th in a series of regular "Reports From Washington" which I have made during the past 3 years to the residents of the 30th District of California on my activities as their Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus eight special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California.

In its 10 months' work, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has compiled one of the most productive records of legislative achievement in our Nation's history.

Working in close harmony with President Lyndon Johnson, Congress has supported a developing national consensus for considered and prudent conduct of the Government's fiscal business, while adopting progressive and forward-looking programs to meet the essential needs of a rapidly growing modern society of nearly 200 million citizens.

Great strides were made toward reaching the goals of a more prosperous economy, equal opportunity for all Americans, a strong defense posture, and lasting world peace with freedom.

I am proud to have had a part in building this constructive record, and I have attempted to outline some of the highlights of the session in this October 1965 "Report From Washington."

The report follows:

THE 11TH REPORT FROM WASHINGTON

This is the 11th in a series of regular "Reports From Washington" made to the residents of the 30th District on my activities as your Representative in the Nation's Capital.

These, plus eight special reports, were designed to cover all major items of legislation considered by Congress, events of national and international significance, and particularly, those matters of special concern to Metropolitan Los Angeles and southern California.

RECAP, 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

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MEDICARE—SOCIAL SECURITY

In a truly historic action, Congress overwhelmingly approved the landmark medicare and Social Security Amendments of 1965.

As one of the bill's congressional sponsors, I am proud to have supported this progressive and forward-looking legislation, for it not only contains the most comprehensive medicare-health insurance plan for America's senior citizens ever enacted, but it also includes the largest increase in social security benefits approved since the program was started 30 years ago.

Of particular benefit to California's 1½ million elderly citizens, as well as the 17 million other Americans over 65, this plan will enable them to prepay in their earlier, more productive working years most of their own hospital and related health expenses during retirement.

In addition, the program provides optional supplementary health insurance available at minimum cost to all persons over 65 to cover their major medical and doctor bills.

Finally, the measure includes a long overdue 7 percent across-the-board cost-of-living increase in social security benefits for some 20 million Americans—a real help to them by raising the minimum level of their basic economic protection.

These three key provisions of the medicare and Social Security Amendments of 1965, plus several other substantial improvements in current federally assisted programs, make this law the most significant piece of health and social welfare legislation in American history.

I have always been convinced that the elderly are not asking for charity. But they want and deserve a system such as this offering them an opportunity to plan for the future, to permit them to live their remaining years in earned dignity, secure in the knowledge that they have provided adequately for their own needs during retirement years.

EXCISE TAX CUT OF $4.6 BILLION

With President Johnson and Vice President HUMPHREY at the White House for signing of the excise tax cut into law.

As one of the bill's original legislative supporters, I am happy to report that over 90 percent of this long-overdue multi-billion-dollar tax reduction is now being passed on to the Nation's consumers in the form of lower prices on a wide range of retail items such as jewelry, luggage, cosmetics, radios and TV sets, air conditioners, household appliances, typewriters, cameras, autos and auto accessories.

These Federal excise taxes, which hit low- and middle-income families hardest, also have exerted an unnecessary and harmful drag on our country's economic growth. They have been preventing us from reaching our goal of a full-employment economy with worthwhile job opportunities for every American.

On top of last year's $11.5 billion personal and corporate income tax cut, and 1962's $2.5 billion investment for tax credit and liberalized depreciation allowance for business, the new excise tax cut is already helping improve the Nation's economic health, not by more Government spending, but by releasing the pent-up energies of the American private enterprise system.

ELEMENTARY-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Los Angeles' Unified School District will receive more than $15 million during the current school year, under the Administration's landmark program of aid to elementary and high schools approved this spring by Congress and emphasizing better education for America's 5½ million underprivileged youth from families on public assistance or from those with annual incomes below $2,000.

Statewide, California children will receive nearly $80 million in aid under the program, much of it concentrated in our heavily populated urban centers where the ever-increasing demand for more schools and teachers has placed a tremendous strain on existing sources of State and local tax revenues.

Historically, we have always acknowledged the need for education as solid investment in the future of our country. Beginning with the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, setting aside a portion of the new territory for educational use, through the Morrill Land-Grant College Act of 1862, the GI bill after World War II and Korea, and the 1958 National Defense Education Act, the Federal Government has assumed leadership in the effort to provide full educational opportunity for all our citizens.

ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

Under Secretary of State Thomas Mann joins me in congratulating former California Deputy Attorney General Carlos Borja of Los Angeles on his appointment to a key State Department post as Assistant Director of the U.S. Agency for International Development Mission in the strategic Central American Republic of El Salvador.

Dedicated by President Johnson as a living memorial to the faith and idealism of John F. Kennedy, the Alliance for Progress calls for a peaceful, democratic social and economic revolution in the underdeveloped countries of the Western Hemisphere.

Offering a positive and constructive answer to the false claims of international communism, the alliance is also in line with the objectives of Franklin Roosevelt's good neighbor policy of the 1930's.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

As coauthor of this historic reform measure, I had the honor of being invited to accompany President Johnson as a special official party guest to witness the colorful signing ceremony for the 1965 Immigration Act held in the shadow of the famous Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor.

The first major revision of our immigration laws in over 40 years, the new statute eliminates the highly discriminatory national origins quota system, and sets up a more equitable first-come first-served selection procedure based on a greatly improved system of preference categories.

By helping to reunite families, to admit those with special knowledge or needed skills, while providing safeguards to protect the jobs of American workers, and by abolishing the notorious Asia-Pacific triangle provisions that unfairly discriminated against persons of Asian descent, the new law will make a real contribution to our Nation's foreign policy, and at the same time serve to strengthen our domestic U.S. economic and cultural objectives.

In John Kennedy's words, "we are a nation of immigrants," and Californians in particular have always had a big stake in our immigration policies—because it has been the many thousands of men and women who came to our State from all over the world who have helped make California what it is today; the largest, wealthiest, and most progressive State in the Union, and a pace-setting leader in building an even greater America of tomorrow.

HIGHER EDUCATION

The Golden State is in line to receive an extra $50 million in Federal financial aid during the current fiscal year to help handle the staggering problems caused by our fantastic college student population explosion that has seen enrollments more than double within the last 10 years alone, and promises to continue into the 1970's without letup.

California students and colleges will receive nearly 10 percent of the funds appropriated under the Higher Education Act of 1965, which recognizes that nothing is more important to America and to our Nation's well-being than the fullest possible development of our human educational resources.

Besides doubling present construction grants, the law authorizes a variety of new college aid programs, and, for the first time, offers a comprehensive Federal scholarship grant, loan, loan-guarantee, and work-study program for bright but needy students who would otherwise be unable to continue their education.

SUGAR SUBSIDIES AND CONSUMER PRICES

I voted against the 1965 sugar subsidy bill, because I believe it is time we stopped spending taxpayers' hard-earned money to keep food prices up at artificially inflated levels. Such subsidies, in my opinion, are the kind of special-interest legislation that has long since outlasted whatever economic or social justification it may ever have had.

The House version would have authorized an extra quota premium of $280 million a year to be paid by American consumers for our foreign sugar purchases. So, over the 5-year life of the legislation, U.S. homemakers would have been required to pay nearly $1.5 billion more than the regular world price for the sugar we buy abroad on the world market.

Such a ridiculous situation results from the fact that the American premium price paid to foreign suppliers, in order to artificially support the price of domestic sugar, is presently almost three times the world price.

In my opinion, this is profiteering on a grand scale, with every housewife and consumer in the country forced to pick up the tab through an increased food budget, adding unnecessarily to an already high cost of living.

THE 1965 SERVICE ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

Five of this year's 30th District service academy appointees are Robin Cababa, Gregory Barnes, Richard Finston, Raynaldo Valadez, and Ernest Wong. The sixth winner Harrison Lobdell, was not present.

We have been most fortunate since I have been in Congress, to have had enough academy openings available so I could appoint every young man who successfully passed the rigorous mental and physical qualification examinations. The six 1965 district winners, three times as many as had qualified in any previous year, all had applied to enter West Point.

THE 1966 SERVICE ACADEMY EXAMS

For the fourth year in a row, I want to offer every young man in the 30th District who is interested an equal chance to compete for the valuable educational and career opportunities provide at our national service academies at West Point, Annapolis, Colorado Springs, and Kings Point, N.Y.

To qualify for one of the freshmen cadet openings available next year to residents of the district at the Military, Naval, Air Force, and Merchant Marine Academies, I am asking all applicants to take the Civil Service Commission's special academy designation exam to be given in Los Angeles on November 6, and again on December 1.

For more information, application blanks, and a letter of authorization to take the exam, interested students should contact my Los Angeles district office—phone: 638-4870.

VOTING RIGHTS

At a conference in his Capitol office, Vice President HUMPHREY outlined legislative strategy just prior to passage of the administration's voting rights bill.

Recent examples of widespread denial of the elemental right to register and vote had clearly shown the urgent need for a strong Federal statute guaranteeing the full and free exercise of this precious right of citizenship for all Americans.

SMOKING HAZARD

In response to the U.S. Surgeon General's report that "Cigarette smoking is one of the greatest health hazards of the 20th century," Congress passed legislation this summer to require a printed health warning on cigarette packages.

The law, however, does not apply to cigarette advertising in newspapers or on radio and TV, and, in fact, actually revoked a Federal Trade Commission order set to go into effect last July, which would have applied uniformly to all these communication media. In addition, the measure prevents all other Federal, State, or local agencies from taking meaningful action to protect the public health in this matter by prohibiting them for 4 years from requiring any kind of advertising warning.

For these reasons, I voted against this legislation, because I am convinced that, instead of protecting the health of the American people, it serves only to protect the economic health of the cigarette industry, and prevents the consuming public, and especially young people, from learning effectively about the serious dangers associated with cigarette smoking.

LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

The House voted 221 to 203 to repeal section 14(b) of the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, the so-called right-to-work section which allows individual States to prohibit employers and employees from agreeing, through voluntary collective bargaining procedures, on work contracts which include labor organization security provisions.

Since California voters in 1958 overwhelmingly rejected a proposal to adopt a right-to-work law in our State, the repeal of 14(b), if concurred in by the Senate, would have no effect on existing California law, or on relationships between management and labor in the Golden State.

I voted with the House majority and in line with the decisive expression of California voter preference on this matter, because I do not believe the States should be permitted to override the Federal Government's clear constitutional authority to establish a uniform national policy on labor-management relations in interstate commerce.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

I was extremely pleased this year to receive a coveted assignment to the powerful House Committee on Foreign Affairs—particularly in view of the strong leadership role our country has come to play in promoting the cause of freedom and international peace among the nations of the world.

We Californians have always been an outward-looking people, deeply interested in the success of America's foreign policy—coming as we do from many ethnic and cultural backgrounds, a true melting pot of the strength and diversity that has made America great—and interested in being a good neighbor to the world, working in close harmony with others to promote international cooperation and expand our commercial trade contacts.

As an official congressional observer at Pope Paul's recent historic visit to United Nations Headquarters in New York, I was deeply impressed by this renowned world spiritual leader's wholehearted support for the U.N. as man's "last hope of concord and peace."

Certainly every religion, and every man of good will, must unite in creating the conditions that will lead to lasting peace, for if we fail, we will surely witness the terrible proof of President Kennedy's unforgettable warning that "mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind."

RECORD ECONOMIC PROSPERITY

Americans are now enjoying the longest, most stable period of economic growth and prosperity in our entire history. For 56 consecutive months we have seen an all-time record high business expansion and a matching unprecedented increase in jobs, corporate profits and personal income for our people.

The country's gross national product is now approaching an unbelievable $700 billion annual pace (up $200 billion since 1961), with nearly 75 million men and women gainfully employed, while less than 3 million workers are now without jobs (at 4.4 percent of the labor force, the lowest unemployment figure in more than 8 years)—remarkable economic achievements scored during a period of relatively noninflationary price stability, and labor peace almost without parallel—for one of the best records of any modern industrial nation in the world.

Our current prosperity testifies to the dynamic vigor of our private enterprise system, the skill of American workers, and the wisdom of recent public fiscal and tax policies, all of which have been major contributing factors in maintaining a vigorous, healthy economy, and in holding out the promise of a brighter, more secure future for every American.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Housing and Home Finance Administrator Robert Weaver discusses President Johnson's 1965 housing program, describing how many of its progressive features can assist Los Angeles and other major metropolitan centers meet the challenge of continuing rapid growth.

With southern California's population due to triple from 10 million to over 30 million in the 35 years between now and the year 2000, when some 80 percent of our people will be living in cities, the President's forward-looking program is of vital importance to every citizen.

One key element was the creation of a new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to serve as a focal point of Federal concern for such pressing urban problems as sharply rising local tax rates, efficient mass transportation systems, adequate housing, expanded educational opportunities, effective air and water pollution control, recreation, and related necessities of modern life in 20th century America.

CLEAN AIR AND PURE WATER

California's outstanding pioneer leadership was recognized this year when Congress took decisive action to organize a truly national effort to eliminate, once and for all, the dangerous impurities in the air we breathe and the water we drink.

Using California standards as a guideline for effective air and water pollution control, the new rules encourage a cooperative local, State and Federal approach to fight the serious pollution problems in America's increasingly crowded metropolitan areas, like Los Angeles, where nearly 80 percent of our population will be living within the next few years.

I was particularly happy at my success in obtaining House and Senate approval of my amendment to start an urgently needed research program to attack the mounting problem of solid waste disposal—another adjunct of our prosperous, growing, highly industrialized, and automobile-oriented civilization.

WAR ON POVERTY

Congressman ROYBAL congratulated Dr. Maurice Dawkins, of Los Angeles, on his appointment as Associate Director of the war on poverty's VISTA program, the domestic version of the world-famous Peace Corps.

Los Angeles, already the recipient of some $25 million in Federal antipoverty assistance, is among the chief beneficiaries of this promising new approach to solving the tragic paradox of extreme poverty for some 30 million disadvantaged citizens, in the midst of an alltime record prosperity for most Americans.

Nationwide, during the 12 months of its operation, nearly 6 million persons have been assisted directly or indirectly by the various economic opportunity programs—the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, basic education and job training, work-study and community action programs, and Project Head Start—in the first comprehensive effort in history to attack the root causes of human poverty and unemployment to assure every American the chance to earn his rightful share of the material blessings this Nation has in such rich abundance.

HEART DISEASE, CANCER, AND STROKE

To fight these three leading killer-diseases, which together cause 70 percent of the deaths in this country each year, Congress authorized a unique nationwide network of regional medical centers. The new centers will encourage closer cooperation between local hospitals, university medical schools, clinical research institutes, and practicing physicians, to speed the life-giving miracles of scientific research from the laboratory to the individual patient, thus making available to the general public the latest advances of medical science to concentrate on the prevention, early diagnosis, care, and treatment of our Nation's most dangerous threats to continued good health.

NEW LOS ANGELES VA HOSPITAL

Architect's sketch of the new $22 million VA hosptial to be built in east Los Angeles adjacent to the USC School of Medicine-L.A. General Hospital medical complex.

Construction on the huge, 14-story, 1,040-bed, ultra-modern health facility is expected to start in the near future.

THE 1965 LEGISLATIVE QUESTIONNAIRE

Again this year I sent out a questionnaire soliciting the views of the residents of the 30th District on some of the major legislative issues of special interest to Los Angeles, the State of California, and the Nation.

Like the encouraging experience with last year's congressional poll, I have been highly gratified at the overwhelming response (nearly 10,000 of you returned answers) to this opportunity to participate in the affairs of Government by indicating your opinion on these vital issues.

The time and effort spent in answering this survey is deeply appreciated. You may be sure that your informed and thoughtful advice will continue to assist me in representing our 30th District in Congress, as well as aid my consideration and vote on these important subjects.

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

With Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., just appointed by President Johnson to be first Chairman of the recently established U.S. Commission on Equal Employment Opportunity.

A new agency set up under the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Roosevelt Commission has a major responsibility to help eliminate, once and for all, unfair discrimination in job opportunities based on race, religion, sex, and national origin.

Slovenian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, October 28, 1918, marks the day when

the Slovene nation, established over a millenium and christianized according to Western tradition, united with the Serbs and Croatians to form the nucleus of the free country of Yugoslavia.

The Slovenes can trace their historical background to the 8th century, with struggles for freedom from the Bavarian Kingdom, Frankish Empire, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Hapsburgs of Austria-Hungary, who ruled them until 1918. Following World War I, the Slovene nation continued to build upon their own traditions and progressed well until March 1941, when Yugoslavia was divided by the Nazi-Fascist dictators emerging to engulf Europe. The Slovenes were an occupied nation until the end of the war, when the Soviet troops helped Tito subjugate Yugoslavia for the Communist bloc.

It is tragic, Mr. Speaker, that the people of Slovenia find themselves controlled by an atheistic Communist dictatorship which is completely contrary to their historic traditions. We encourage the brave people of Slovenia and their compatriots abroad to continue their efforts to produce a restoration of freedom and a legitimate government in their homeland.

The Vice President's Remarks at Oakland University, Rochester, Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks of Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at Oakland University, Rochester, Mich., under date of October 22, 1965:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

My fellow students, I always welcome the opportunity to speak on a college campus.

President Truman has often said that college audiences are the best. They listen intently—weighing each word with a scholarly mixture of skepticism and objectivity—and then ask questions that make you wish you had stayed in Washington. And he is right.

As a refugee from the classroom—a former professor of political science—I am careful to keep my academic credentials in order by regularly facing campus audiences.

In the past few years, I have found significant changes on campus. Ten years ago, most students were primarily concerned with their own well-being and security. It was "me first."

But this is not true today. This is the era of committed young Americans.

Today's college students are less introspective and more outward looking, less unconcerned and more involved in the political and social issues of the day than at any other time in our history.

You are in the forefront in the battle to restore civil rights, correct social injustice, and enhance human dignity.

You comprise the majority of volunteer workers helping to teach the illiterate, train the unskilled, and administer to the sick and poor.

Your motivation is, I think, based upon the same desire that has prompted us to seek a Great Society—a realization that today we have our best chance in history to better the human condition. And we have our best chance ever of truly becoming an educated and enlightened society.

Education is the fortress of our liberties. And it is the foundation of the Great Society. When every boy and girl with the capacity to profit from a good education can get one, we shall have unlocked the door to universal opportunity.

Without knowledge, we Americans cannot live successfully in the society we are building. In the last decade, jobs requiring a high school education grew by 40 percent; but those open to people without a high school diploma dropped by 10 percent.

Today, 54 million young people are in school, one-fourth of our total population. This tidal wave of enrollment presents a challenge to our 125,000 schools, 100,000 administrators, and 2 million teachers.

(I might add that Oakland is a good example of the enrollment explosion. When your doors opened for the first time in 1959, you had several hundred students; today you have several thousand. And in the next few years, you can expect to double your enrollment.)

We anticipate even greater demands on our educational system in the near future. Four million youngsters must find seats in schoolrooms in the next 5 years. We need 400,000 more classrooms. And there will be 50 percent more college students in the next 5 years.

Under the leadership of President Johnson we have enacted in this session of Congress the most far-reaching education legislation in history. These programs will help us to prepare today to meet tomorrow's demands. And they will enhance the educational opportunity here in Michigan.

Last year, Michigan opened 3,202 new classrooms for 1.1 million elementary school pupils and 793,000 secondary school pupils. The student-teacher ratio was 27. Michigan will need more classrooms and more teachers in the months and years ahead if it is to maintain this ratio, much less better it.

Under all the titles of the new Elementary and Secondary Education Act your State will receive $42 million to aid low-income districts, help purchase library and textbooks for public and private schools, establish model school programs and educational centers, and to initiate a program of grants to strengthen the State's department of education.

Here in Oakland County, $1.5 million in Federal funds will help 6,800 schoolchildren from low-income families.

Michigan is receiving $10 million this year from the Higher Education Facilities Act; and the University of Michigan ranks among the top 10 universities in the country receiving Federal research grant funds.

The State also receives $916,000 to help finance guidance, consulting, and testing in public schools. And under the Economic Opportunity Act—which Congress has doubled this year—you are receiving $6.5 million for vocational and adult education programs.

These programs, together with the higher education bill, the vocational education amendments, the Manpower Training and Development Act, and the Teaching Professions Act, will help your State realize the potential of each of its children.

These programs cost money. But they are bargains in comparison to the cost of inadequate or incomplete education, to wasted talent and resources.

Inadequate education leads to unemployment: The high school dropout is twice as likely to be unemployed as the high school graduate, and five times as likely as the college graduate.

Inadequate education leads to poverty: Two-thirds of the families in which the father had less than 8 years of schooling find themselves locked in economic hopelessness.

Inadequate education perpetuates itself in future generations: The children of the unemployed and poor become themselves unemployed and poor.

For these reasons, President Johnson proposed in his historic education message to the Congress that we declare a national goal of full educational opportunity.

The evidence indicates that the American people support this goal. This year—for the first time—public opinion polls show that Americans consider educational opportunities to be their most important domestic concern.

My fellow students, the foundations of this Republic rest on a people capable of accepting the burden of choice—a people who can assume voluntarily the burden of freedom.

Our wealth and power represent freedom's best hope in the world. And our people represent the best hope for human, social, and scientific progress.

Two-thirds of all the scientists who ever lived are alive and working today. This age has already produced twice as much knowledge as in all succeeding history. The science student today is learning 400 times the amount of new information that his predecessor did of only a decade ago.

Each new discovery in turn triggers other new advances and more new knowledge. Yet, our ability to harness new progress for the benefit of all is even more challenging and complex than the discoveries themselves.

It has been said that the race of man moves slowly because it must all move together. But we now have the means—for the first time in human history—to extend mankind's benefits to all men.

We have the genius to soar far beyond our own imaginations into the distant reaches of space. But we also have the chance to reach for the human heart—to do what we must to preserve life and make it full and free and bountiful.

My generation had its rendezvous with destiny. Your generation will have its rendezvous with opportunity. For you, and future generations, will have the best chance yet to right old wrongs and offer each person—and each place—in our country the chance to be better than today.

The Great Society offers our people the rare opportunity of self-fulfillment. Let us, then, accept seriously our obligation to liberate the human spirit in America and embrace the responsibilities of freedom. Let us resolve that freedom's holy light shall never be the light that failed.

Today we are embarked on one of the great adventures in human history—to join in the task of building the America begun but never complete.

Views Concerning NASA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN W. WYDLER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, our Nation was shocked at the failure of the Gemini 6 space mission caused by the apparent explosion of the modified Agena rocket.

On October 13, 1965, I set forth in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—page 25963—

some views of mine concerning the NASA program of last year.

One of my statements concerned the last two Pegaus shots made as part of the Saturn I development program. I concluded that in my opinion the last two Pegasus shots were not clearly necessary.

The recent failure of the modified Agena rocket raises the further question of whether the major mission of the flight of the Gemini 6 should have been the occasion for the original firing of the greatly modified Agena rocket.

The cost of the failure to our Nation in dollars and prestige was enormous. It is also a fact, Mr. Speaker, that this modified Agena rocket could have been test fired by means of utilizing the last two Saturn I rockets, which carried the additional Pegasus satellites instead. Such a test might have avoided the failure.

I believe the question of priorities in the space program is one that deserves consideration by the NASA Oversight Subcommittee of the Science and Astronautics Committee on which I serve.

Change, Challenge, and the Drug Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix a speech given by John J. Powers, Jr., president of Chas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., of New York, to the National Association of Retail Druggists Convention recently held in Washington, D.C.

Pfizer, one of the world's largest pharmaceutical companies, has pioneered in antibiotic and viral research and is currently putting its scientific skills to work on mental illness and cancer research at medical laboratories in Groton, Conn., and Terre Haute, Ind.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CHANGE, CHALLENGE, AND THE DRUG INDUSTRY

(Remarks by John J. Powers, Jr., president, Cohas. Pfizer & Co., Inc., at annual meeting of the National Association of Retail Druggists, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1965)

Nearly five centuries ago, a man stood on the shore of Portugal and turned his face to the western wind. Columbus believed, against all tradition, that there was land beyond that wind—land a mariner could reach if he were bold enough to sail around the world. He was one of a very few who knew that wind was blowing a change that was to alter forever the European world.

We, too, have felt the winds of change—you and I—and we know they will not cease. They get stronger by the day.

As we enter the final third of the 20th century, we have witnessed progress in the past few years speeding by us at such a dazzling rate as to blur the vision, like a motion picture film running at too fast a pace. The spectacular thing about it is not each new development, or discovery, or improvement in itself, but the constantly accelerating pace at which they are occurring, so that in the past 20 years more change has taken place than in the entire previous history of the world. The science of today is so new that 90 percent of all the scientists ever trained are alive today.

Already the wonder, the miracles, of a few years ago are taken for granted—the amazing idea that not only sound, but pictures, could be sent electronically from one place to another; that a plane could be propelled at more than twice the speed of sound, once a Buck Rogers prediction; that the atom could be split and its energy harnessed to power stations or to run submarines; and the thousands of other new things, large and small, well known or little heard of, which have yet become part of the very fabric of our lives.

We look now, not through ordinary microscopes, but electron microscopes which, magnifying 200,000 times or better, enable us to see for the first time, the unbelievably tiny viruses of disease. We have been able to photograph the surface of Mars close up, and the far side of the moon. A miniature solar energy plant developed for a Venus-bound missile has powered radio signals that flashed back to earth, 40 million miles distant. By the end of this decade we will, in all likelihood, have landed men on the moon. At the American Chemical Society meeting a few weeks ago, a prediction was made that life itself would be produced synthetically by man in the next 20 years.

Whatever the degree of accomplishment of all these spectacular achievements, it is obvious that they are but the symbol of almost unimaginable technological advances which will have reverberations in untold numbers and kinds of smaller changes in every aspect of our lives.

This incredible pace of change which is upon us will produce newer techniques and tools before we can turn around. To keep pace, we must be ready to adopt entirely new patterns of thought. If we are complacent, or preoccupied with past experience, we will be lost in the vortex of a changing world.

Technological change is probably at the root of most other change in one way or another. And it is, therefore, certainly not surprising that in these times we see great social, political, and economic upheavals here and throughout the world. It is to this total picture of technological, social, political, and economic evolution, that finally we must react. And who, more than we in the drug industry, whose past developments have had such a striking and beneficial social and economic impact upon society, and whose future is so deeply enmeshed in some of the greatest of all the technological advances seen on the horizon, who more than we should appreciate the pace of change about us and react to it?

Indeed, our industry has faced harsh criticism—some of which, we feel, has been unjustified, or even suspect. But criticism can be a positive force, stimulating all industries to examine their role in society. I suggest that the criticism directed at us is a symptom of the times. It is an indication of the inevitability of change, and the need for improvement. People expect more; of us and of themselves. Change is in the air—more and more people are dissatisfied with the status quo.

And so we must review every aspect of our business with our minds freed to accept the inevitability of change in response to all the circumstances surrounding us. I am sure the years ahead will see great new developments in manufacturing, quality control, marketing, and distribution in all industry. Already, for example, our greater understanding of electronic computers is beginning to create a revolution in practically every aspect of business. Its capacity for analyzing tons of data, controlling operations, and its possibilities even for solving problems, is breathtaking.

But this new approach means much more than just turning to these new machines, wonderful though they be. It means new patterns of thought, and new attitudes. It will take boldness. It suggests that in this new atmosphere it will actually be safer to take a chance, and more risky to seek security—as always in times of change.

But whatever else we do, in the drug industry, however far we go in other respects, I am sure that we will be judged, first and foremost, by our new discoveries in the field of medicine—the miracles and near miracles we have to offer in the great battle to improve the health of man.

And in that area particularly, we are on the verge of great things. Discovery comes, sometimes slowly, sometimes in a series of brilliant breakthroughs. The task of deciphering the hieroglyphics on the Egyptian tombs seemed hopeless until the Rosetta Stone was discovered in 1799. This piece of black basalt, with inscriptions in hieroglyphics and in Greek, was the key which unlocked the mysteries of ancient Egypt and opened the rich world of its history for all time.

Throughout history there have been periods which stand out like beacons. The Elizabethan period was a golden age of literature. The 19th century gave birth to the industrial era. This generation has seen the beginning of the atomic age. And now we are well into what, in the end, may be the most remarkable breakthrough in the modern scientific world—the era of molecular biology.

You have seen those three mystic letters: DNA, with their partners, RNA, which have escaped from the laboratory and invaded the pages of the New York Times and Life magazine. They are the key words of a new science which is a true turning point in biological research.

Molecular biology is our Rosetta Stone to the mysteries of the human cell. In just the past 5 years, the cracking of this tightly locked puzzle has given us more insight into the vital balance of chemical activity in the cell, than was know in all the centuries past.

It is so significant that at the annual meeting of the American Chemical Society held in September of this year, its president, Dr. Charles Price, keynoted the meeting with these remarks:

"The synthesis of life is now within reach. It seems to me that we may be no further today from at least a partial synthesis of living systems than we were in the 1920's from the release of nuclear energy, or in the 1940's from putting a man in space. The political, social, biological, and economic consequences of the ability to synthesize living organisms in the test tube will, however, dwarf those of either atomic energy or the space programs."

Now obviously I am in no position to comment on the scientific probabilities of that prediction, but this will nevertheless give you some hint as to the high pitch of excitement stirring the biochemical or molecular biological world today. It suggests too that while we have had our telescopes trained upon a distant universe, it may be that the greatest developments in the decades ahead will be rather in the microscopic and submicroscopic world of the human cell.

It is an intriguing thought that the great macrocosm of our universe, with its billions of miles of space, is no vaster, in proportion, than the world of the microcosm as we go down, smaller and smaller, into the vast spaces inside it. Space travel, in truth, is going in two directions—outward and inward.

Molecular biology is not a simple concept. DNA is a giant molecule within the nucleus of a cell. It issues orders for the day-to-day manufacture of proteins for cell use, and it also carries the blueprints of heredity for the reproduction of itself.

There is an orderly delegation of authority within the cell. DNA synthesizes messenger RNA which carries the orders for protein synthesis down to small chemical factories in the cell called ribosomes. Once the orders are delivered, there is another type of RNA called transfer RNA, which brings up the necessary amino acids for the ribosomes to organize into the correct proteins. (All this, remember, is taking place within one human cell—or one bacterial cell, for that matter.)

Once this function of DNA and RNA was understood, scientists went to work to decipher the features in DNA which governed all this activity, with some intriguing results.

For one thing, they discovered that the little protein factories—the ribosomes—could be removed from a cell, placed in an environment containing all the necessary raw material, and the ribosomes would go right on manufacturing proteins, even though they were no longer part of a living cell. They found that a ribosome could be broken into two parts, reduced in essence, to its basic chemicals. It was no longer alive and functioning in any sense of the word—just chemical units. Yet when put together again, it would resume its activity. It was, you might say, alive again.

Working with the "live" ribosome outside the cell from which it was taken, scientists found they could slightly alter the messenger RNA, thus changing the message, and the ribosomes would make a different protein. They discovered that when a virus invades a cell, its DNA (or RNA if it is an RNA virus, like influenza or polio) takes over the cell DNA and issues orders to make more viruses instead of cell proteins.

The significance of these findings is incalculable. Even our first crude knowledge of this master code leads us to reevaluate many of our approaches to the therapy of disease. How many illnesses—birth defects or metabolic diseases like diabetes—may be traced back to a flaw in the DNA molecule which contains the many volumes of our lives. Certainly cancer must be a molecular disease—a condition in which the DNA literally goes berserk and reproduces itself without control or end.

Virus infections are molecular in that they affect the DNA of cells and the approach to antiviral therapy must be planned far down on this molecular level, a job already underway in our laboratories.

Molecular biology has already helped us break one of the most puzzling mysteries—how an antibiotic like tetracycline works.

Tetracycline, or oxytetracycline, which is our own terramycin, penetrates the cell and acts at the site of the ribosomes. It intercepts the messenger RNA of a bacterial cell and scrambles the orders for new proteins. Thus a bacterial cell which has invaded a human host and is multiplying, is suddenly blocked from assimilating proteins and, in essence, starves to death. Moreover, the antibiotic is selective; it acts upon the bacterial invader without harming the host.

With this knowledge, the work of designing more efficient or more broadly useful anti-infective agents takes an enormous stride forward. We know the site of action and the form of action, and we can translate this into chemical terms. Our scientists have a molecular blueprint to guide them in designing the anti-infective agents of the future.

Nor is this molecular blueprint limited to anti-infectives. Determining the site of action of other drugs is the first step to designing better ones in all forms of therapy. We have hopes for better drugs to treat diabetes, for example, as we move closer to the accumulating belief that the disease is caused, not by a shortage of insulin, but by a molecular condition—perhaps an enzyme which binds the insulin so that the body cannot make use of it.

A new study on learning and memory has led some researchers to the conclusion that the learning process causes a change in DNA and that therefore some types of learning may be passed on to the offspring. Such a theory is still highly speculative, but it would go far to explaining the so-called instinctive learning of birds and animals. No one has to teach a bird how to build a nest—she just knows it. If the knowledge is planted in her genes, passed from mother to daughter, a great deal about the learning process and memory becomes clear.

There is an excitement now in laboratories all over the world, a sense that we have broken through, that the Rosetta Stone of biology is being rapidly deciphered and we are close upon discovery after discovery. I confidently believe that we are going to see new drugs in the next decade which will make the old ones seem as quaint as the potions of an Indian medicine man.

But the very importance of this new field of research to which we have committed ourselves raises important corollary questions which also require a careful appraisal of the future. Who is going to do this research—private industry, government, universities? Actually they are all in the field. Each year the amount of money spent on research by all these groups takes another jump upward.

In 1950 the drug industry spent $39 million of its own funds on research. Fifteen years later, in 1965, the budget was $339 million—nearly 10 times as much. In the same period, the budget of the National Institutes of Health, a Government agency, went from $58.8 million to $826.3 million, more than 10 times as much. And Government-financed research is on the rise.

There has been a sort of legend that industry concentrates on product research, leaving Government to sponsor fundamental research, the kind that develops basic knowledge rather than products. These distinctions, if they ever existed at all, are now very much blurred. The pharmaceutical industry is doing fundamental research because we simply have to know more about the nature of diseases before we can design new drugs for treating them. On the other side of the line, the Government has been sponsoring more and more research targeted on new medicinal and biological agents.

To churn this mixture further, the Government has called on the universities and on industry to undertake specific research contracts—and on a constantly growing scale, though up till now, in the pharmaceutical industry, it has amounted to less than 5 percent of all funds employed in that industry's research efforts.

In any event, it is no longer a question as to whether or not Government will be involved in science and technology. It is involved, and deeply. And the overlap between Government, industry, and the universities is growing. This, in turn, has raised serious questions as to the ownership of patents resulting from the joint work.

This question of rights to patents on Government-sponsored research had a public airing this year by a Senate subcommittee under Senator JOHN L. MCCLELLAN, of Arkansas. The proponents of legislation started from a sound position. They were concerned that the Government should be putting large sums of money in support of private research efforts (which incidentally is mainly in nonmedical areas such as the space programs) with the possibility that resulting patents might be owned by the private party alone. Obviously, this could get out of hand. But the legislation proposed went far beyond protecting the Government interest and seriously jeopardized the possibility of good working relationships between Government, industry, and the universities; relationships which certainly in the medicinal field hold the best promise for fruitful work in the future.

Fortunately, Congress did not act on this legislation during this session. The problems were simply too complex. In fact, it would have seemed to have put the cart before the horse to try to define a patent rights policy before understanding better the answer to the basic question: to what extent should Government extend its activities into the research area of all industry?

Obviously by reaching too far the Government could take over the very cornerstone of industrial life—its product-and-process research efforts.

It must be understood that research, the constant, unceasing search for something better, is of the very essence of our competitive, industrial society. It has always seemed to me that one of the great dangers of our generation, in which massive Government efforts have been repeatedly utilized in war, in foreign aid, and in social benefits, is that we may go too far and eliminate the very atmosphere of freedom we seek to defend, help, or improve. Yet, we must go far enough. It is a delicate and a difficult balance that has to be struck and none more so than in the matter of Government-financed research. Fortunately, there is evidence that the need for careful study of this subject is beginning to be appreciated.

A Senate Subcommittee on U.S. Government Research has been formed under the chairmanship of Senator FRED R. HARRIS, of Oklahoma. This subcommittee and a House subcommittee headed by Congressman PAUL G. ROGERS, of Florida, have already begun the massive task of conducting a deep and thorough study of Government research activities.

In addition, President Johnson has announced plans for what promises to be a historic White House Conference on Health during the first week in November. Its aim, in the President's words, is to "bring together the best minds and the boldest ideas to deal with the pressing health needs of the Nation and to set new goals for achievement in the field of health."

The work of these committees should help greatly in clarifying the roles which might best be played by Government, industry, and universities in medical and other research.

A welcome byproduct of these studies would be the emergence of a Government patent policy that would protect the public in the use of Government research funds and encourage rather than prevent a fruitful cooperation between industry, Government, and the universities.

All of this is obviously a prelude to change. We often resist change because it makes us uncomfortable. But let's not resist too long. From now on the race is to the swift.

In our industry we have a special opportunity and a challenge to leave the past and take an imaginative look at the future. In our society we must, and we should, be motivated by profit, but we must have a sense of social responsibility as well. If our vision be true, we will move without hesitation toward a truly great goal—the eradication of disease and the gift of a longer, better life for every human being.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, as we return home to report to our constituents

upon our stewardship, we who have been privileged to serve in the 1st session of the 89th Congress are entitled to pride and satisfaction upon what has been accomplished to make life better for all Americans.

As a freshman Member of the 88th Congress, I was proud of its outstanding record under the forceful leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. An even more impressive record has been made by this "do everything" 1st session of the 89th Congress. We have discharged with deliberate speed and great effectiveness the mandate given the Congress by the people in the last election to shape constructive, affirmative programs to move the Nation toward the goals of a Great Society, toward "a more perfect Union."

The Great Society envisioned by President Johnson is concerned with improving the quality of life for all, with giving all our people the opportunity to share in the American dream. The programs enacted at this session will improve the quality of life for all Americans, specifically—

OLDER AMERICANS

It is a tribute to the national character that the problems of our older people were given high priority in this session. As a longtime advocate of including basic protection against the health hazards of old age in our social security system, I am delighted at the adoption of the comprehensive medicare program. No longer must our people depend upon the goodness of their own families or the charity of strangers when major illness strikes.

The increase in benefits, liberalization of the retirement test, and other improvements in the Social Security Amendments of 1965; the establishment of the Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the special benefits for the aged contained in the housing, antipoverty, and other programs will also help to create a whole new day for older Americans.

SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFICIARIES

Extension of benefits to children attending school up to age 22; lowering of eligibility age for widows to 60; improvements in disability program; and the other provisions of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 will enable the system to meet more effectively the problems of the aged and the disabled, the widows, and orphans. This is not a handout, but a cooperative program with both economic and moral objectives. My father's premature death, leaving a widow to provide unaided for five young children in pre-social-security days, made me an early and enthusiastic supporter of this noble program.

YOUTH

Basic to our democratic way of life and to our national future is the principle that every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb. The educational accomplishments of the 88th Congress merited it the proud title of "the Education Congress," but the 89th Congress has made even greater progress toward insuring quality education to all our children. The historic Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the first general elementary and secondary school aid bill to become law, will help our hard pressed urban areas meet the mounting costs of offering a good basic education to every child.

Ability to learn, rather than ability to pay, must be the standard of education opportunity at all levels.

The Higher Education Act will assist colleges and universities in improving classroom, library, and laboratory facilities, and will provide loans and scholarships to students. This legislation will do much to give our young people an equal opportunity for higher education and a fair chance in the increasingly scientific and intellectual society of the future. It is important that graduate and undergraduate students and their parents inform themselves about the new loan program.

Another splendid program is the Vocational Training Act to expand the existing program and to provide loan insurance to high school graduates to finance technical and trade training.

The juvenile delinquency amendments will assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

DISENFRANCHISED

The free and secret ballot is the foundation of our democracy and is the key to achieving other rights of citizenship. Every American citizen is entitled to an equal right to vote. The tragic events in Southern States underscores the necessity for determined action to insure that right to Negro Americans. I am proud that Congress enacted the Voting Rights Act and thus fulfilled the century old promise of emancipation.

DISADVANTAGED

No other program is more exacting or more promising than the campaign against poverty. This is a program for the reform of our society, for breaking down the obstacles that prevent one-fifth of our people from enjoying the blessings of liberty, equality, and opportunity promised by our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. The tremendous response to Project Head Start, VISTA, to the Neighborhood Youth Corps, the community action programs, and the other economic opportunity projects indicates the urgent need and desire to enable our deprived and disadvantaged to break out of the vicious cycle of despair.

The war on poverty is a war against the enemies of man—want and ignorance and disease—and its success will depend upon the united efforts of all groups in our society. Based upon the first year's experience with this pioneer experiment, the Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965 will expand the war and increase its effectiveness.

WORKERS

The Manpower Development and Training Amendments extends for 3 years and expands assistance to unemployed in learning new skills to qualify for better jobs.

ILL AND HANDICAPPED

A mere listing of the measures enacted in this important field gives a good idea of the tremendous steps taken by this Congress to make the marvelous advances in medical science available to all our people: Expands program to construct health research facilities; extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services; provides initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers; expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system; authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke; extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases students' loan program.

SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS

Congress acknowledged the national debt to our valiant defenders by granting justly deserved increases in military pay and benefits to disabled veterans and their dependents; national life insurance for servicemen; special allowances for evacuated dependents.

URBAN DWELLERS

With over 70 percent of our population living in cities, and with those cities suffering from blight and overstrained, obsolete facilities, it is past time that urban affairs received equal consideration to the perennial farm problem. I am delighted at the significant strides taken to regenerate our great metropolises into places worth living in as centers of civilization. The establishment of the Cabinet level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs will permit cooperation and cohesiveness among all levels of government and with private forces in raising the quality of urban life in all respects. No single community can meet its growth demands alone and without help. Federal, State, and local governments must act as partners in solving the complex problems facing the city.

The omnibus Housing Act, which was under the jurisdiction of the Banking and Currency Committee on which I serve, will accelerate our reaching the goal of a decent home for every family, improve our urban renewal and community facilities programs, and otherwise help our cities overcome their current predicament.

The High Speed Ground Transportation Act of 1965, authorizing research and development in rail and other forms of surface travel, will, hopefully, lead to a solution of the traffic congestion problem. A nation that can send men through space surely can devise better ways of transporting people on ground.

The Public Works and Economic Development Act, the successor to the area redevelopment program which has already provided invaluable aid to Newark and other hard-hit areas, is of immense importance in stimulating economic development in depressed areas.

NEWCOMERS

The policy of democracy of opportunity, reflected in the various programs to improve the lot of our citizens, was demonstrated in another way in the historic immigration and nationality amendments. As the son and grandson of immigrants from Italy, proud and grateful for the opportunity given them many years ago to become good and loyal Americans, I strongly supported this new law. The tragic separation of families incurred under the rigid national quota system will now be happily ended. The quality—but not quantity—of immigrants will be raised since an applicant will be judged, no longer on his birthplace, but on what he can contribute to our national strength and progress.

SMALL BUSINESS

Legislation was enacted to increase the highly useful Small Business Administration's loan funds for small business investment companies and State and local development firms.

Of course, small business, as well as large corporations and consumers, benefit from repeal and reduction of the various excise taxes. The first session proved how singular it was by removing taxes.

The economy of our Nation has reacted buoyantly to the can-do Democratic policies as evidenced by its sustained expansion for 55 months. Corporate dividends are up 30 percent; corporate profits after taxes are up 88 percent; consumption is up 27 percent.

CONCLUSION

Every group will profit from such measures as highway beautification; conservation of our precious natural resources; air and water pollution controls; water resources development—including a program to plan a water supply system for the Northeastern United States; National Foundation on Arts and Humanities to foster artistic and cultural activities and thus elevate the whole society.

The foregoing summary indicates that this Congress has acted upon the words of Thomas Jefferson:

> The care of human life and happiness is the first and only legitimate object of government.

Impressive as are these achievements, much remains to be done to build the kind of society envisioned by Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, a society in which every American has the opportunity to carve out a rewarding and satisfying life. When we return to Washington for the second session in January, let us carry forward the task of shaping the Great Society with the vigor, concern, and vision that have characterized this first session in compiling its notable record.

The Nonexistent Coalition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK R. MILLER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, as a result of superficial writing by some columnists and superficial reporting by some news commentators, there are many who believe there is a northern Republican-southern Democratic bloc in the Congress. When I first came to the Senate 5 years ago, I had heard about this bloc and rather expected to see it. However, in these 5 years, I have not seen it yet.

Another phenomenon which is not generally understood by the voting public is the power exercised in the Congress by the southern bloc. This arises solely from the fact that the people of the South play their politics wisely, electing their Senators and Congressmen at a relatively early age and keeping them in office so that they will accumulate seniority, which brings a certain amount of power with it. All too often, the people in the North do not follow this policy, and so the southern bloc possesses seniority and power out of proportion to the number of people represented.

The distinguished columnist, William S. White, knows the Congress as well as anyone on the Washington scene, and it is encouraging to see an article written by him which precisely bears out the points I have just made.

I ask unanimous consent that a recent article by Mr. White, appearing in the Washington Post, entitled "An Old Notion," be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AN OLD NOTION—THE NONEXISTENT COALITION

(By William S. White)

The stillness falls now over the Capitol. And in the long autumn of twilight between a session of Congress just ended and another to open in January a good many death notices are being read over the southern Democratic-Republican coalition.

President Johnson's extraordinarly success in putting a legislative program of unexampled liberality through the Senate and House is being interpreted as signaling the very end of a clammily conservative grip upon Congress, by a fierce lot of southern bourbons and oligarchs.

The notion has the attraction of melodrama and facile simplicity and the even greater attraction of time-honored acceptance. It is thus a pity, perhaps, that it has the material shortcoming of not really being so, and not really so on more counts than one.

For in fact there is no southern Democrat-Republican coalition and never was except in the most limited and shorthand sense that sometimes some, but never all, southerners have made common cause with some, but not all, Republicans on some, but not nearly all, phases of some kinds of issues.

On practically every major test of the more or less liberal against the more or less conservative viewpoint during the Johnson administration to date, the President has received more critically important support from southerners than he has lost. And even on the one big exception, civil rights, it is well to remember that 24 votes were cast from the Deep South in the House—and even more in proportion from the Deep South in the Senate—for the Negro voting bill.

Mr. Johnson's experience, moreover, is not unique, though he has, to be sure, fared relatively better with the congressional southerners than any President since Franklin D. Roosevelt half a lifetime ago. After all, he is a southerner himself, if a quite untypical one, and he knows his old congressional colleagues exceptionally well.

Indeed, the true wonder is not that President Johnson (and Democratic Presidents Truman and Kennedy before him, if it comes to that) has met some resistance from the congressional southerners. The true wonder is that, all things considered, he has met so little; and especially and poignantly so little, on those life-and-death matters of foreign policy—like Vietnam—which can distinguish or destroy an administration.

This is another way of saying that far from being the automatically reactionary roadblocks they are so persistently pictured as being, the commonrun of southerners in Congress are actually engaged in perpetually brave Hairbreadth Harry enterprise to support a President who is far too liberal for southern home tastes.

There is one and only one real truth in the widely held stereotype of the southern majority. The belief that southerners exercise disproportionate personal influence in the club affairs of both the Senate and House is entirely correct.

But even this circumstance is neither sinister nor undemocratic. It simply reflects two realities. The first is the power of seniority accruing from a region that reelects and reelects its men to Washington. The second is the inborn skill of southerners in parliamentary relationships and their high capacity to resist the demands of mere demagoguery—on most matters anyhow.

The southerner is indispensable to his nonsouthern friends in Congress. For at his best he knows how to bend a little but not too much—and to show his colleagues how to do the same—to the alarms and emotions that excite the public.

The Pershing Memorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. R. HULL, JR.
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HULL. Mr. Speaker, the erection of a memorial in honor of Gen. John J. Pershing is bound to occupy the attention of the House very early in the next session. Every Member is interested in this matter and I know of no opposition in the Congress. The President, in expressing his approval, urged that action go forward "without further delay."

We have been optimistic before. For example, S. 3903, 86th Congress, authorizing a memorial, was reported by Senator CARL HAYDEN and passed by the Senate on August 30, 1960. It failed of passage in the House because of adjournment—a national election required our attention.

It now occurs that the conceptual plans of the temporary Pennsylvania Avenue Commission may not admit of construction and completion of the plan as designed. It may be necessary to seek another site.

The memorial was visualized as looming large, and to be located on its own grounds and be commensurate with the deeds and the stature of the man whose services we seek to honor. Obviously no feature may intrude or clash with the monument. It is not a case of being accommodated or being lived with. These plans were submitted pursuant to an act of Congress by Gen. Jacob

Devers' Battle Monuments Commission. They have been accepted by the veterans societies and by the Senate without stint of praiseworthiness.

My bill, H.R. 10107, this Congress, superseding H.R. 17, laid aside, places the entire responsibility upon the Secretary of Interior as to site, erection, and maintenance of the memorial on federally owned land in the District of Columbia. He would be charged with following the plans for the memorial which I have described.

The National Park Service has indicated the availability of a potentially suitable site on Virginia Avenue NW., at C Street. This area, approximately the same size as Pershing Square, has much to offer now. It has much promise for the future. Virginia Avenue is an access route to and from the Capitol and the Southwest to the State Department, the Kennedy Cultural Center, Georgetown and the suburban counties of Virginia and Maryland. This alternate site may or may not be the solution, but it is there and its use may obviate further delay and inevitable invidious considerations.

Be all this as it may, it is hoped that Pershing Square will be the approved site and that necessary approvals for construction may go forward with at least a prayer that construction will be sufficiently advanced to permit dedication on the 50th anniversary of the commencement of the World War, April 6, 1967.

I understand that the Budget Bureau will have cleared the required reports to the Congress from the executive department agencies prior to the convening of the next session.

I am confident that we are on the way to fulfill this long-overdue honor to that great general who created his armies in the field 3,000 miles from his home base and then led them to a certain victory—turning the tide of a battle which otherwise would have been lost. No one who has read and studied the memoirs of Marshalls Von Hindenburg or Ludendorff of the Imperial Germany Army will doubt this statement.

It is trusted that early favorable action on H.R. 10107 may be had. Such will give substance to the Act of Congress of September 29, 1919, tendering its thanks to Pershing for a heroic task well done.

S. 2710, To Establish an International Center in Washington, D.C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a section-by-section analysis and additional background information prepared by the Department of State on S. 2710, which would authorize the establishment of an International Center in the northwest area of Washington. I believe that this information will be helpful to all persons interested in this proposal.

There being no objection, the analysis was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF S. 2710
(Submitted by Douglas MacArthur II, Assistant Secretary for Congressional Relations)

Section 1 identifies land to be acquired by purchase, condemnation, donation, exchange, or otherwise, as that area in the Northwest section of the District of Columbia bounded by the Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, Pennsylvania Avenue, New Hampshire Avenue, 21st Street, and O Street.

Section 2(a): Of the land acquired under this draft bill, a parcel not exceeding 3 acres will be conveyed or transferred, without consideration, to the Organization of American States for its headquarters site.

The OAS will, reciprocally, transfer or convey, without consideration, to the United States the building and other improvements known as the OAS Administration Building located at 19th and Constitution Avenue NW.

Section 2(b): Title to the property and the building known as the OAS Headquarters Building, located at 17th and C Streets NW., will be transferred, without consideration, to the Organization of American States. Title to that property has been vested in the United States since May 6, 1907. It was paid for with funds appropriated June 30, 1906, in the Sundry Civil Appropriation Act "for the purchase of land and the entire contribution of the United States toward the erection of a building to be used as Government quarters in the city of Washington by the International Bureau of American Republics." However, it was determined in April 1907 that the International Bureau of American Republics (the predecessor of the Pan American Union) as an unincorporated association was incapable of taking and holding a legal or equitable title. The title deed, therefore, was drawn so as to vest a valid title to the United States of America. Since the Pan American Union is now capable of taking and holding legal and equitable title, it is felt that this would be a suitable occasion on which to complete the intention of Congress at the time the money was appropriated.

Section 3: If requested by the OAS, the U.S. Government will design, construct, furnish, and equip with funds provided in advance by the OAS or on a reimbursement basis, the headquarters for the OAS on the property acquired under section 2(a) of this proposed bill.

Section 4(a) grants authority to the Administrator of General Services to sell, lease, or otherwise transfer property acquired by the United States under section 1 of this bill to foreign governments and international organizations under such terms as the Secretary of State, after consultation with the Administrator of General Services, shall prescribe.

Section 4(b) authorizes the transfer of title to or jurisdiction over any property acquired under this bill to the District of Columbia for public purposes, including, but not limited to streets.

Section 5(a) provides that plans for construction by foreign governments and international organizations shall be submitted to the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts for approval.

Section 5(b): Relocation costs shall be borne by the U.S. Government.

Section 5(c): Costs of rerouting, relocating, and rebuilding public sewers, water mains, etc., shall be borne by the U.S. Government.

Section 5(d): Foreign governments and international organizations will be required to conform to Federal Government standards and codes governing building construction and the equipment therein.

Regarding the proposed implementation of this draft bill, it is not currently envisioned that the acquisition of land by the U.S. Government will seriously disrupt or inconvenience many of the established business concerns in the area. The U.S. News & World Report, for instance, occupies a most attractive building and their activities would not be inconsistent with the character and general flavor of the proposed Center. In like manner, the Columbia Hospital would be regarded as a definite asset to the area. Moreover, since land will be acquired under the provisions of this draft bill on a need basis, there is a possibility that many of the remaining business establishments in the area may not be affected. However, should it become necessary, then relocation will be accomplished with a minimum of inconvenience and at no cost to the business concerns involved. It is not the intent of this bill to satisfy the requirements of some at the expense of others. It is hoped that any necessary relocation will improve the lot of those relocated. In any event, all efforts will certainly be expended in this direction.

Regarding the 200 families presently residing within the boundaries of the proposed Center those who own or reside in homes which are not in conflict with the basic plan of the National Capital Planning Commission would definitely remain, as would the renovated housing and the apartment buildings recently constructed or in the process of construction. Those residing in tenement houses of ancient vintage will most likely be provided with new housing in the immediate vicinity. Private developers have expressed a desire to construct such housing adjacent to the Center. Also, those families unable to afford low-income housing and who qualify for public housing would be given preference in existing public housing establishments.

The draft bill, therefore, will not only provide suitable sites for the OAS, other international organizations, and foreign chanceries, but will also serve to develop the area in keeping with the National Capital Planning Commission's projected plan for the overall development of the Nation's Capital.

I will be happy to furnish any further information you may require regarding this proposed legislation.

Double Standard of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BUCHANAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, I am from a State which has felt the heavy hand of the Justice Department meting out its own peculiar brand of justice. We have noted the double standard of law enforcement which has marked their handling of civil rights cases, wherein the prophets and perpetrators of civil disobedience can apparently do no wrong while the elected officials of the people can apparently do no right. I do not think it unfair to state that, on the basis of the record, the Justice Department has served as a sponsor of civil disobedience in Alabama.

A few days ago, it was impressed on me that this double standard also apparently applies to persons charged with serious crimes, based on their degree of

cooperation with the Department. A constituent request called to my attention the strange case of Edward Grady Partin, indicted but never prosecuted on 26 counts of embezzlement of union funds and falsifying records in violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act, and also indicted but never prosecuted on charges of manslaughter and leaving the scene of an accident in Alabama.

Mr. Speaker, I cannot believe that cooperation with the Justice Department should purchase for a man an indulgence protecting him against penalty from any crime he has committed or may commit. Consequently, I have written to the attorney general of Alabama, as well as to the circuit solicitor involved, asking that the record be reviewed with an eye toward possibly reopening the case on the manslaughter charge, the statute of limitations having now run out on the charge of leaving the scene of an accident.

The fact that 10 days after these charges were nolle prossed, an Alabama jury awarded $150,000 in damages to the mother of the young airman killed in the accident in question seems ample basis for such review.

Since there was also no action taken on the Federal charges, under a law intended to protect rank and file workingmen against such crimes on the part of union officials as those indicated in the 26 counts of violation of the Landrum-Griffin Act for which Partin was indicted, there seems to be ample basis for congressional review of the Justice Department's handling of this case.

I join, therefore, with others in urging that the investigation of such Justice Department practices by the Judiciary Committee, authorized by the House in 1964, be in fact conducted in the coming year.

America's Forests: A Look Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY M. JACKSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. President, I am honored to represent one of the greatest paper producing States on the west coast—indeed, in the Nation. The State of Washington has numerous papermills and other concerns relating to the pulp, paper, and paperboard industries. Historically, the industry has been a significant employer of people throughout my State and has contributed immeasurably to its economic strength.

Through State and local taxes paid annually, through capital spent for new plant equipment, and through local contributions to the community, the paper industry has played a strong role in the development of the west coast. I am proud of the industry's record in the State of Washington.

In recognition of the efforts and progress of both industry and government and in the utilization of forest products, I respectfully request the inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of the following article by Forest Service Chief, Edward P. Cliff, from a special New York Times supplement.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S FORESTS: A LOOK AHEAD
(By Edward P. Cliff, Chief, Forest Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture)

About a quarter of all the timber harvested in the United States is used to produce wood pulp. By the end of the century the present harvest is expected to triple. At that time the pulpwood cut—some 105 million cords—would be equivalent to a solid pile of pulpstick covering Manhattan Island to a depth of 22 feet.

Can the forests of the United States produce this vast quantity of wood and at the same time meet increasing demands for veneer logs, sawlogs, and other timber products?

How do the increasing uses and values of forest land for outdor recreation, watershed purposes, wildlife habitat, and natural beauty relate to timber supplies?

What are the trends in forest area, timber growth and harvest, inventory volume and quality, utilization and technology, losses from fires and pests, etc.—and what do they indicate?

Earlier this year the Forest Service, an agency of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, published a comprehensive analysis of the current and prospective timber situation entitled "Timber Trends in the United States." This 235-page report is the latest in a series of periodic appraisals extending back over the 60-year period since our organization began under the direction of Gifford Pinchot in 1905. Detailed analyses covering potential demands for pulpwood and other timber products and timber supplies are included. State organizations, forest industries, Federal agencies, and others helped develop this latest evaluation of the Nation's timber situation and outlook.

We were pleased to find that the timber situation in the United States has improved considerably in the last couple of decades. Because of intensified fire control, tree planting, and other measures, timber growth now exceeds the cut. This long-awaited achievement means that timber inventories are beginning to rebuilt. However, old problems associated with timber quality and tree size still remain. In most regions the major part of the timber cut still comes from preferred species of larger diameters, while most of the timber growth is on smaller trees and less desirable species. Moreover, much of the remaining higher quality timber in the East occurs in widely scattered trees and much of the timber in the West is still economically inaccessible.

Despite these problems, the situation with respect to pulpwood supplies is relatively favorable. Although the declining quality of our total timber inventory is serious to industries producing lumber and veneer, small-size trees and low-grade material can be effectively utilized by the pulp industry. The wave of young timber that has tipped the growth-cut balance in our favor is made to order for pulpwood operations. New plantations and thick young stands of natural origin can yield substantial pulpwood volumes as they are thinned out to maintain their vigor and growth.

An abundance of low-grade oak and other hardwood material makes up a large portion of the forests in the Eastern United States. This timber, frequently unsalable for other purposes, is being increasingly utilized in making paper, newsprint, milk cartons, container board, building materials, and similar products. Relatively low in cost per ton of fiber, this kind of timber is expected to assume greater importance in the years ahead. This trend is a good omen for areas like Appalachia where markets for low-grade hardwood timber are badly needed.

Another favorable supply factor is the rapid increase in production of pulp chips from byproducts at sawmills, veneer mills, and other wood-using plants. For example, in 1962 a volume equivalent to 9 million cords of slabs, veneer log cores, and other coarse residues was converted into wood pulp. This was about one-fifth of the total consumption of domestic pulpwood. Ten years earlier, only 1.6 million cords of plant byproducts were utilized for pulp production. Although this striking rate of increase cannot continue, we expect that by the year 2000 some 20 million cords of plant residues—including sawdust—will be used each year for pulp.

There is another reason for optimism in considering the supply outlook facing the pulp and paper industries. Energetic research programs and rapid technological advances have been hallmarks of this industry for decades. New and improved pulping processes, for example, have expanded the resource base available to the industry through utilization of a wide range of species once believed to be worthless for pulp. Close cooperation between the industry, the Forest Service, universities, and other research organizations is the foundation for much of this technical progress. Scores of research projects, ranging from genetic improvement of pines to better methods of insect control and direct seeding of new forest by helicopter, are already paving the way toward increased timber supplies.

Leadership in the management of forest lands is also characteristic of the pulp and paper industry. Many companies have extensive holdings of forest land which are intensively protected, developed, and managed to assure sustained high yields of timber. The industry also has strong programs of technical assistance which aid private landowners in management of their forests. The doubling of pulpwood production in the South since 1950 is a dramatic illustration of the productive capacity of well-managed forests—and even there much more improvement in yields is possible.

Much remains to be done, however, particularly on lands owned by farmers and miscellaneous private owners. These millions of small ownerships include about 60 percent of the commercial forest land in the United States. In recent years they have furnished nearly half the total cut of pulpwood, sawlogs, and other timber products used by the forest industries. In aggregate they constitute the greatest opportunity for improving timber resources and increasing yields of forest products.

One out of every 3 acres in America is still forest land. These forests can supply projected timber demands to the year 2000 with more intensive management and utilization. Planting and seeding productive sites; increased protection from fire, insects, and diseases; improvement of timber stands by removing cull trees, and other cultural work; more complete utilization of timber in logging and manufacturing; and expanded research are some of the continuing tasks ahead. Cooperative forestry programs including States, Federal agencies, wood-using industries, and others are already well established. Intensification of these efforts can sustain a favorable outlook despite increasing demands of all kinds on our forest lands.

Vice President Humphrey's Remarks Before the Adlai Stevenson High School, Livonia Mich.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BILLIE S. FARNUM
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARNUM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following remarks made by Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the dedication ceremonies, under date of October 22, 1965, of the Adlai Stevenson High School in Livonia, Mich., which is located in the 19th Congressional District which I have the privilege to represent:

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

It is, for me, a source of particular satisfaction—and humility—that you have seen fit to invite me here today.

The dedication of this high school in the name of Adlai Stevenson—the first so-named in our country—takes its deepest significance not as a monument to his memory, but as a first milestone in the bright new world he foresaw for all men.

Today would have been a day of tremendous satisfaction for him because no man in our time was so dedicated to the idea that the only lasting mark a man can leave is a beacon by which the future generations can guide themselves.

In man's physical world, the trail blaze of yesterday is the highway of today. You need merely look about you to see its proof. Only two centuries ago the French voyagers, pushing westward through the lakes, paddled their birchbark canoes through the blue waters of the wilderness peninsula of Michigan.

Not one of them could possibly have dreamed of the highway he was blazing or the breadth and power of the new civilization which would use it.

It is my firm conviction that today we embark upon another such adventure, for there are future highways of the mind as well as of the wilderness.

Only 400 short years ago man believed he was the center of the universe, that the planets themselves revolved around him and had been doing so for only 5,000 years.

Then Copernicus saw with his mind's eye that the earth itself was in motion, that it was not the center of the universe, but part of a larger and more majestic movement.

Man today stands on the threshold of such discovery about himself.

As man once believed the earth was the center of the heavens, each nation believed it was the center of this earth, and spent its blood and treasure trying to make other nations revolve around it.

This concept compelled other nations, in turn, to preserve at similar cost the independence of their culture and people.

Hundreds of millions of innocent people died, cities were destroyed, libraries of priceless knowledge were obliterated because of this ghastly concept.

But it is no more ordained that the peoples of this world shall revolve around any one nation than that the planets and stars of the heavens shall revolve around this earth.

That was the great idea of Adlai Stevenson. It is man's latter-day discovery. It is the concept underlying the United Nations.

Today our poets and philosophers—yes, and our forward-looking political leaders—already sense that humanity is on the brink of development of a society which may unloose man's spirit and human potential—a society where, as President Johnson has said, men strive not for themselves alone but for all men.

The United Nations represents the triumph of the concept that no nation is the center of this earth any more than man is an island to himself.

Adlai Stevenson, a Copernicus of public life, gave strength and insight to this concept and he marshaled the giants of the ages to the cause of the United Nations.

"Know thyself," said Socrates. Adlai Stevenson added to this the Copernican view: That the key to a man's understanding of himself and of his country will be found in all other men and nations.

In a physical world of clashing arms and nuclear weapons, Adlai Stevenson took the noble path of Athens.

It was the knowledge that the only victory is in civilized persuasion—that that army never existed, nor that weapon ever invented or devised, by which hostile forces can enter into the realm of men's minds or hearts.

He knew that no nation and no man could ever extinguish the light God gave to men of every race, color and creed: the light of man's free spirit.

No physical force ever existed which can turn back the force of the evolution of man's soul. Consider the preponderant force of the pagan emperors of ancient Rome. Their legions were pitted against a forlorn group of men and women who insisted unto death that all men are brothers.

Which has lived through the centuries—the physical force, or the noble idea? Where are the Caesars, where are the legions now? And where is the noble idea?

The idea governs the consciences of billions of people of all religions—and may it soon govern the conduct of nations.

Like the early idea among men, 2,000 years ago, the early idea—as among nations—faces a heavily armed world.

The United Nations today may appear weak in the physical world. But that nation does not exist which is powerful enough to kill it. For the idea moves forward.

And among its allies is the United States of America. The most wealthy and powerful nation on earth, we have made our commitment to the idea and the precepts which underlie the United Nations.

For, in this nuclear age, we have reached the maturity to know that the strongest and weakest in mankind are equally vulnerable to mankind's dangerous inventions.

We have come to realize that, faced with a world two-thirds hungry, sick and ignorant, no one nation, acting alone, can hope to carry the burden of remedying those conditions.

We have come to know that both men's survival and his progress depend on his devising common and peaceful solutions to disputes and disagreements which, in previous history, were settled by force.

We have come to see that the evolution of man's technology has indeed forced evolution in man's organization and behavior.

Adlai Stevenson placed his faith and hope in the United Nations—even in times when it was mocked, belittled, and disregarded as an international instrument.

For his greatness was in his ability to look far beyond the limited horizons of the mockers and belittlers.

Today Adlai Stevenson is not with us. But his aspirations, his breadth of vision, his commitments to the United Nations as an institution, to the interdependence of man as a reality of life are shared by this Nation.

Adlai Stevenson was in his lifetime not chosen for the American Presidency. But the Presidency is today filled by another man of depth and purpose and of equal devotion to the betterment of the human condition. And under his leadership our evolution toward the great idea has moved swiftly forward.

For he knows, as Adlai Stevenson knew: Once men and nations understand the great common bond which sweeps them along together, like the great hidden undercurrents of the sea, new worlds open.

Could the French couriers viewing these wildness shores have imagined modern Detroit?

Could Columbus, tracing his lonely line across the Atlantic, have dreamed he was blazing trail for ocean liners and jets?

Could Galileo, training his telescope on distant sky, have dreamed that man would one day leave this planet?

These are miracles we today accept.

Adlai Stevenson accepted them and their expanding truths as the challenge of the future.

He believed that man was no more condemned to eternal war than he was to eternal polio, cholera or yellow fever.

He believed—and the coming generations will prove—that the upward striving of man will bring revelations by which he may cure the ills of his body politic as he now cures the ills of his physical body.

You stand on the threshold of these great new perceptions.

If one may presume to speak for his great and gentle spirit, I know that Adlai Stevenson would want this school to stand not as a monument to him, but to the promise and the goal of the true brotherhood of man.

Let us then make our hopes the hopes of all men. Let us make our cause the cause of mankind.

East-West Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. J. W. FULBRIGHT
OF ARKANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, on October 21, Mr. Anthony M. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, made a speech to the Salesmanship Club of Dallas on the subject of "East-West Trade." In view of the significance of his subject, I ask unanimous consent to have the speech printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EAST-WEST TRADE

(Address by the Honorable Anthony M. Solomon, Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, at a luncheon of the Salesmanship Club of Dallas during World Trade Week, Dallas, Tex., Thursday, October 21, 1965)

It gives me great pleasure to be in Dallas and to participate in the stimulating program you have organized this week. I bring you personal greetings from Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs Tom Mann. If it had been possible for him to do so, he would have joined in this program today. I have worked with Tom Mann for the past 2 years, first on Latin American affairs and more recently on the whole range of matters that fall within our foreign economic policy. It is on an important and controversial aspect of that policy that I would like to talk today.

My subject is "East-West Trade," a subject that is looming increasingly large in the councils of the free world. I want to tell you something of the history of our trade

policy with the Communist countries of Europe, the reasons for its various phases, the thinking and practice of the other democracies in this matter, some encouraging developments behind the Iron Curtain, and the questions these have raised in the United States business community and in the U.S. Government.

Because this is a controversial subject, I want to be sure there is no confusion as to what kind of trade I am referring to and with which countries.

I am not talking about trade with Communist China, North Korea, or North Vietnam. Since 1950, the United States has maintained an embargo on all trade and financial transactions with Communist China and North Korea. We do not permit American ships or aircraft to touch at the mainland. This embargo was extended to North Vietnam in January, 1955. Each of these countries is engaged in aggressive activities, activities that we are helping the free countries of Asia to resist. Our trade embargo will continue so long as these countries continue to incite, support, and participate in aggression.

Nor am I talking about trade with Cuba. The United States prohibits all exports to Cuba, except nonsubsidized food and medicines for humanitarian needs, and embargoes all imports from Cuba. We have cut off financial transactions with Cuba and limited Cuban access to Western shipping services. Our restrictions on trade with Cuba are part of our total effort to isolate Castro's regime and reduce its ability to export subversion and violence to the other American States. Our embargo will continue so long as Cuba threatens the security of the Western Hemisphere.

Lastly, I am not talking about trade in strategic goods. Strategic trade, that is, trade in items of military significance to the Communists, is embargoed not only by the United States but also by our European allies and Japan. Fourteen NATO countries and Japan, working together in a Coordinating Committee, called COCOM for short, maintain an agreed embargo list of items whose export each participating country controls. The list is reviewed periodically to add new items of technological importance and to delete others no longer of strategic significance. We can expect the system of COCOM controls on strategic trade to continue in effect so long as Communist military capabilities are used to threaten the peace of the world.

What I do want to talk about today is nonstrategic trade, trade in peaceful goods, with the countries of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Let me sketch briefly the history of our trade policy with these countries.

From the earliest days of this Republic, we have regarded peaceful trade as a normal element of international relations, and we have not sought to interfere with trade because we disapproved of the philosophy or form of government of a trading partner. Consistent with this general approach, we placed no obstacles in the way of trade with the Soviet Union in the 1920's and 1930's even though we did not officially recognize the U.S.S.R. until 1933; and at the end of World War II we treated trade with the Soviet Union no differently from trade with any other country.

The sharp break came in 1948 when we imposed controls on strategic trade with the Soviet Union and its European satellites. It was an unprecedented but necessary response to Soviet aggressive expansion in Eastern and Central Europe. It was also an effective response. At the time we were practically the only important source of supply in the West for important industrial materials and equipment. Moreover, our Western allies shortly adopted parallel controls, thus establishing the COCOM system I have mentioned earlier.

During the Korean war, these COCOM controls were tightened and covered virtually all industrial equipment and raw materials to Communist countries. However, following the end of the Korean war and the death of Stalin, the embargo list was reduced and made more selective. In the changed political climate, our allies were no longer willing to maintain a general embargo. They have continued to control commodities of direct military significance, in accordance with COCOM arrangements, but they have substantially expanded their peaceful trade with the Soviet Union. The United States has maintained more restrictive controls. We have a prior approval licensing system for most exports to the U.S.S.R. and we continue to prohibit equipment and technical data not on the COCOM list if they embody technology more advanced than may be currently available in other Western countries. We do permit without prior approval trade in consumer goods and in some types of equipment for the production of such goods. In 1963 when the exports of all COCOM countries to the Soviet Union reached $940 million, U.S. exports to the U.S.S.R. totaled only $20 million.

Because the Soviet Union exercised effective control over its European satellites and organized and exploited their economies in its own interests, our trade controls were initially applied equally to the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. But from the outset of our trade control program, we recognized the possibilities and the value of differentiating our controls and other aspects of our policy as a means of responding to and influencing significant political developments in the Communist world. Thus when Yugoslavia rebelled against the domination of Moscow in 1948 and Moscow broke off its trade in an effort to force her back into line, we supported Yugoslavia's assertion of independence with trade and substantial military and economic aid. Yugoslavia's successful breakaway was a significant event in world history and its influence was felt throughout the eastern world. Yugoslavia is a Communist country in ideology but it has undergone significant internal transformation. As is often the case, dogma lags behind fact. In fact there are now many elements of a market economy in Yugoslavia, a liberalized system of foreign trade administration, a reduction in government intervention in the economy, and a moderation in political controls. These very developments have resulted in higher rates of economic growth than in nearly all the countries which remained in the bloc, as we who are wedded to a market economy could have foretold. About 65 percent of Yugoslav trade is now with the non-Communist world. The influence of that trade and the contacts that have flowed from it have had, in the opinion of your government, an impact on the internal liberalization in Yugoslavia and can be expected to continue to have a salutary influence. Yugoslavia does not always or even often vote with us in the councils of nations but she is not an imperialist and aggressive power seeking to undermine the Western World.

The Yugoslav experience stimulated the latent forces of nationalism within the Eastern European countries. Its influence was felt in Poland. The Gomulka government was able to reduce Soviet domination in Polish life. We encouraged the trend toward greater independence through our food-for-peace program, our Export-Import Bank credits, and our trade policy. In connection with the conclusion of a claims settlement we restored most-favored-nation treatment to imports from Poland and adopted a more liberal export licensing policy toward her. In Poland, Voice of America broadcasts are now jammed. U.S. magazines, films, and books are circulated. Catholics, who comprise 95 percent of the population, enjoy basic freedom of worship. Farmers are no longer collectivized. In Poland, as in Yugoslavia, 85 percent of the farms are in the hands of private farmers. We know from Anglo-Saxon history the significance for freedom of an independent body of small farmholders.

These steps toward internal liberalization should not be exaggerated. The governments of these countries are not representative governments with limited powers, tolerant of diversity and nonconformity. Freedom of speech is curtailed in both Poland and Yugoslavia but to a far lesser extent than when they were part of the monolithic Soviet bloc. On balance, our observers and experts believe that the trend, with setbacks from time to time, is toward the assertion of a national point of view and toward internal liberalization.

More recently Rumania has demonstrated its independence and has resisted outside efforts to put her economic development within the straitjacket of an economic plan for Communist Europe as a whole. She has asserted her national interests, pursued her economic development along lines consistent with those interests as she sees them, and has achieved the most dynamic economy in Eastern Europe. During the past year, our willingness to trade more freely with Rumania has been a means of encouraging these favorable developments.

In Hungary and Czechoslovakia, there are similar trends in the direction of improved relations with the West and greater national identity. With the possible exception of Albania, there is no part of the Eastern European area that does not show the ferment of change.

Except for Yugoslavia and Poland, we have not extended most-favored-nation tariff treatment to imports from countries of Eastern Europe and our controls over peaceful trade are more restrictive than those of our Western allies. In 1963, when the exports of our European allies to the countries of Eastern Europe, excluding the Soviet Union, were $1.3 billion, U.S. exports to these countries totaled about $150 million.

The question is being asked more and more insistently whether developments within the countries of Eastern Europe warrant further modifications in U.S. policy and practice on peaceful trade with them. This question is being actively studied not only in the executive branch and the Congress but also by a variety of nongovernmental organizations and most particularly by members of our business community.

Even a casual student of Eastern European history knows that these are people with distinct national histories and close traditional ties with Western Europe. They are small and economically vulnerable countries. Should we reinforce the Iron Curtain by ignoring the significant changes taking place in Eastern Europe or should we tailor our trade and related policies in accordance with the conditions and behavior of each of these countries?

President Johnson has recognized the longing of the peoples of Eastern Europe—and some of their rulers—for "deeper, steadier, and more natural relations with the West." He said recently and eloquently that "we wish to build bridges to Eastern Europe—bridges of ideas, education, culture, trade, technical cooperation, and mutual understanding for peace and prosperity."

The business community in the United States has spoken up more and more forcefully for greater flexibility in our trade policy with Eastern Europe. In April 1964, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce asked for a "prompt reexamination and reevaluation of the present system of export controls with the objective of strengthening some controls and eliminating others which are not nec-

essary for the security of the United States and which result in discriminations harmful to its competitive position."

In November 1964, the National Foreign Trade Council in a resolution approved by nearly 2,000 delegates, endorsed the increasing interest being shown in development of trade with Eastern Europe and underlined the "extreme importance of maintaining a watchful and cautious but not unfriendly or inflexible approach to this issue."

In May 1965, the Committee for Economic Development completed an exhaustive study it had made of East-West trade in cooperation with its counterpart organizations of businessmen in Western Europe and Japan. After a penetrating and balanced assessment of the Western interest in peaceful trade with Eastern Europe, the report concluded that "the interests of the West would be served in present circumstances by an expansion of East-West trade brought about by mutual East-West reduction of the obstacles to trade." It noted that "the West should be in a position to respond more affirmatively to tendencies of some eastern countries to trade more freely with the West and to follow more market-oriented practices."

In one of a series of studies of East-West trade made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the views of an important cross section of 125 American businessmen and 20 bankers were sought. A total of 105 of the 125 felt that trade with Eastern Europe should be expanded. Only nine believed it should not be. Most of the bankers favored participation of the Export-Import Bank in guarantees of normal commercial credits in East-West trade.

More recently, a committee apopinted by President Johnson, the Special Committee on U.S. Trade Relations with East European Countries and the Soviet Union, composed of distinguished citizens under the chairmanship of J. Irwin Miller, chairman of the board of the Cummins Engine Co., made an extremely hardheaded evaluation of the way in which U.S. national interests may be advanced by a more creative use of American trade relations with the Communist countries of Europe.

The businessmen who have spoken so forthrightly are not naive about the Communist threat to our interests. They know, as you and I do, and as Tom Mann said only the other day in an address to the Inter-American Press Association at San Diego, that Communist bloc doctrine still calls for world revolution. The Soviet Union continues to train selected candidates from other lands in the arts of subversion, sends them out to disrupt vulnerable societies abroad, and finances their activities.

But our businessmen are also aware that we must not be trapped and frozen by dogma; that we must not look at the Communist world as an undifferentiated unit. All are agreed that we must keep our powder dry and deny to the Communist world strategic goods that strengthen its military capabilities. But in the area of peaceful trade, there is a broad consensus that we should differentiate among Communist countries; weigh carefully the advantages and the disadvantages in each case; and consider how the whole range of trade tools: export controls, most-favored-nation treatment, and normal commercial credits, can be used to effect economic and political change in our national interest.

In a statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last year, Secretary Rusk summarized U.S. policy on trade with the Communist countries in these three points:

"1. Trade can be a useful instrument in the contest with communism and in affecting Communist policies, provided it is adapted to the particular situations presented by different Communist countries.

"2. Trading policies suited to one period in our relations with a particular Communist country may not be equally appropriate at another period.

"3. Our national purpose can be served either by the denial of trade or the encouragement of trade, depending on circumstances. Furthermore, the denial of trade may be either total or selective. It is important that the steps taken in East-West trade policy be flexibly adapted to particular Communist countries at particular times."

Foreign policy cannot be based on slogans. A mature and responsible power must be discerning and discriminating in assessing its best interests. Our objectives toward international communism are:

1. To prevent the Communists from extending their domain, and to make it increasingly costly, dangerous, and futile for them to try to do so—for example, our policy in South Vietnam;

2. To achieve agreements or understandings which lead to peace and help reduce the risk of a devastating war—for example, the test ban treaty; and

3. To encourage evolution within the Communist world toward national independence, peaceful cooperation, and open societies—for example, trade in peaceful goods with the West.

Favorable developments in Eastern Europe have not been paralleled by like developments in Communist Asia. The contrary is the case. But the Sino-Soviet split which have divided the Communist empire has given the countries of Eastern Europe more room for maneuver and an opportunity to assert their national interests. It is the Communist Chinese thesis that peaceful coexistence, in its true sense, is not possible between the free world and the Communist world. From this rigid dogma flows their call for aggression and their appeal to the barrel of the gun. Should we accept their dogma and constrict channels of contact and communication in Eastern Europe, the flow of peaceful goods, persons, and ideas where these can influence change in our direction? Were we to accept so rigid a view, we would be aiding Chinese Communist foreign policy which is based entirely on looking down the gun barrel. And while it is the case that we have more and bigger guns, and will continue so long as necessary to multiply these guns, to rely solely on them is to risk Armageddon. Surely the better course is to use other instruments available to us as well—and peaceful trade is one of them—prudently and wisely, to encourage the forces now at work toward peaceful intercourse and more normal relations.

We should also remember that trade which can be encouraged when the time and circumstance are right can also be withdrawn when circumstances change. To move toward a more liberal trade policy with Communist Europe on a selective basis does not commit us to perpetuity to continue that policy. We do not give hostages to fortune. We are in full control. There is no conceivable danger, given the size and strength of our economy, that we for our part could become unduly dependent on such trade. We would benefit economically from such trade and our businessmen would not have to cede the business to their Western European competitors. But the economic benefits to the United States are not the major reason; they would still be marginal. It is the contribution such trade can make to the lessening of the tensions, fears, and suspicions that isolation encourages, and the support that trade can give toward the progressive opening of the Iron Curtain—it is these that we value and should recognize as the critical gains from such trade.

Let me turn briefly to the question of increased peaceful trade with the Soviet Union itself. It may be argued that facilitating peaceful trade with the small countries of Eastern Europe is clearly in our interest because it encourages national independence and liberalization, but that these considerations do not apply with equal force to peaceful trade with the U.S.S.R., the most powerful Communist country in the world. One question is whether increased U.S. trade with the U.S.S.R. would strengthen its power to mount foreign offensives and provide it with added resources for subversion abroad? This question deserves the most careful and thoughtful consideration. In the time that remains to me today I want to suggest some of the considerations that bear on it in the hope that these will provoke you, as the leaders of the business community in Texas, to undertake a balanced analysis of the issue.

To begin with, we must recognize that the Soviet Union has a powerful military-industrial base, an advanced weapons technology and military production capability. The Soviet Union could not procure from us or our Allies, nor would it permit itself to become dependent on us or our Allies for, equipment related to weapons development. What it would seek in increased trade is civilian goods. But it would have to pay for such goods in real resources, gold or other commodities of real value to us. This would be a fair exchange. Why should we assume that we would lose out in such trade? Nor are we the sole source of civilian goods of a kind of interest to the Soviet Union, whether it is wheat or machinery. Our Allies in Western Europe and in the Western Hemisphere are prepared to make these goods available if the Soviet Union can afford to buy them. Is it the Soviet Union or our own farmers, businessmen, and workers that are disadvantaged when we put impediments in the way of such peaceful trade?

What about advanced technology, advanced industrial plants, and our latest data that may not be available elsewhere? By and large, our business firms protect their advanced technology in which they have made heavy investment in research and development; they may be willing to exchange their technology for what they consider equivalent advanced technology from other firms. Whether such an exchange would be feasible with the Soviet Union deserves further examination, but if it were to result, it would mean that we had gained something of equivalent value from certain advanced Soviet industrial processes. Let me remind you that our export licensing controls would prevent the sale of advanced technology that has military implications.

There is another consideration. The presence of American factories, machinery, and equipment in the Soviet Union surely can be a means of demonstrating the efficiency and excellence of American products and American technology. This is not a factor that works to our disadvantage. It works rather to the disadvantage of Soviet doctrine by demonstrating the superiority of the Western system of economic organization. We know that the U.S.S.R. is in the midst of a period of critical self-examination, insofar as its economic institutions are concerned. The steady exposure of Soviet industry and agriculture to the hard facts of economic life internally and in world markets has led Soviet policy makers to think more and more critically about problems of attempting to run their economy efficiently and improve the quality of their products. Their dilemma is that they want some of the benefits of Western private initiative and risk-taking combined with centralized political control and planning. But a large and complex industrial economy like the Soviet Union can not be tightly controlled at the top and expect to enjoy the full benefits of initiative and experimentation at the levels below. The web of controls in which managers of enterprises are ensnared inhibits innovation and experimentation. Periodically the Soviet rulers restructure the system, shift decision making to the regions,

then back again to the center. They are presently in the throes of such a reorganization. This reorganization has new and interesting features. For example, it gives a greater role to profits and it permits managers of enterprises some discretion in wage payments and incentives to labor. The Soviet reforms do not go so far as a number of reforms introduced recently in Eastern European countries, but they are a hesitant first step in the right direction.

The Soviet rate of growth has been slowing down since 1960 while that of the United States has been picking up. During the 1960–65 period the Soviet rate of growth of gross national product has averaged about 4.3 percent a year, roughly the same as our own. Thus, during the past 5 years the Soviets have made no further progress in narrowing the relative gap between their economy and our own. In fact, because the United States GNP is approximately twice that of the U.S.S.R., the absolute gap has widened by roughly $60 billion. At present rates of projection, the Soviets by 1970 will be farther from matching the United States economically than at any time since Khrushchev first began talking about "catching up" with us.

The fear has been expressed that peaceful trade might increase Soviet resources for mischief abroad. But if the Soviets must pay with real resources for what they buy abroad, whether from the production of goods or gold, they are not getting something for nothing. They are giving up hard-pressed resources for what they gain. There is no question here of long-term credits to the Soviet Union. The question I am examining is two-way trade on a commercial basis, not trade through aid credits.

I think we might also give consideration to the implications of Soviet trade in civilian goods for its effect on the allocation of Soviet resources internally. If Soviet trade in peaceful goods with the United States could in fact develop substantially in volume and value, the development would be a most hopeful one. It would reflect a concern of the Soviet regime with internal civilian needs rather than the singleminded and obsessive concentration of resources on military development, a concentration that has characterized Soviet economic planning over the years, and has left the ordinary Soviet citizen with a narrow choice of low-quality and relatively high cost consumer goods and long queues and waiting lists even to procure many of these.

We should welcome such a development if it could come to pass. When consumers have not enjoyed goods sturdy in quality, esthetic in design, and available in quantity and variety, they accept drabness as a way of life. But if these goods do become available to them as a regular matter, it becomes difficult then for the regime to reverse direction without generating widespread and unhealthy dissatisfaction. Luxury becomes necessity; and barring emergency situations, resources committed to civilian requirements tend to continue to be so committed.

One last consideration I would like to put forward is the influence that increased trade with the Soviet Union might have in encouraging the adoption by the U.S.S.R. of Western standards of international behavior, observance of rules of arbitration, protection of industrial property and copyrights, limitations on freedom to engage in disruptive trade practices. If the U.S.S.R. wanted to increase its trade with the West substantially, it would have to bring its trade practices into line with those of the established world trading community. Only this summer, the Soviet Union adhered to the international patent convention. And it would have to open up its economy to commercial representatives, facilitate entry and travel. This normalization of behavior in economic intercourse would not, of course, entail a reorientation in political thinking and political objectives. Trade is not so revolutionary an instrument as that. But is it unreasonable to believe that small steps toward more normal intercourse might over the longer term have a cumulative beneficial effect in reducing the aggressive thrust of Soviet policy?

I have tried this afternoon to put forward food for thought, not a specific agenda for action. My primary concern is that whatever policies we do adopt be taken on the basis of a full and rational examination of their implications and following a full exchange between an informed citizenry and their representatives and public servants in Washington.

On the controversial subject of East-West trade, emotions run high. But the need today and tomorrow is for a hard-headed, not an emotional, approach to an important issue. We must first make a calculated assessment of the possibilities and the forces for change—political, economic, and commercial. Only then can we decide what course best serves the national interest.

The Spending 89th

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, all of us have heard about the records which the 1st session of the 89th Congress has put on the books, but all of the encomiums should not exclude the fact that the 89th Congress was also one of the spendingest.

The Topeka, Kans., Daily Capital editorialized on this aspect of the 89th's record, and under leave to extend my remarks, I include this thoughtful editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

[From the Topeka (Kans.) Daily Capital]

THE SPENDING 89TH

It must be with a sigh of relief that the public witnesses the end of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The "spendingest" Congress in the history of the Nation maintained such a hectic pace in passing Great Society legislation that the onlooking voters were probably just about as exhausted as the lawmakers themselves when the final gavel sounded.

But the real effect on the general public is yet to be measured. The Johnson administration claims the session of Congress just closed was the greatest in the Nation's history. Measured by the yardstick of what it will cost the people, it was.

But how desirable and how effective the welter of new legislation will be can be told only in time.

President Johnson's press secretary says that while the President was, in general, pleased with the accomplishments of the session, "there are a good many things on the agenda that we want to get at—23 in all."

These weren't named but the list no doubt includes a renewal of the effort to ditch section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, defeat of which in the session just ended constituted the administration's biggest setback.

In their zeal to provide more and greater benefits for various welfare programs—education, social security, aid for local governments, etc.—the lawmakers added to the mass of present bureaucracy and created new agencies.

Even the L.B.J. lieutenants in Congress are saying that part of the second session's job will be to round out "rough corners" in laws the first session put on the books.

They concede there has been some overlapping in the tremendous amount of social legislation approved.

Besides the administration's failure to obtain repeal of Taft-Hartley section 14(b), L.B.J. forces lost some other battles in the session. The lawmakers refused to supply any funds for rent subsidies or for a Teachers Corps proposal. Home rule for Washington, D.C., was another administration-supported bill that wasn't given approval. The move to increase the $1.25 minimum hourly wage also failed.

But by and large, L.B.J. got what he wanted and his so-called arm twisting kept Congress mostly in line. The result is a massive program of welfare legislation which will affect everyone for years.

This means annual built-in increases in the cost of Government unless Congress should somehow decide to terminate some of its munificence.

Washington observers are now forecasting a budget for the next fiscal year of $107 billion. Another deficit is expected. With taxpayers already feeling the effects of creeping inflation, the future doesn't indicate any relief from the tax burden unless, of course, the administration tries another tax-cut for voter appeal even if it means taking dangerous chances with the Nation's solvency.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress proceeded to pass major legislation mostly on a sign from the White House. The impression prevails that this will continue unless the public indicates it believes the Great Society is great enough already, or perhaps too big for its britches.

Letter From Chief Justice Elijah Adlow of the Boston Municipal Court

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to put in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter I have received from Chief Justice Elijah Adlow of the Boston municipal court.

Judge Adlow is a graduate of Harvard, a former member of the legislature, and chief justice of our municipal court for many years.

His letter describes briefly the history of the court, its members and its functions. I am confident, in view of recent discussions, that Senators will find this letter instructive and helpful.

I have known the judge for many years, and respect him for his work in the court and its administration.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
MUNICIPAL COURT OF THE CITY OF BOSTON.
Boston, Mass., October 1965.

Hon. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,
Boston, Mass.

MY DEAR SENATOR SALTONSTALL: In the past few weeks the municipal court of the city of Boston has been brought to public attention by proceedings before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee at

hearings considering a Presidential appointment. Remarks made by members of this committee during these hearings have grossly distorted the true picture of this court, and lowered it in the opinion of the general public. In justice to this court I feel that our representatives in Washington should spare no effort to correct this erroneous impression.

This court was originally created in 1822. At a time when lower court justice was administered by justices of the peace all over the United States, the establishment of this court represented a marked advance in the administration of justice at the lower court level. It was manned by salaried judges paid from the public treasury who enjoyed life tenure. Since 1822 its jurisdiction has been extended to embrace all of Suffolk County, of which Boston is a part, in civil matters, its jurisdiction once limited to causes involving no more than $1,000, has been extended to the point where it today has unlimited jurisdiction over contract and tort actions. The original court consisted of a presiding justice who received an annual salary of $1,500, and two associate justices who received an annual salary of $1,200 each. Today the court consists of a chief justice who receives $21,000 a year and eight associate justices who receive $20,000 each. Prior to 1914 parties to litigation had a general right of appeal to the superior court in all contract, tort, or summary process causes. Since 1914 the findings of fact of our justices are final in all contract and tort matters, and parties aggrieved by rulings of the court on legal questions may appeal only on these questions to the appellate division of this court. I am not aware of any other lower court in the United States whose findings in civil causes enjoy this conclusive character.

As for the nature of the business transacted on the civil side of this court, the records will disclose a multitude of judgments in amounts ranging from $10,000 to $25,000. I am personally aware of one contract case in which a finding for $120,000 was returned. The legal rulings in this case were reviewed by the appellate division and were sustained. What is most significant is that in 1964 there were over 22,000 entries on the civil side of this court, and over 2,300 actual trials of causes. This represents only a share of the civil work. We must not overlook the small claims and poor debtor proceedings.

Since the creation of this court in 1822 and its reorganization in 1866, its criminal jurisdiction has been limited to the trial of misdemeanors with a power to sentence up to 2½ years. This court can sentence prisoners to the Concord Reformatory, the Sherburne Reformatory for Women, the House of Correction, or the jail. It cannot sentence to the State prison because such a sentence is legally considered infamous punishment and a constitutional provision prevents such punishment except on presentment by the grand jury. Grand jury indictments are returnable to the superior court only. In 1857 the legislature attempted to confer this power on our lower courts, but the supreme judicial court declared the act invalid. However, an act of the legislature has empowered our lower courts to take jurisdiction over crimes punishable by no more than a 5-year term in the State prison. This act does not empower our judges to sentence to the State prison, but it authorizes judges in the exercise of their discretion, to reduce charges and dispose of them as misdemeanors. I think it is a tribute to the sound judgment of our justices that over many years this great power has been exercised without complaint or scandal.

It is unnecessary for me to recite the voluminous statistics reflecting the work on the criminal side of our court. There are thousands of traffic cases and thousands of drunkennesses cases. But there are thousands of serious criminal cases as well. Hardly a day goes by that does not witness justices of this court presiding over prosecutions for murder, rape, robbery, assault, larceny, and the various other crimes that contribute to the contemporary revolt against authority. This work is not a minor responsibility as was intimated by certain members of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Since 1866, eight of the justices of this court have been promoted to the Superior Court of Massachusetts. One of our judges now sits on the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. I am aware of four judges who presently sit on this court who have been offered the opportunity to go on the superior court and have declined. Let me make this further observation. A former chief justice of this court was one of the founders of the Harvard Law Review, and enjoyed high repute in the world of legal scholarship. I refer to the late Chief Justice Wilfred Bolster. Another of our former chief justices was John Wilder May whose book "May's Criminal Law" has already appeared in five editions and is considered authoritative in all common law jurisdictions. There were many others who enjoyed high repute in legal circles. The many volumes of decisions handed down by the appellate division of the Municipal Court of the City of Boston will provide ample proof of their merit.

The annual budget for this court is $1,267,579. Aside from the criminal and civil clerks offices, our probation department is staffed by 28 full-time probation officers. Sixteen court officers attend the justices in the various sessions. Certainly, a court that carries on its payrolls 158 employees deserves a little better consideration than that given by a committee which was reported in the press to have compared this court to certain magistrate's courts which are presided over by laymen.

I am not aware of any other lower court in the United States which serves such a vast area and enjoys such great power with respect to the trial and disposition of causes. I do not believe that the members of the Judiciary Committee who made these adverse comments on the court were aware of these facts.

I trust that you will do all in your power to correct what I believe to be an unfair impression.

I have sent a similar letter to your colleague, Hon. EDWARD M. KENNEDY.

Sincerely yours,

ELIJAH ADLOW,
Chief Justice.

Extremism and Its Threat to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following:

EXTREMISM AND ITS THREAT TO AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, honored guests and delegates to the Jewish Labor Committee Convention, I am happy that you are holding your national convention here in the Nation's Capital this year and I am particularly glad to have this opportunity to be with you this evening. I would particularly like to welcome those of you who are from California. I have often had the pleasure of working with you back home.

You are in the midst of a concentrated 2 days of work, study, and meetings. We in the Congress have just concluded more than 10 months of continuous session, enacting important milestone legislation in such areas as medicare, voting rights, education, public works, immigration, housing, health, water resources, and dozens of other vital measures. I trust that your deliberations will be fruitful as the work of the 1st session of the 89th Congress. I hope that before you must leave this beautiful city, you will have an opportunity to visit the Capitol Building, the Supreme Court, the White House, and other national shrines.

I spent my day today in the office at the Capitol trying to catch up with the load of committee work for which I am responsible as chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The tempo of work does not let up completely even when Congress adjourns. Much remains to be done in committee before the next session begins in January. However, I felt compelled to take the time to think about your deliberations here this weekend. The issues that so deeply concern you are also profoundly my concerns.

You convention is helping focus attention on two great and interrelated challenges that confronts us today:

One, the need to mobilize our economic, social, and manpower resources in a mighty national effort to extend the benefits of our society to all our citizens; and second, the need to muster our political and spiritual forces to defend our democratic institutions against ever-growing, open and venemous attacks by ultraright and ultraleft extremists.

You and I and national and local community leaders have over the years sought to eliminate from all areas of community life discrimination, and segregation based on race or color or religion or national origin or ancestry.

We have sought to remove the disadvantages, the disabilities, the indignities inflicted on Negroes, Spanish-speaking peoples, and other minority group persons. We have done this through appealing to the courts for redress of wrongs, through legislation to implement constitutional rights, through public information and education concerning prejudice and through voluntary programs by the groups that constitute our local communities.

At the Federal level we developed in Congress—and I have supported—legislation to assure equality of rights and opportunities in employment, housing, public accommodations, and voting. We have made significant progress.

But beyond these measures, we have recognized that equality of opportunity for all is not enough; that greater opportunity for all must be achieved. This is the meaning of the war on poverty and all the other programs geared to the concept of abundance for everyone. This is the purpose of the massive Federal support for educational and economic expansion.

The problems of poverty and discrimination with which we are striving to cope are immense, complex, and deeply rooted in our society. Our progress has been only gradual. Some programs have been temporarily stalled; others bring only long-term results. This has evoked in many persons feelings of helplessness, frustration, and despair.

Meanwhile, the very fact that these great changes in social, economic, and human relationships are not completed has provided an opportunity for ultraright radicals to try to turn back the clock of history.

It is easy to dismiss this growing wave of extremism from both the right and the left as being evidence of fringe malcontents, social and psychological misfits, or crackpots. Some have called such persons part of the lunatic fringe. Not too many years ago Hitler was viewed in a similar way, yet the step between the fringe and the seizure of political power can often be a short one, as man-

kind discovered to its horror just a generation ago.

Here in America we have been fortunate to maintain greater political stability in our national life, yet we all recall the era of McCarthyism a little more than a decade ago. We note with apprehension that various extremist groups such as the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the Ku Klux Klan, the Americans for Constitutional Action, and other front groups are doubling and redoubling their expenditures of time and money to spread the gospel of hate, mistrust, and fear throughout the land.

Although still only a noisy minority, they are a larger and more aggressive minority and have succeeded in penetrating into the mainstream of political and community life in some areas.

Many of these groups have already made plans and have assembled political war chests to defeat Members of Congress from both parties who have dared to vote for legislation guaranteeing equal rights for Negroes and other minority groups; who have voted for long-needed reforms of our immigration laws; for medicare to air our senior citizens; for foreign aid to assist underdeveloped nations; for measures to help improve the living standards of American workers.

They are already circulating purge lists for the 1966 campaign to smear honorable Members of Congress who refuse to accept the peculiar brand of patriotism which they fervently espouse.

Some groups like the Minutemen have assembled secret, private armies equipped with machineguns, rifles, mortars, hand grenades, and other tools of guerrilla war. A few months ago a large cache of arms was discovered less than 50 miles from Washington.

Their purpose is to inflame, to prejudice, to stir fear of change, to promote turmoil, to silence opposition, to paralyze democratic action. We see the results of such exploitation in many ways. Violence against peaceful demonstrators seeking the right to vote in many parts of the South. Riots and racial agitation in major cities such as Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York. Leftwing condemnation of our anti-Communist policies in Vietnam, attacking the integrity of our top national leaders; senseless burning of draft cards; formenting violence at our military installations.

The Ku Klux Klan has long been the handmaiden of totalitarianism. The KKK was Hitler's echo chamber before World War II. It has recently come to the fore again to impose violence, spread terror, and thwart justice. In short, it is leading the forces of hate in a last desperate effort to stop the inevitable changes which would bring a measure of freedom to the Negroes in the South.

The House Un-American Activities Committee, long the target of some of our liberal friends, this week began its investigation of the Klan. It was interesting to note that totalitarians of both the left and the right invoke the same techniques to avoid the spotlight of publicity being focused on their activities.

The John Birch Society, parading under the banner of patriotism while imitating the techniques of the Communists, is perhaps more typical of rightwing extremists who have lately concentrated their attacks against the national effort for human rights.

The John Birch Society boasts a widespread membership and evidences substantial sources of funds. It has exerted serious influence in some election campaigns. It has disrupted some local communities and civic groups.

The Birch Society budget expenditure has risen from $1.6 million in 1963 to an estimated $6 million today. They have announced new organizational campaigns to raise some $12 million for the 1966 congressional elections. Rightwing spokesmen spread their venomous propaganda throughout the land each day. They now pour forth more than 10,000 broadcasts a week, using more than 2,500 hours of radio and television time—much of it donated by individual stations as a public service.

Like other groups of its kind, it is easily exposed by close scrutiny: it cannot stand the light of day.

In its own structure, the John Birch Society mirrors the kind of social order to which it is directed. It operates on the fuehrer principle. The founder is the final authority and no elections of any kind are held at any level. The John Birch Society operates in secret, through an apparatus of cells and front groups.

None of this is new. But what is new is that the founder has apparently ordered his apparatus to zero in on human rights as his prime target. What began as a campaign for impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren now has become a full-fledged effort to create an atmosphere hostile to the anti-poverty program, the progressive legislation of the last several years and the pattern of court decisions to uphold constitutional rights.

All of the fantastic propaganda of the John Birch Society and other ultraright groups is being carried on under the guise of fighting communism. They brand any opinion which differs from their own as Communist or Communist-inspired, and any group or movement of which they are critical as part of the Communist conspiracy.

It is by this irrational reasoning that the John Birch Society has concluded in its last box score, that the United States is now 50- to 70-percent under Communist control. It is by this process that it has consigned most of the rest of the world to the category of being hopelessly Communist controlled, beyond recall.

In reality, the Communists, their fellow-travelers and those in their orbit have for years been rebuffed and discredited in the United States. Their totalitarian ideology has become well known. Their subservience to one or another of the Soviet police states has been thoroughly understood. Their techniques for infiltration and perverting public and private institutions and organizations have been thoroughly exposed.

However, they have been endeavoring to make a comeback. They are probing for soft spots in the life of a nation and in each community to penetrate. In these circumstances the indiscriminate labelling of innocent groups only serves to enhance the real Communists' chance of camouflaging themselves, of hiding among those who are falsely alleged to be Communist.

Thus, the totalitarian groups of the ultraright are the handmaidens of the ultraleft. Both would undermine and finally destroy our American social, economic, and political institutions. Both are alien to the basic principles of freedom, justice, and human dignity on which our Nation was founded.

For obvious reasons we are both the first targets of these extremist forces—you who are associated with the free labor movement, in the civil rights field, in the Jewish community because this represents the strong bulwark against totalitarianism in any form; I too am a target because I hold a responsible public office and work in the legislative arena to help establish the progressive types of programs that will resolve the basic cause of agitation, discontent, and economic deprivation. Since we face the voters of our district every 2 years, we in the House of Representatives who repudiate the totalitarian objectives of both the right and the left become the very special targets for these groups.

Both you and I have correspondingly heavy responsibilities to be particularly vigilant to detect and take action against totalitarian forces that are the cancer on our body politic. We must speak out courageously. We must educate our fellow citizens to the inherent dangers of extremist groups who so often hide beneath a cloak of patriotism. We must act decisively wherever and whenever we can to halt the spread of totalitarian doctrines in our schools, clubs, unions, and other organizations. Yet we must be ever conscious of the fundamental constitutional rights afforded to all citizens to speak, act, and hold such political beliefs as they choose. We must not use the same weapons of smear and innuendo that mark our totalitarian enemies.

The basic objectives of the extreme right and the extreme left are similar. They should be emphasized and reemphasized:

1. Both are committed to the overthrow of our American system of representative government.

2. Both seek to destroy the United Nations as an effective instrument of peace.

3. Both feed on and exploit discrimination against minority groups.

4. Both seek the abolishment of labor unions as effective instruments in advancing the well-being of working people.

5. Both use violence to achieve their objectives.

6. Both have sought to infiltrate the community leadership levels to advance their totalitarian doctrines—the schools, churches, social groups, unions, and governmental organizations.

7. Both seek to nullify the vast social and economic legislative gains over the past generation.

8. Both exploit fear, ignorance, prejudices, discontent, and frustration to help advance their cause.

9. Both seek to destroy the decent and responsible forces in the community and national life who are in a position to most effectively expose them and convince other citizens of their real objectives.

10. Finally, both can draw on almost unlimited financial resources to carry on their campaigns of hate, confusion, and division.

Obviously, the threat of the extremist groups in America cannot be eliminated overnight. It has a strong, well-organized, and highly financed core that has grown and spread its influence over the past several years. We must do more than just talk about it here tonight or just to think about it when we return home. We who are genuinely concerned over the implications of this threat to our American system must work however and wherever we can in our daily lives to spread the alarm among our citizens.

Public scrutiny must be directed to the activities of extremist, totalitarian groups and their leaders and spokesmen in villages, towns, and cities throughout the Nation.

Help strengthen those public opinion leaders who fear to speak out in opposition to such alien doctrines for fear of economic reprisal or physical violence.

Study the tactics and organization of extremist groups.

Mobilize efforts to resist their efforts to infiltrate and capture control of PTA's, clubs, unions, or other organizations to which you belong.

Support public officials who have the courage to take on a fight against well-organized extremists of the right or left.

Work cooperatively with other groups who are mobilizing to meet this extremist threat.

Only by undertaking these and many other courses of action can we make certain that the forces of totalitarianism never become more than a small, but vocal minority in America. Only then can we be sure that our children and our children's children will grow to enjoy this wonderful land of freedom, opportunity, justice, and human dignity and help to elevate our Nation to even greater accomplishments in the achievement of lasting world peace.

Congressman Chester Mize Reports on the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, carrying on a tradition which was inaugurated by my predecessor, the Honorable William Avery, who is continuing his career of public service as Governor of Kansas, I am making a report to the constituents of the Second District of Kansas on the activities of their congressional office and the position of their Congressman on vital issues.

This report is being mailed to every household in the district—more than 130,000 of them—so that my constituents can keep track of the stewardship of the congressional office they have entrusted to me. The report follows:

THE RECORD OF THE 89TH

The 1st session of the 89th Congress will go down as a historic one. The quantity of the legislation passed set records in itself. The total impact of this legislation which touches the lives of every man, woman and child in one way or another is yet to be evaluated, however, because of the profound changes which will be wrought. It is indeed safe to say that this year's legislative activity will also affect the lives of generations yet unborn. They will be asked to foot the bill for some of the programs on which payment has been deferred in the mad rush to set records and be all things to all people. History will be the judge of this session's output.

A BUSY YEAR

The tremendous amount of legislation and the record number of votes, plus quorum calls on the House floor, kept my staff and me busy throughout the session. We answered thousands of letters on the hundreds of issues which came before Congress. The controversial nature of so many of the bills provoked comment both pro and con from Second District constituents, all of whom received replies. We handled hundreds of matters for individuals seeking help on problems which were created by an expanding government's rules, regulations and requirements. As centralized Government grows larger, more people are involved and more problems result. A substantial part of our work is aiding constituents in meeting these problems.

Keeping in close touch with the district, I made 15 trips back to Kansas to attend functions and confer with constituents. I also serve on two task forces—one on the United Nations; the other on Latin America.

A BUSY COMMITTEE

As a member of the House Banking and Currency Committee, I participated in the hearings of some of the most controversial legislation to come before this session of Congress. Such bills as the measures to change the silver content of our coins, to create a Department of Urban Affairs, to include a program of rent supplements in the housing bill, to reduce reserves against deposits in Federal Reserve banks, to extend the Area Redevelopment Act, to amend the Bank Holding Act, and to amend the international wheat agreement. I attended more than 50 meetings of the committee in considering this workload of major legislation, plus deliberation on several minor bills.

WIDE VARIETY OF BILLS INTRODUCED

In addition to representing the Second District of Kansas on all of the issues before Congress, I also took a hand in introducing legislation which I feel is necessary for the district and the general public. I was gratified that the first bill I introduced, H.R. 3307, a bill to pay firms for improvements when they had to move their establishments because of the Milford Dam, became a part of the omnibus rivers and harbors bill. I also introduced legislation to reduce the excise tax on telephone service, hot water heaters, and documentary stamp taxes on real estate transfers. Versions of these bills were incorporated in the excise tax reduction bill approved by Congress.

The increase in social security benefits which I supported in a separate bill was included in the medicare bill. Other bills in which hearings were held were legislation to alleviate the boxcar shortage and a bill to include Kansas Modoc Indians in the distribution of judgment funds.

Some of the bills which I have introduced and on which I anticipate action next session are: A tax credit for higher education expenses; the establishment of a water resources trust fund, the Human Investment Act, the establishment of a Hoover-type Commission to study the organization of the executive branch, legislation to standardize real property acquisition procedures, and a bill to establish the Great Prairie Parkway.

WORKING FOR KANSAS

Besides the promotion of my own legislation, I appeared before various committees in behalf of matters important to Kansas: The establishment of a Grain Marketing Research Laboratory at Kansas State University, the Little Delaware-Mission Creeks Watershed project, the appropriations for the navigation and flood control projects in the Second District, a constitutional amendment to permit States to apportion one house of the legislature on factors other than population, and against the cut in funds for the ACP practices and the Soil Conservation Service as well as against the closing of the VA hospitals and regional offices. I also testified before the Joint Committee on the Reorganization of Congress in behalf of the elimination of omnibus bills.

VOTING RECORD

Here's how I voted on some of the major issues before the 89th Congress this year:

Voted for

The Drug Control Act.
The Elementary Education Act.
Funds to continue House Un-American activities investigations.
The Water Quality Act.
Excise tax reduction.
The voting rights bill.
The Older Americans Act.
The military pay increase.
The farm bill.
Changes in the immigration laws.
Higher education assistance.

Voted against

Eliminating the gold reserves.
The Appalachia bill.
The Foreign Assistance Act.
A compulsory medicare program.
Increase in the national debt.
Department of Urban Affairs.
Reduction of silver in coins.
Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act.
Omnibus housing bill with rent supplements.
Expanded public works.
Expansion of antipoverty measures (felt existing programs should be checked for effectiveness before any expansion).

THE NEW SECOND DISTRICT

The Congressional Reapportionment Act, approved by the Kansas Legislature on March 11, 1965, enlarged the area of the Second Congressional District to add Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson Counties. Wyandotte County was realined so that the portion retained in the Second District includes the cities of Edwardsville and Bonner Springs and the townships of Delaware, Prairie, and Quindaro.

Although the area was increased, the population was decreased to bring it closer to the numerical strength of the other four districts. Whereas the district had 445,196 people on the basis of the 1960 census, the new district has a population of 436,085.

We are sorry to lose some of the constituents in Wyandotte County but pleased to add those in the new counties of Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson. The present Congressmen will continue to serve these counties until the new Congress convenes in 1967; but for the purposes of the 1966 election, voters in Dickinson, Morris, and Jefferson Counties will vote in the Second District.

Timely Reminders of Why We Defend Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, the misguided public demonstrations against U.S. defense of freedom in Vietnam have provided comfort to the avowed enemies of our Nation. The basic issue involved here is not the right of our people to free speech, freedom of assembly or public dissent against the policies of our Government. Those rights are assured by law and are cherished by all thinking Americans. What is involved is the organized misuse of those rights to create the false impression that our policy in Vietnam does not have the support of our people and that a serious division exists among our people over continuing U.S. support for the besieged people of free Vietnam.

Those demonstrations are beginning to backfire. The American people are becoming aroused over these anti-U.S. demonstrations. We are being reminded of the fundamental truths which make our policy in Vietnam necessary.

Mr. Speaker, the world news editor for the Cleveland Press, Albert E. Prudence, underscores the reasons for our action in Vietnam in his column of October 14, 1965. He concludes on the note:

Nowhere does freedom come cheap.

On October 16, 1965, 87 full-time faculty members of John Carroll University, an esteemed institution of higher learning in Cleveland, issued a public statement "In Defense of the American Position in Vietnam." That statement was published by the Cleveland Press of the same date. It presents a calm and reasoned analysis of why we are in Vietnam, what we are fighting for and why it is not always possible to avoid war.

By leave previously granted, I include the article written by Albert E. Prudence, which appeared in the Cleveland Press on October 14, 1965, and the statement "In Defense of the American Position in Vietnam," inserted in the Plain Dealer on October 16, 1965, by faculty members of John Carroll University, Cleveland:

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press, Oct. 14, 1965]

DEMONSTRATING AMERICANS ARE GIVEN SOME REMINDERS

(By Albert E. Prudence)

There is something ironic about anti-U.S. demonstrations which are about to break out in Cleveland and elsewhere throughout the Nation.

The demonstrations—essentially against U.S. war action in Vietnam—will be an example of every American's constitutional right to free speech and freedom of assembly.

But while the demonstrators are busy huffing and puffing, other Americans will be dying 10,000 miles away in South Vietnam so that the South Vietnamese will remain free.

The dying Americans are illustrating what Mme. Chiang Kai-shek told U.S. Senators recently: "Freedom is worth dying for. Nowhere does freedom come cheap."

The demonstrating Americans, however, argue that the United States has no business in South Vietnam, that its troops should be withdrawn and bombing raids on Communist North Vietnam should be halted.

They don't complain about Communist troops being in South Vietnam. And they don't mention that North Vietnam ignores the fact that the United States has offered to talk peace just as soon as the Reds stop their attacks on South Vietnam.

Here are some of the things the demonstrators should know:

More than a million Vietnamese have fled from Communist North Vietnam, to take refuge in the south, according to the State Department.

Red terrorists last year assassinated 436 hamlet officials in South Vietnam, killed more than 1,300 civilians in bombings, and kidnaped at least 8,400 civilians.

The United States is not fighting alone. There are more than 1,000 Australians and more than 5,000 South Koreans battling the Communists.

South Vietnamese soldiers also are dying. Defense Secretary Robert McNamara said nearly 8,000 have been killed in action so far this year. He said they were being killed at the rate of 270 a week this summer.

Why is the United States fighting? For the demonstrators against U.S. policy, President Johnson had this to say last February: "Our purpose in Vietnam is to join in the defense and protection of a brave people who are under attack that is controlled and directed from outside their country."

Captured documents show that troops from Communist North Vietnam are fighting inside South Vietnam and that the troops are supplied by Red China.

Campus demonstrators might like to know that so far in the Vietnamese war 722 Americans have been killed and about 4,000 have been wounded—all fighting for freedom.

Bitter survivors also might remind the demonstrators that:

Two Americans were killed and 54 wounded when terrorists exploded a bomb near the U.S. Embassy in Saigon and did $1 million worth of damage last March.

Twenty-three Americans were killed and 22 others were wounded when Communists bombed an enlisted men's barracks at Qui Nhnon in February.

Eight Americans were killed and 108 were wounded in a mortar attack at Pleiku, also last February.

Two Americans were killed and 63 wounded by a Christmas Eve bomb at the Brink Hotel in Saigon.

There are now nearly 145,000 American troops fighting in South Vietnam and some administration sources think the total may reach more than 200,000. The total now includes 88,719 Army troops, 36,700 Marines, 13,200 Air Force, 5,900 Navy, and 270 Coast Guard.

As the fighting continues and anti-U.S. demonstrations are planned on campuses, costs of the war are mounting.

Aid to South Vietnam is estimated at $2 million a day. But cost of supporting all U.S. troops there is put at $10 million a day.

Keep in mind that thousands of rifles are needed and each one costs $100, hundreds of bombs costing $350 each have been dropped on Communist North Vietnam, and hundreds of shells costing $13 each have been fired. Each B-52 raid is estimated to cost $1 million and about 100 U.S. fighter planes—each worth $350,000—have been shot down.

But the biggest cost has been 722 Americans killed in action, more than in the Spanish-American War. As Madam Chiang said, "Nowhere does freedom come cheap."

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Oct. 16, 1965]

IN DEFENSE OF THE AMERICAN POSITION IN VIETNAM

We feel that it is necessary to publicize the fact that there are American university faculty members who do not condemn the actions of the United States in South Vietnam. No one wants war. But it is not always possible to avoid war, simply because the alternatives may be worse than the war itself. War was avoided several times in the early 1930's. Will anyone argue that the choice was a good one? There are two main arguments for our presence in Vietnam. One is that we are pledged to protect the people of South Vietnam from a truly terrible fate. The second is that, even if we were willing to abandon them, we would be repeating the mistakes of the early 1930's. We would again be committing the folly of retreating before ruthless aggression.

We are willing to admit that these claims are arguable. But we believe it necessary to stand up and say that we think them more likely true than false. Our opponents question our information and our motives. On neither score is it obvious to us that our country is always wrong, and our antagonists always right. We do not like to be told that we are immoral in Vietnam. We feel, on the contrary, that we are attacking a difficult task, reluctantly, because it should be done. We feel that the American position, far from being immoral, is an honorable and a courageous one, and that it is high time that more voices were raised in its defense.

Raymond Allen, S.J., Lucien Aube, James Batter, Joseph E. Bender, Paul Besanceney, S.J., Frank Bittenz, S.J., Joseph T. Bombelles, Bernard R. Campbell, Edward F. Carome, John R. Carpenter, Robert B. Carver, Charles Castellano, S.J., Mrs. V. Cicek, J. R. Cicin, R. D. Cihlar, S.J., Richard W. Clancey, Robert Corrigan, Joseph T. Cotter, Anthony J. DeCarlo, Herbert Eisele, Thomas D. Ewing, S.J., Rene Fabien, William D. Fissinger, Richard J. Gaul, John D. Gerken, S.J., James E. Gocek, Frank A. Gutowski, S.J., Frank J. Heintz, C. N. Hinman, Marvin Hoffman, Nicholas Horvath, Mary K. Howard, Francis T. Huck, Dominic Hunt, Joseph L. Hunter, F. A. Jones, Terence F. Kane, S.J., Howard J. Kerner, S.J., John Deshock, Francis A. Kleinhenz, George A. Kmieck, S.J., E. T. Kramer, Betty R. LaFontaine, James M. Lavin, L. Morgan Lavin, Dougald B. MacEachen, Francis J. McGurr, James E. Magner, Jr., Leone Marinello, John L. Melton, Joseph B. Miller, Eugene R. Mittinger, Lawrence J. Monville, S.J., Robert S. More, John Morford, Joseph A. Muenzer, S.J., Harry C. Nash, Robert J. Nook, Walter S. Nosal, Eugene G. Oberst, James F. O'Donnell, Joseph P. Owens, William F. O'Hearn, Michael S. Pap, Louis G. Pecek, James J. Peirolo, Ralph Pica, George J. Prpic, John Reali, John C. Reed, S.J., Edward Reilley, D. Clayton Scharlo, S.J., Gerald J. Schweickert, Francis J. Smith, S.J., Gerard F. Smola, S.J., Richard J. Spath, Terrence J. Sheehan, Robert T. Sullens, Edmund Thomas, Arther S. Trace, Joseph Trivisionno, Jr., Victor C. Vitug, James Walsh, Edward J. Walter, William Weaver, Nora J. Wieser, Robert Yackshaw.

(All of the above are full-time faculty members of John Carroll University.)

Gold Problem in Russia, Too

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Roy Harrop of Omaha, Nebr., the chairman of the Western States Mining & Business Men's Association, brought to my attention a recent article by columnist Henry J. Taylor, in which he discusses Russia's gold reserves and production. I think this article will be of interest to many of my colleagues, and I include it herewith:

GOLD PROBLEM IN RUSSIA, TOO

(By Henry J. Taylor)

ZURICH.—Good news leaks out of the Kremlin.

While our gold reserve hits another new 27-year low, Swiss experts on world gold—and there's none better—indicate that the U.S.S.R. is having a gold problem, too. The Kremlin treasury is a cottage filled with secret nooks, but this one has been penetrated.

These authorities now estimate Russia's annual gold production at approximately $175 million. This, of course, leaves her in her usual place: No. 2 to South Africa.

Their estimate also makes Russia's output about 3½ times the size of ours. Just one of the Siberian complexes, called Dalstory, which means the "Far North Project," based at Magadon, exceeds our total production.

While our gold mines struggle against high and often unprofitable production costs, and many in Alaska, California, and elsewhere are closed, the Soviet mines are running 24 hours a day and exploration is expanding.

The Swiss experts find that the Kremlin is consuming about $30 million in gold for internal needs. This leaves about $140 million available for sale for hard currencies abroad. But they also find that Russia's gold sales in Zurich, London, Paris, Amsterdam, etc., have been much larger than that. The difference could only come from the Kremlin's gold reserve.

The disastrous 1963 harvest alone called for almost $1 billion worth of grain from free world markets. Russia bought 150 million bushels of wheat from us for 1964 delivery. Then she had to buy 300,000 tons

this year to fill her commitments to Egypt. That touched us directly, too.

Russia bought it in Australia. On June 27, the Soviet freighter *Dubossary* delivered 8,845 tons of this amid cheering Alexandria crowds shouting, "Long live Soviet-United Arab Republic friendship."

One reason President Johnson resumed aid to Gamal Abdel Nasser after the U.S. Senate tried to ban it specifically was to offset this Soviet wheat pitch. The American ship *Sabrina* docked a few hours ahead of the *Dubossary* with a cargo three times the size. But for our delivery there were no crowds, no cheers—nothing.

That, it seems to me, should be written into the Senate record. Once again, we were the sucker. It's a pity for our taxpayers that the Senate ban did not prevail.

Machine tools are Switzerland's largest export. So this market comes in for close scrutiny as Russia presses all exports to relieve her balance-of-payments problem.

The Soviet is producing an amazing 185,000 machine tools a year compared to 60,000 or 70,000 in the United States. Their quality is generally inferior to ours, but sufficiently good to affect the world markets, and they are priced domestically at about one-third of comparable American units. Some Canadian factories, for example, are nearly entirely equipped with these.

Her machine tools have given Russia her biggest export success and balance-of-payments relief.

Russia has sharply boosted the price it will pay for citizens' gold rings and other objects. The campaign is being pressed in the special Mascow store set up to sell foreigners precious jewelry, rare carpets, important heirlooms, etc., for hard currencies, and GUM, the giant emporium, has opened a hard-currency fur department.

In any case, as the $1 billion in grain purchases is only the largest single lump in the Swiss calculation of the Soviet balance-of-payments problem, revealed here to be much more severe than previously realized, they have traced the imbalance back through the years before that.

The Swiss experts estimate that today the imbalance brings the Soviet gold reserve down to between $1,500 million to $2 billion.

This is less than Belgium's. It is also the lowest reliable and respected estimate I have ever encountered, and represents very important news.

Rivers' Monument

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure, along with many members of the House Armed Services Committee, to participate in the ceremonies dedicating a bronze bust of the distinguished gentleman from South Carolina, L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee.

It was a most impressive ceremony made all the more important by the attendance of Under Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance, Secretary of the Army Stanley Resor, Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze, and Secretary of the Air Force Harold Brown, as well as Admiral Raborn, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

I think the importance was best summed up in the principal address delivered by the Reverend Paul Pridgen, a boyhood friend of our colleague, who captured the spirit of Charleston as well as the nature of the contributions which he has made to our country.

I give you Reverend Pridgen's address:

DEDICATION SPEECH, RIVERS' MONUMENT,
OCTOBER 20, 1965

(By Paul Pridgen)

President Wayne, Congressman RIVERS, Mrs. Rivers, distinguished guests, fellow Kiwanians and friends, this is an historic occasion in the life of North Charleston. Congressman RIVERS, a grateful people are here assembled to express their gratitude to you.

North Charleston's growth and development is a thrilling story. During the colonial period, our community was the overland gateway to the flourishing city of Charleston, the center of trade and culture in the South. The lush forest of the area offered excellent hunting for food and sport. Hides found a ready market, therefore, hunting and trapping were important in the early development. The forest also made possible the development of the lumber and naval stores industry. This industry meant much to growth and heavy lumbering interests operated huge mills here even until the 1930's. Names such as Burtons, Tuxbury, and Cherry will not soon be forgotten.

As the forest gave way to the ax and saw, plantations sprang up. The agricultural emphasis of the plantation brought an important industry to life. Phosphate which was mined here brought the fertilizer industry into being and today the agrico-chemical industry remains a stable contributor to the economy of our community.

Two main factors contributed to the industrialization of North Charleston. First, easy accessibility. The area is accessible to the up-country by land and by water through the port of Charleston. The other major contributing factor was the availability of land. Land became limited in the city proper because of the natural boundaries formed by the Ashley and Cooper Rivers. Industry cast a longing look at North Charleston as an industrial promised land.

Today, North Charleston is the hub of industry for lower South Carolina in general and metropolitan Charleston in particular. Here are located the pulp and paper industry, metallurgical industry, the rubber asbestos industry, agricultural-chemical producers, oil storage and refinery, textile dye plant, garment manufacturers, industrial rubber glove manufacturing plant, aircraft sub-assembly plant, roofing manufacturing, sugar-packaging plant, railroad yards, wholesale grocery warehouses, industrial supply houses, sport boat construction, and many other industrial units.

The naval shipyard has been and is the largest industrial unit in North Charleston. This introduces us to another feature of our community for which we are justly proud. We find free enterprise blended harmoniously together in the same community with Government installations. The military installations—Navy, Army, Air Force—are not islands unto themselves. They are a vital part of the community. The service personnel are citizens and not just economic statistics. North Charleston is proud of her military citizens. This relationship is credited by many service men choosing to make North Charleston their permanent home after retirement from the service.

Thrilling as the story of this industrial development is, it would be unjust if North Charleston is pictured as just an industrial mecca.

North Charleston is now the home of about 86,000 people. Israel Zangwill said, "America is God's crucible, the great melting pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming."

Zangwill's application of America as the melt pot of the world can be appropriately applied to this community as the melting pot of America since most of the people are from some other city or State.

We are proud that with the population growth the business community has made monumental progress. Housing developments entice homeowners. Modern shopping centers dot the area, providing efficient and convenient shopping and domestic services. The Cooper River Parks and Playground Commission, under the able leadership of Mr. Danny Jones, has established parks and operates a playground and recreation program for which any community could be proud. Our dedicated civic clubs constantly seek the betterment of the community. The Cooper River School District is the largest in the State of South Carolina. A new addition is the technical education center which is providing training for a more skilled work force. The impact upon the community by the new Baptist college is already being felt. Religious life in North Charleston is enhanced by many beautiful houses of worship. The ministerial association constantly contributes to the spiritual welfare of the community.

Congressman RIVERS, as a community we have come a long way since you lived here as a young man.

Just before you were elected to the State legislature in 1933, you made a promise to my father. At that time, you said you could not predict how far your political career would carry you. One thing, however, was for certain, you would not forget where you came from and then promised to do what you could to help the people you represented.

We, the people, are here today to say "thank you" for fulfilling that promise.

Therefore, we dedicate this monument to your honor in recognition of your faithful stewardship as our representative to the State Legislature of South Carolina and to the Congress of the United States.

This monument is also dedicated as a reminder of the continuing task that is ours in protecting and perpetuating this community and our Nation to which we owe such a great debt of gratitude.

In conclusion, this monument is dedicated with the hope that it will remain as the symbol of the expression of a grateful people who wish to say "thank you."

Atchison, Kans., Marine Asks "If the Reds Get Viet, What Next?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHESTER L. MIZE
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, in view of the demonstrations which have been staged in various parts of the country in opposition to our position in Vietnam, I think it is interesting to note how the American soldiers fighting in this faraway land feel about the backing they are getting at home.

Of special interest to me was was a letter from Cpl. Harold L. Vandeloo, of Atchison, Kans., to his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. Vandeloo, 1423 Division Street, Atchison.

The letter was reprinted on the front page of the Atchison, Kans., Daily Globe,

and since it carries a message which all should ponder, especially those who are carrying their objections to unpatriotic lengths, I include it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

LOCAL MARINE ASKS: "IF REDS GET VIET, WHAT NEXT?"

What is the reaction of U.S. servicemen fighting the Vietcong in Vietnam to the reports of anti-war protests and draft-card burnings at home?

Cpl. Harold L. Vandeloo, of the Marine Corps, who has been in the midst of the Vietnam conflict, has written his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Harold J. Vandeloo, 1423 Division Street, his feelings concerning the demonstrations.

The letter, dated October 20, 1965 at Chu Lai, Vietnam, is as follows:

"DEAR MOM AND DAD: This letter today is a little different than those of the past. I'm in hopes this one will find its way to the news stands.

"Today I was very disappointed when I picked up the October 18 edition of the Pacific Stars and Stripes (an Armed Forces newspaper). In big bold letters across the front were 'Anti-War Flareups Across United States.' We have heard of these demonstrations but didn't think too much of them at the time. But what I read today is what possessed me to write this letter.

"If this letter will sway one person's thought from protest to patriotism, then I'll feel it was a success.

"Vietnam is stricken with poverty and poor sanitation conditions. The people have to rely on their produce of rice and small crops or other grain for survival. The Communist guerrillas are using a method of terrorizing to gain support of the civilian populace. Their main source of supply is that of the people. If the people don't give food and shelter and whatever may be demanded, then they are terrorized.

"I wonder if any of the young protestors have seen a mother of small children with her arm cut off at the elbow or a young girl with a bamboo shoot driven into her or heard an elderly village chief scream for mercy at night from torture of the Vietcong?

"That's why we are here—to stop this Communist aggression. Is this what the United States is supposed to pull out of and let continue? If we don't stop it here, then where will it stop—at the threshold of Berkeley or the University of Wisconsin? And who will stop it—the students? I think not.

"President Johnson is doing a fine job, but yet he is criticized by person who know nothing of this war.

"Many good men have given their lives here for a cause that is greater than any other—freedom. And they also were condemned. We can only pray to God that He will open these people's eyes so they can see again. I feel sorry for the young men who burn their draft cards—they are suffering from an incurable disease, a severe case of yellow spine.

"All we servicemen ask is loyalty from the people in the United States. Not just the majority, but all the people. It would make our jobs so much easier.

"Love ya,

"HAROLD LEE."

Stanley Home Products—35 Years of Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, much has been written in recent years about the economic ups and downs of New England industry and commerce. No one can deny that many plants and industries traditionally associated with New England have packed up and moved to areas where tax concessions, cheap land, and low-wage labor have been offered. But that is only part of the story.

A great many other industries to whom quality of workmanship, reliability, and craftsmanship outweighed the promise of low overhead and cheap operating costs, have remained in New England to prosper and expand.

One among these is Stanley Home Products, Inc., located in the First Congressional District of Massachusetts which I am pleased to represent in this body. This forward-looking firm is celebrating its 35th anniversary this year; 35 years of constant growth and progress through one of the most turblent economic periods in history for New England, the Nation, and the world.

Stanley Home Products was built on the unique premise enunciated by its cofounder, Frank Stanley Beveridge, who vowed:

> We will build here an institution the likes of which has never been seen; one that will be a benefit and a blessing to those associated with it.

The institution which Mr. Beveridge and Miss Catherine L. O'Brien, cofounder, originated began with one floor of an old tobacco shed in Westfield. As the business grew, Stanley spread its facilities into several buildings throughout the city until the manufacturing facilities were eventually moved into a former textile mill, which became available after World War II, in nearby Easthampton.

Here there are now almost 700,000 square feet of clean, well-lighted, manufacturing space where over 200 different Stanley products are produced and distributed. On a trip through the plant you see coordinated the many kinds of efforts that go into research and development, buying materials, product design, production, testing, packaging, and shipping. Stanley associates employed in the Westfield-Easthampton area number almost 700.

Mr. Beveridge's original words of prophecy proved to be not only an inspiration, but also a reality to thousands of people who through the years have become independent Stanley dealers. For Stanley has persevered in destroying artificial barriers, long before the working woman came into her own right. Today, most of this company's approximately 25,000 independent dealers are women. They range in age from 21-year-old young ladies to the great grandmother in her late seventies. Incredibly enough, most of them were without prior experience in selling.

During these years, the company has been a dramatic illustration of American economic opportunity. It has proved time and again, how individuals with the drive and ambition to get ahead can be successful, regardless of race, sex, color, national origin, or religion. For the past several years the retail value of merchandise and premiums distributed by Stanley dealers and Stanley subsidiary companies has exceeded $100 million annually.

Stanley Home Products can rightfully take enormous pride in having pioneered sales opportunities for women. Virtually thousands and thousands of women have built important sales careers through the Stanley Hostess Party, which the company originated. Stanley is one of the relatively few large industrial companies that is headed by a woman—its chairman of the board, Miss Catherine L. O'Brien.

Foster E. Goodrich, president, once said about his company:

> There is almost no limit to the growth possibilities for a man or woman as a Stanley dealer. Our company's success is tied directly to the success of each and every dealer.

Individual case histories of successful dealers have underscored his words. The opportunity indeed is almost limitless. An independent Stanley dealer averages about $12 gross profit per regular Stanley hostess party. It takes about 2 hours for the party to take place. This includes playing games, having cake and coffee, and, of course, a product demonstration, dramatizing the convenience of living room shopping. Consequently, the dealer can virtually decide on the kind of income he wants or needs. Naturally, when a good dealer becomes a manager and then goes up the Stanley ladder, the opportunities for financial success and personal gratification are even greater.

This highly successful company has devoted many of its energies to those things that transcend higher profits. It has for years conducted a good neighbor program, sending "cleanup kits" to victims of national disasters. In fact, only a few years ago, in Washington, D.C., General Gruenther, as president of the American National Red Cross, presented the company with a special good neighbor commendation. The company has sponsored numerous scholarships, safety programs, journalism awards, and other public service efforts.

It is an example of the kind of company that those of us who believe in free enterprise take pride in. For it has a proven record of success. It has brought great benefits to its dealers and associates. And yet, at the same time, it has been a good neighbor not only in Westfield and Easthampton, Mass., but in all of those communities throughout the 50 States where people know their Stanley dealers. In the words of its founder, Frank Stanley Beveridge, it has become a benefit and a blessing.

It should be noted that Mr. Beveridge was indeed a philosopher as well as the builder of this unusual company. Mr. Beveridge left behind the following credo, which all of management might well study, and from which it can learn so much. He said at one time:

> We have taken ordinary objects—tangible, inanimate objects like these brushes and like the chemicals we make—and turned them into something whereby people can build their lives with them, whereby people can improve their thinking, improve their living, improve on their ambitions, their working qualities, improve their minds, improve—yes—improve their spiritual thinking.
>
> All these things have been done directly or indirectly through the medium of using Stanley home products. That is a big claim

and some people would be inclined to dispute that idea, but any organization can take their products and do the same thing with them.

Mr. Beveridge has since passed on. But his cofounder and now chairman of the board, Miss Catherine L. O'Brien; Foster E. Goodrich, president; A. W. Elzerman, vice president in charge of sales, and the other members of the management team have carried on his eloquent idea and ideals.

As this company celebrates its 35th year, the words of Mr. Beveridge along with his belief that "the man is more important than the plan" should help not only Stanley Home Products, Inc., but help us as well in all of our dealings. and perhaps for years to come, assist us in appreciating a little better the human equation.

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

MESSAGE FROM THE HOUSE—ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the Secretary of the Senate, on October 25, 1965, received a message from the House of Representatives, which announced that the Speaker had affixed his signature to the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

ENROLLED BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the Vice President, on October 27, 1965, signed the following enrolled bills and joint resolutions which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 619. An act for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. William T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 1004. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to make title III thereof directly applicable to procurement of property and services by executive agencies, and for other purposes;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies;

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising;

S. 2118. An act to amend sections 9 and 37 of the Shipping Act, 1916, and subsection O of the Ship Mortgage Act, 1920;

S. 2150. An act to discontinue or modify certain reporting requirements of law;

S. 2542. An act to amend the Small Business Act;

S. 2679. An act to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended;

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefits under the war orphans educational assistance program.

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 2079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bacola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter, split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities:

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes;

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.R. 11539. An act to provide assistance to the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane;

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs;

H.J. Res. 671. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of November as "Water Conservation Month"; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

ENROLLED BILL SIGNED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Pursuant to House Concurrent Resolution 528, the President pro tempore, on October 26, 1965, signed the enrolled bill (S. 2300) authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes, which had previously been signed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

ENROLLED BILLS PRESENTED SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The Secretary of the Senate, on October 27, 1965, presented to the President of the United States the following enrolled bills:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Kamelb;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt Col. Willian T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force, retired;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies; and

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising.

ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF JOINT RESOLUTION

Under authority of the order of the Senate of October 19, 1965, the names of Senators DODD and LAUSCHE were added as additional cosponsors of the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 119) authorizing the Hungarian Freedom Fighters' Federation to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

Mr. BURLESON, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on October 27, 1965, present to the President, for his approval, bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 3079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bacola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide for adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

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H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydro-Electric Co.;

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H.J. Res. 788. An act establishing that the second regular session of the Eighty-ninth Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

1. *Arrangement of the daily Record.*—The Public Printer shall arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: the Senate proceedings shall alternate with the House proceedings in order of placement in consecutive issues insofar as such an arrangement is feasible, and the Appendix and Daily Digest shall follow: *Provided,* That the makeup of the RECORD shall proceed without regard to alternation whenever the Public Printer deems it necessary in order to meet production and delivery schedules.

2. *Type and style.*—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the Official Reporters of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. *Return of manuscript.*—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p.m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. *Tabular matter.*—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p.m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. *Proof furnished.*—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. *Notation of withheld remarks.*—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. ——— addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. *Thirty-day limit.*—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: *Provided,* That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. *Corrections.*—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: *Provided,* That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: *Provided further,* That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed. This rule shall not be construed to apply to conference reports.

10(a). *Appendix to daily Record.*—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix. This rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: *Provided,* That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the sine die adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

10(b). *Makeup of the Appendix.*—The Appendix to the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD shall be made up by successively taking first an extension from the copy submitted by the Official Reporters of one House and then an extension from the copy of the other House, so that Senate and House extensions appear alternately as far as possible throughout the Appendix. The sequence for each House shall follow as closely as possible the order or arrangement in which the copy comes from the Official Reporters of the respective Houses.

The Official Reporters of each House shall designate and distinctly mark the lead item among their extensions. When both Houses are in session and submit extensions, the lead item shall be changed from one House to the other in alternate issues, with the indicated lead item of the other House appearing in second place. When only one House is in session, the lead item shall be an extension submitted by a Member of the House in session.

This rule shall not apply to extensions withheld because of volume or equipment limitations, which shall be printed immediately following the lead items as indicated by the Official Reporters in the next issue of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, nor to RECORDS printed after the sine die adjournment of the Congress.

11. *Estimate of cost.*—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this rule shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. For the purposes of this regulation, any one article printed in two or more parts, with or without individual headings, shall be considered as a single extension and the two-page rule shall apply. The Public Printer or the Official Reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. *Official Reporters.*—The Official Reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

Gallantry in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. KENNEDY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KENNEDY of New York. Mr. President, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a letter that I recently received from Mrs. Daniel Sullivan, a constituent of mine.

Mrs. Sullivan is the wife of Lt. Daniel H. Sullivan, U.S. Marine Corps, who was severely wounded in action in Vietnam on August 9, 1965. Lieutenant Sullivan was serving with the 3d Tank Battalion, 3d Marine Division, when he was hit by a fragment from a Vietcong mortar shell.

Lieutenant Sullivan was taken to Clark Air Force Base Hospital in the Philippines to receive major surgery. He was on the critical list for many days, being unconscious much of the time. Mrs. Sullivan was able to join her husband at Clark during his desperate fight for survival. Excellent medical help and strong courage saved Lieutenant Sullivan's life and he is now on the long road to recovery.

Mrs. Sullivan recently wrote to me about her experiences. Because of the significance of her remarks, I would like to include part of her letter in the RECORD:

After leaving Clark Air Force Hospital, we spent the month of September in Hawaii, at Tripler Army General Hospital. Here, Danny, again underwent major neurosurgery and it is believed that this operation was a success although his condition remains quite serious. The Army surgeon at Tripler, has assured me that his recovery will be a long slow process but with excellent medical care and intensive physical therapy, Danny's prognosis could be very promising. I hope and pray that his care at St. Albans will meet these requirements.

During my stay at Clark, I met many young American servicemen who had been injured while fighting in Vietnam. Their courage and belief in what their country is fighting for is truly an inspiration. I just wish that the American public could be made more aware of these fine young men now fighting a personal war for survival and usefulness in our society.

Mrs. Sullivan's letter points up the gallantry and courage of our men in Vietnam. I know that my colleagues will join me in paying tribute to Lieutenant Sullivan and the many others who bear the direct burden of this conflict. I would also like to pay tribute to Mrs. Sullivan's bravery, for she too faced the trials of war when her husband was wounded. We owe a debt to Mrs. Sullivan and the relatives of other men fighting in Vietnam as well.

Letter From Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, Lance Cpl. Chris H. Dever, of Noblesville, Ind., who is serving his country in Vietnam, has written a letter home to his mother, Mrs. Rosella Dever, 1553 Hannibal Street, Noblesville, recalling his reaction to the anti-American demonstrations and teach-ins by some students and professors on American campuses.

Mrs. Dever, who resides in my hometown, has asked that this letter be presented for others to read in order that loyal, patriotic Americans here in the United States can understand what our men in the war zone think about these antics by a noisy minority back home.

Corporal Dever's letter was cosigned by two of his buddies, Lance Cpl. G. David Raynolds, and Lance Cpl. Gordon D. Ziebart.

For the sake of brevity I have omitted extraneous material and excerpted Corporal Dever's letter to the essential comments.

Under unanimous consent, the remarks follow:

This letter is not to scare or depress you. It is to let you know what the young people of the United States who are protesting against us being in Vietnam are doing to us.

We know there are more people on our side. People who are behind us all the way. But what about the kids, the young people, the ones who are influenced so easily? They either sit at home not knowing or caring or are reached by some infiltrator. He works on their young minds until they only know what they are told and believe it is right. The youth will soon be running the United States. Then what? The ideas planted now will grow.

We are fighting here to stop the fire of communism before it burns higher and takes all of southeast Asia.

The 20-year-old college student who burns his draft card and says "Get out of Vietnam, let us have peace," is ignorant of the reasons we are here. He is like a man in the woods throwing wood on the forest fire not worried because the wind is blowing the fire away from him. The wind can change, then it's too late.

There are approximately 1,200 American dead because of Vietnam. Those infantiles who call themselves Americans, want us to pull out. They want to say to hell with the 1,200 men, so what if we pull out and those men would have died for nothing.

No, we will finish what we set out to do. Myself and the majority of the men say if one American has died, it is worth fighting for.

No man should give his life without a reason. Give us a reason, please. Help us to help you. We need your support. Give us a reason for dying.

Respectfully,
Lance Cpl. G. DAVID REYNOLDS,
Lance Cpl. CHRIS H. DEVER,
Lance Cpl. GORDON D. ZIEBART.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on July 28, 1965, I wrote to a number of individuals in Oregon calling to their attention a proposal that was then under consideration by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of S. 250, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill.

In my letter I pointed out that the Department suggested an amendment to

section 2 of S. 250 which would provide for exchanges as follows:

On page 2, line 5, change "SEC. 2." to "SEC. 2. (a)" and add at the end of subsection (a) the following new subsection:

"(b) In the exercise of his exchange authority the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property and federally owned property under his jurisdiction which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal and which is of approximately equal value. If the properties are not of approximately equal value, the Secretary may accept cash from, or pay cash to, the grantor in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged."

In my July 28 letter I made these observations:

I understand that at least one timber company with lands inside the proposed park will, if this section is included, seek to exchange these lands for BLM timber lands in another county.

The result will be to reduce BLM's allowable cut and the amount of timber available for independent operators long accustomed to the purchase of this public timber. Also, there is no requirement that private companies will have to practice sustained yield similar to that on BLM lands.

In addition, there exists the possibility that timber speculators may obtain options on Oregon Dunes properties, then seek to exchange for BLM sustained yield forest. Also, speculators may similarly operate as third party agents.

I received responses from several residents of Oregon, addressed to me between August 3 and 4, 1965. I ask unanimous consent that these communications be included in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the communications were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MEDFORD MAIL TRIBUNE,
Medford, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE L. MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: I am flattered that you should seek my views concerning the various proposals for the Oregon Dunes National Seashore.

They are, in brief, these:

1. Such a seashore is important, not only to protect scenic, scientific, ecological, and recreational values, but also as a major factor in Oregon's economy through its third-largest and fastest growing industry—tourism and recreation.

2. The precise size and borders are negotiable, and the important thing is to obtain authorization as soon as possible. But size and borders should not be reduced from the sharply reduced proposals which now verge on the minimal.

3. Condemnation should be used sparingly and only as a last resort, but the authority should be there to use it should all else fail. Life occupancy and limited survivorship rights should be included as a further protection against arbitrary use of the right of eminent domain—which is now well recognized as a valid instrument in obtaining properties for recreational purposes.

4. Land exchange is a valuable tool, but it, too, must be used with the utmost care and caution. I would propose that lands outside the seashore area be exchanged for lands within it under strict provisos that productive forest land, in particular, be retained in that use, and that it be managed under established silvicultural practices for sustained yield. Who owns the land is less important to the overall public weal than how it is managed and used as a renewable resource.

It would be a great tragedy if this seashore is not created. It would also be a great tragedy if, in the process of its creation, forest properties are taken out of production by cut-out-and-get-out methods or used for other purposes.

Thank you for the opportunity to comment.

Cordially,

ERIC W. ALLEN, Jr.,
Editor.

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY,
SCHOOL OF FORESTRY,
Corvallis, Oreg., August 4, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In response to your letter of July 28, I am concerned in maintaining the resource base of Oregon. Knowing the responsibility of companies like Crown-Zellerbach, I would favor giving such long-time operators the opportunity to replace timber crops which would be lost to them by annexation. Surely it would be possible to write into the law stipulations which would exclude the speculators which are your concern, and mine too.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

W. F. MCCULLOCH,
Dean.

THE WORLD,
Coos Bay, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Acknowledgment is made of your letter of July 28 querying my views concerning the land exchange factor in S. 250, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore measure.

The enclosed editorial clipping may be in partial, if unsatisfactory, reply to your query. It is regrettable that the overall principle of land classification and land-use exchanges has not been thoroughly aired by the O & C and Multiple Use Advisory Boards, of the BLM.

It would also be regrettable if this controversial factor were permitted to form an insurmountable and perhaps convenient obstacle to the land-use protection inherent in the Interior Department National Park Service program, typified by the Oregon National Seashore proposal.

I believe that development of a policy of land acquisition by purchase should be encouraged for the National Park Service program.

I believe, further, that the power of eminent domain should be as logical and valid an authority of the National Park Service or Department of the Interior as for State or Federal highway departments. If, as you state, "there exists the possibility that timber speculators may obtain options on Oregon Dunes properties, then seek to exchange for BLM sustained yield forest," it would seem to constitute a convincing argument in favor of resorting to condemnation proceedings for the acquisition of national seashore land.

I am strongly in favor of protecting the sustained yield timber (or any other renewable resource, for that matter) consistent with the highest use of the land or resource involved. I do not believe that "sustained yield" in itself is a sacred doctrine or sacrosanct concept, to be applied only to the dominant industrial resource.

I also favor a sustained yield of scenic, educational and recreational values from our seashores, rivers, lakes, and forests.

I believe that both yields can be developed and realized from those sections of our Nation which are as yet not completely marred by inconsiderate practices. At least it is my knowledge that measures such as Senator NEUBERGER's and Congressman DUNCAN's Oregon Dunes National Seashore proposals are a sincere effort are harmonizing the two types of land use values.

It is my hope and my suggestion that the BLM Oregon Advisory Boards consider thoughtfully and deliberatively the land classification, multiple use and land law review legislation and whole complex and interrelated issue of land exchange and public land acquisition. I believe the public is entitled to such deliberation, free from the pressures, urgencies, and inspired influences of political and special interest ambitions.

If such an opportunity presents itself, it is my hope that I can make my views more effective and ample.

Sincerely yours,

DAWN PESEAU.

[From the Coos Bay World, July 31, 1965]

CONSULTING THE PUBLIC

(By Dawn Peseau)

In matters of public policy, as in forest protection, a little prevention can go farther than a lot of cure. The U.S. Bureau of Land Management should, by now, be just about expert in both areas of conflagration: The kind that threatens timber, and the kind that threatens sound management policies.

The Bureau, the public, and the public advisory boards which in theory form a liaison between them, recently experienced a pretty disturbing episode brought about largely—not by unsound governmental policies, but by a failure to communicate programs, intent and purpose to those who should have been informed. The uproar which reached a crisis of fevered communicating in May subsided into an uneasy truce. BLM personnel matters, which had become symbols of the policy conflicts, were left unchanged—a situation which does little more than indicate a false resolution of the very real policy—conflicts in the background.

We believe that the State advisory boards which have been created by the BLM should be called into session—not for another personnel testimonial, but in a calmer atmosphere, for consideration of the policies involved in the personnel hassle.

A number of development and circumstances prompt this suggestion, beginning with the original fact that the issue of the Point Reyes-Curry County public domain lands exchange has never been resolved within the framework of Federal land management policies.

There is the recently reported declaration from Bill Sweet that he feels justified in pursuing the Point Reyes exchange.

There is the July 22 announcement from Gov. Mark Hatfield to the State land board proposing that Oregon scattered grazing lands be exchanged with the BLM for timber acreages in eastern and southern Oregon. "There has been, as you know, a willingness on the part of BLM to exchange their fragmented timber holdings in certain Oregon areas," the Governor's letter noted with, we suspect, a certain dryness.

And there is the whole interrelated area of multiple use policies, program, and practices. We are thinking especially of the classifying and developing of recreational use lands in Oregon. These are responsibilities of stewardship, clearly defined by Federal intent, which, once defaulted, will be like time running through our fingers.

The content of documents and other information made public through the recently released proceedings of the May 14 joint O & C and multiple use advisory boards more than ever confirms the impression that had these boards been informed and consulted, and the public, through the various public information media, been informed, the big testimonials and hassling could have been avoided. Policy could have been deliberated and decided as policy—and not as an ordeal of hostilities and endurance between the various levels of BLM directorship.

This paper has attempted to comprehend, digest, and report the events in terms of policy. We have endorsed and upheld the record of accomplishment of BLM State Director Russell Getty, one target of the hostilities.

We have deliberately refrained from any attack or concurrence in attacks on the National Director of the BLM, Charles H. Stoddard.

We did not believe then, at the heat of the hassle, that sound public policy and the public interest would be served by such a demand. Nor do we believe so now.

On the contrary, we believe that genuine balanced, multiple use land and resource management policies will best be served by the full and effective service of both the national and State directors of the BLM. A merging and blending of the policies embodied in their respective experience would do much to insure a future of sustained yield timber, identified, classified, and developed recreation potentials, and full public benefit from the mineral, grazing, and other resources inherent in the public stewardship. We do not believe it naive to feel that the public is entitled to such an expectation.

We believe that steps should be taken now to lift the issues confronting our public land management in 1965 out of the sticky, sluggish mire of vested interests and adherence to the status quo. And by vested interests, we do not confine our meaning to the caricature image of private industry. There is no vested interest quite as stubborn and resistent to change as that of the doctrinaire and self-righteously embattled bureau or agency.

The BLM in Oregon has not one, but two public advisory boards: The O & C board made up of some 18 members, and the multiple-use board of a similar size. The men (and women) who have been asked to serve on these boards are not trivial people. They are busy people, representing actively various facets of public, industrial, professional, and economic life in their communities and State.

We believe that they are too busy to concern themselves with recrimination; with wondering who was responsible for the seemingly insolent ignoring of them prior to last May when the Point Reyes controversy was at issue in the BLM.

But we believe that they—the members, individually and collectively, of the advisory boards—are entitled to being consulted now and in the future. We believe that they are entitled to function in the service of the BLM in a truly advisory and consulting capacity, and not as a rubber stamp to be used when convenient but ignored at other times.

Either such a relationship with advisory boards should prevail—or they should openly and with dignity disband.

THE OREGON STATESMAN,
Salem, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Senator WAYNE L. MORSE,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: I am in receipt of your letter of July 28, addressed to me as chairman of the O & C Advisory Board, and making inquiry regarding the authority included in S. 250 to exchange federally owned property for certain lands owned by private parties within the proposed Dunes National Seashore Recreation Area.

The questions you ask are:

"Do you support this unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest lands for private timberlands? Should public timberlands now designated for sustained yield in this or another county be taken out of BLM allowable cut for this sort of exchange? Should sustained yield forest be exchanged without provision that it must be managed for sustained yield?"

The advisory board has not had before it any proposal for transfer of lands to facilitate acquisition of the land for the proposed Dunes Park in Oregon. However, at a meeting of the board on May 14, the proposal to exchange BLM timberland in southwest Oregon for lands in the Point Reyes National Seashore was under discussion.

At that meeting a motion was offered by member H.R. Glascock, Jr., as follows:

"I move that the O & C Advisory Board recommend to the Secretary of the Interior that the publicly announced policy of the Secretary of the Interior and Under Secretary Carver, that the O & C and public domain lands in western Oregon be managed as one under a common standard for permanent forest production and under principles of sustained yield and multiple use, be reaffirmed."

The motion was carried with only one dissenting vote.

I call your attention to the fact that this motion relates only to specific tracts of public domain which had been grouped for coordinated management with O & C lands, under a program of sustained yield. It would not apply to other lands or property which the Secretary might wish to trade for Dunes lands.

Yours very truly,

CHARLES A. SPRAGUE.

OREGON STATE GRANGE,
Portland, Oreg., August 3, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: In answer to your inquiry with regards to exchange of Federal lands, particularly in connection with the Dunes Park proposed legislation, I am enclosing marked copy of my annual address before the State grange convention at Pendleton, Oreg., wherein I discussed briefly the matter of our public lands policy; and would recite also that a resolution was adopted at this session which places the Oregon State Grange on record as being opposed to trading of Oregon land, timberland especially, for private land wherever located, for the purpose of parks, or otherwise.

Both my section of the annual address and the resolution were thinking more especially about the proposed trade in connection with the Point Reyes Recreation Area. However, the same policy would apply, and I feel free to say that both myself personally, and the Oregon State Grange are in opposition to granting to the Secretary of the Interior authority to exchange these public lands at will.

I am currently a member of the BLM Advisory Board, and there also is in Oregon, another board called the O & C Advisory Board. Either of these, or both, are good sounding boards in matters of this nature. Certainly, a State should have at least advisory authority before public land within the boundaries of that State are exchanged.

So I repeat, both personally and speaking for the Oregon State Grange, we are in opposition to granting this blanket authority to the Secretary of the Interior whereby he could exchange public lands at will.

Sincerely and fraternally,

ALLEN P. WHEELER,
Master.

FEDERAL LANDS

(Extracts from address of Allen P. Wheeler, master of the Oregon State Grange, Pendleton, Oreg., June 15, 1965)

Recently, the residents of Oregon have been alerted to possibilities as regards land management policy by the Federal Government. The fact that approximately one-half of the total area of Oregon is owned by the Federal Government, together with the fact that the No. 1 industry in Oregon is timber and timber products, makes this something of great importance to our economy. The proposed exchange of timber lands in Curry County for lands in California needed for the establishment of the Point Reyes recreation area is in reality of minor importance when compared to the total problem, excepting as it is a matter of establishing policy.

In this case, the press has been supplied with ample material for sensational writing. The stories cannot all be true because they are in contradiction. The exact extent to which commitments have been made in this particular situation may never be generally known. One fact is certain, that the Bureau of Land Management did proceed to quite a degree before ever presenting this particular matter to either of the advisory boards now in existence in the State, one being the O & C Advisory Board, the other being the Bureau of Land Management Advisory Board.

Had these matters been presented before either or both of these boards, much of the unfortunate controversy might well have been averted. These advisory groups are supposedly set up as a sounding board and a means of ascertaining local sentiment in matters of this type. Certainly they should be used freely or discontinued. If their function is only as a buffer between the Department of the Interior and the people, then they are of little or no value.

In the midforties, there was a real controversy in Oregon over the matter of setting up sustained yield unit operation of timberlands. Many people were caught in the middle of this development. Those who were inclined to favor sustained yield policies were accused of favoring monopoly, and all sorts of other things. The net result was a modified sustained yield program as to federally owned timber, which has worked a hardship on some small mill operators who are not able to comply with the requirements. However, Oregon is working on a sustained yield program that should provide a constant supply of timber from now on. I think there is not any person who is well informed of the circumstances who would doubt the advisability of such a program.

Returning now to the issue at hand, this proposed exchange enters into our sustained yield program in that timberlands included in our calculations would be exchanged for lands in another State and to be used for another purpose. It matters little to the residents of Oregon whether we are exchanging for lands in California, Alaska, Hawaii, or any other place. Certainly State boundaries should have some meaning in this instance, and the economy of the State should be taken into account before any such exchange policy would be established. Though I have spoken only of timberlands, the situation covers grazing lands as well, and a great many people are dependent upon public lands in their livestock operations. Any withdrawing of these lands from availability would be a blow to the economy. This present, much publicized, situation should give rise to energetic action on the part of the residents of Oregon in protecting our State economy. Let us be alert to guarding against encroachment on our inherent rights in this situation.

DIAMOND, OREG.,
August 4, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you very much for your letter of July 28 in which you refer to your concern about the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250. Your outline of concern also

concerns me and I will try to list my observations and feelings relative to this matter.

The question of unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest land for private timber lands is an important issue. I, of course, am very much interested in private industry and feel that the private timber industry is an important segment to the economy of Oregon. I do not feel that the Secretary of Interior should have such unlimited power and authority in dealing with such complicated matters that affect the well-being of the State of Oregon.

Your important question regarding sustained yield and its relationship to the continuation of this policy concerns me in that I feel the sustained yield principle should be maintained and so stipulated should this exchange take place. I do not question the integrity of private industry but I do feel that the only protection the people of Oregon have where such public lands are involved create the necessity of the sustained yield principle. This, of course, will eliminate the stripping of this valuable resource and will maintain the resource for future generations.

In regards to the public timber lands now designated for sustained yields, the BLM allowable cut should be taken out of the exchange of private lands. It is my personal feeling that should the private lands involved in the sand dunes exchange be traded for BLM lands, the people then who assume the ownership of these Federal lands should have the privilege to do as they see fit with these lands. Therefore, the BLM allowable cut should be reduced accordingly. Certainly the private individual in the State of Oregon should be protected in such an issue.

Please accept my thanks, Senator MORSE, for consulting me about this important issue. I am sure that the problem is complicated and the resources of this State plus the private individual must be protected and safeguarded without serious detriment to the economy and stability of the areas involved.

Senator, I would like to also comment on the principle of condemnation if this is still an issue in the sand dunes situation. I am not in favor of the condemnation of private lands for recreation. The Federal agencies own over 50 percent of the land in the boundaries of the State. Therefore, cannot the recreational needs be met by development of the lands now owned and controlled by public ownership?

On January 9, 1964, I visited with Representative DUNCAN about the condemnation of private land in forming the sand dunes and he explained his views that if you are going to have recreation, you are going to have to have condemnation. I oppose this very much because it would be retroactive throughout the State.

Here is an example:

Suppose I own a spring on the Steens Mountain and someone comes along and decides that the spring would be better suited for recreation and they condemn it—that would hamper me from using as much as 3,000 to 4,000 acres of land for grazing purposes. This, if practiced, I feel would upset the economic stability of our eastern Oregon counties as well as the western counties.

If I have neglected to answer other questions that might be important in this matter, please feel free to contact me.

Thank you for your continued interest in Oregon's resource problems.

Very truly yours,

C. M. OTLEY.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 4, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

I am definitely opposed to amendment of S. 250 as proposed by Secretary of Interior per your letter of July 28. Amendment would invest too great authority in single public official. Would reduce BLM allowable cut badly needed for Oregon's future economy. Would also open door for speculator manipulation of public lands. Basic principle of sustained yield practice must be maintained at all costs. Urge you oppose this amendment to S. 250.

WESTERN COUNCIL LUMBER & SAWMILL WORKERS.
JULIUS VIANCOUR.

"Where Goest Thou, Mr. President?"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROGERS C. B. MORTON
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORTON. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the anniversary of the dreadful day in Dallas, it seems to me that the well-turned words of Mr. Charles V. Spalding, of Harford County, Md., bear rereading:

"WHERE GOEST THOU, MR. PRESIDENT?"

It was a beautiful fall day in the busy little town of Bel Air, Md. The sky was clear and bright. The air had that particular quality about it that makes you feel, "glad to be alive."

Having just parked my car behind the Bel Air Cleaner's building, I started walking to my real estate office, only a short distance away. Although the traffic on Bond Street was very heavy at the time, and I was having some difficulty in getting across, all in one piece, I was in a very happy mood, whistling like "the canary which had just swallowed a piece of hot pepper."

While waiting for an opening, I heard someone loudly calling "Charlie, Charlie." As you have no doubt guessed by now that is my name. It wasn't too hard to locate the source of this bellowing, as it was easy to recognize my good friend, John Joesting. He was across the street in front of the Regal Restaurant, standing beside his parked car. It would probably be more appropriate to say that he was towering over his parked car. John is built like Paul Bunyan, with a face like the late Wallace Berry, and a voice like a bull moose at mating time. As soon as John realized that he had my undivided attention, he said. "Charlie, Charlie. Come over here—Hurry."

After waiting a few more minutes for the traffic, I finally reached John's car. My greeting to John was, "Hi, John, What's all the noise about?" To which John replied, "Did you hear about the President?" Now John likes to kid around and I thought he was playing some sort of a joke on me, so I said, "All right, I'll bite; what about the President?" John very seriously replied, "I'm not joking, Charlie, an announcement just came over the radio stating that someone has shot President Kennedy, down in Dallas, Tex." At this moment another announcement about the shooting was coming over the radio in John's car. This removed all doubts of authenticity from my mind.

By now the news was spreading around the town like wildfire. My first thought was "Maybe the President is only wounded." This seemed to be the feeling of most of the others in the community. However, as the time passed, the situation grew more serious and the atmosphere became more somber. When the final announcement of the President's death was made, I don't think that it came as a surprise to any of us.

My disposition had undergone a radical change in a very short period of time. I was no longer whistling. My outlook on life had an entirely different perspective than when I first started walking to my office. It was very much in evidence that I was not alone with my thoughts, for everyone to whom I talked could not believe that such a thing had happened.

Not unlike millions of Americans on that evening of November 22, 1963, my wife and I sat in front of our television set and watched fate in action. Not unlike millions of Americans we watched a great tragedy take place. In the days that followed, the medium of television was so expertly applied that even though we were hundreds of miles from the scene of history in the making, we had the distinct illusion and the emotional feeling of being on the spot and witnessing the events, as they were taking place.

On the evening of Sunday, November 24, my wife and I were watching the television. The scene was the one in which the President and Mrs. Kennedy were descending the steps from the airplane. They were both so happy and unaware of the role that fate had in store for them. Having seen this particular sequence several times before, I had at this moment the distinct feeling of a person peering into the future, possessing this knowledge I could not help but say to myself, "Where goes't thou, Mr. President?" My emotions became so intense, I could not help but to transcribe my interpretation of the events which I had witnessed since that fateful day of November 22. As my emotions were transformed into verse, the poem, "Where Goes't Thou?" was thus composed.

My story would be incomplete without setting forth the chain of events involved, placed in their proper sequence, and each followed by the appropriate verse of my interpretation.

The skies were clear and the sun was a gleaming jewel in the blue, as the private plane of President John F. Kennedy approached the Dallas, Tex., airport. There is no doubt, but one of the foremost thoughts in his mind at this time was his sincere hope of making a favorable impression upon the residents of this western community. This line of thought was momentarily disrupted when, upon making contact with the runway, the tires screamed their defiance at being earth-bound once again. The plane had no sooner halted, when the side door opened and the President stepped vibrantly out into the bright sunlight, followed closely by his attractive wife, Jacqueline.

"Down from the blue on wings of hope,
Out where the westerners dwell;
Reluctant contact with this land,
The vibrant cargo to expell."

The reflection of the sun shining directly upon his face tended to make his features lighter in color than they actually were. He was all smiles as he stepped down from the ramp. The many out-stretched hands were evidence of the warm welcome being extended to him. After shaking as many hands as the limited time would permit, he then joined Mrs. Kennedy in the rear seat of the topless, black limousine that was parked between two cars of Secret Service agents. He was visibly happy as the cars proceeded toward the city of Dallas.

"Fair of hair and bright of face,
The eager hands he tries to press;
Thence aboard the meager motorcade,
With countenance wreathed in happiness."

Many people had gathered in downtown Dallas, in the building known as the Trade Mart, and were anxiously awaiting the arrival of President Kennedy. Another person, lonely and frustrated, was also waiting; it was absolutely necessary that he have a clear view of the President in order to perform his sinister task. Hundreds of people were lined up along the Prsident's route, hoping

to catch a glimpse of the Presidential couple as they passed by. Some were waving while others were only looking. All were unaware of the tragedy about to take place.

"The gregarious and the lonely one,
Have settled down to wait;
While the multitude along the way,
Watch innocently as he encounters fate."

As the President's car approached the point where destiny was to be enacted, his boundless energy and vitality was exceeded only by his pleased disposition. Mrs. Connally, the wife of the Texas Governor, John Connally, also riding in the car, had just remarked to the President on how well the people of Dallas were receiving him, this he enthusiastically acknowledged. Then came the impact of the first bullet, bewilderment and disbelief were registered on the President's face. Immediately after the impact of the second bullet, the President slumped to the seat unconscious. Death was now the uninvited passenger in the President's car.

"One moment, vitality and exuberance,
overflowing from the brim;
Then, an inert shape, eternity,
and its companion, oh so grim."

Mrs. Kennedy, sitting on the left of the President, sensing something was wrong turned toward him. With intense disbelief and agony, she extended her hands to help her stricken husband. The terror of what was happening was reflected on her face as the Secret Service agent jumped onto the rear of the President's car and threw his body over that of the President and Mrs. Kennedy. The driver then accelerated to a high speed and proceeded to the hospital; but all was in vain.

"Love's tender hands and anguished heart,
all but feel the pain;
The swift dash is sanctuary, is naught for him,
having been made in vain."

The President was dead. The bullets had performed the task for which they were designed, this was assured by the high-powered rifle that had launched them. The office of the President of these United States was vacant, and at that moment this country was without a leader.

"The projectiles had found their mark,
launched from an instrument of hate;
Removing from his earthly chore,
the captain of the ship of state."

It was difficult for all who knew the President, for all who had seen the President countless times on television and for all those who had witnessed this great tragedy to believe that such unlimited energy, vitality and spirit had been subdued. However, they do believe that by virtue of these qualities and by the past actions of the late President, the United States of America will become a greater Nation, a bastion of democracy and wil continue to be a symbol of hope for many of the suppressed people of the world.

"The undaunted spirit, new released and free,
into the blue did soar;
If you listen closely, you can hear it say,
America for evermore!"

In conclusion, I firmly believe that if the late John F. Kennedy could now be asked, "Where goes't thou, Mr. President?" he would answer firmly and without hesitation, "With America now and forever."

High School Dropouts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I call the attention of the Senate to an article that appeared in an issue of Guideposts, entitled "Harvey Doodleburg Drops Out."

This article, which was written by Andrew Kennedy of Marion, Ind., relates the true and fascinating story of how one young man realized the great importance of securing an education and has determined to help fellow dropouts.

Many high school dropouts express their regrets about curtailing their education; few do more than talk about their mistake. Andrew is one of these few. Not only did he return to school, but he also originated a new club called "Reopening Doors to Students, Inc." This group devotes its time to encouraging those who are considering leaving school to remain there. Their success has led to the founding of several other clubs in Indiana and similar interest has been expressed by groups in other States. This is not the end of this organization's success story. The members have already set their sights on achieving success on many higher plateaus; their work has only begun.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HARVEY DOODLEBURG DROPS OUT

(By Andrew Kennedy)

My name is Andrew Dennis Kennedy; I'm 21 years old and live with my parents in Marion, Ind. (population 56,000). My twin sisters Elaine and Ellen and my brother "P.J." are all older and married now, but when I was growing up we were a real close family. This story is about how I let them all down, something you wouldn't think could happen in a family as close as ours, but it did just the same.

In the family they called me Harvey Doodleburg. I got that name because I was always doodling around and trying to cut out when there was work to be done. I didn't mind washing dishes for extra money out at Moon's Drive-In, but I didn't go for the home assignments like sweeping the floor. Too, I know I was slow. Even today I move slow and I talk slow. Also I always have hated to take orders.

Yet, some kinds of work were okay with me. From the time I was a sprout, I wanted to be a part of the family business. We all were steeplejacks and sign painters. We specialized in big jobs like painting grain elevators and water towers. People always are interested to hear that Mom is a steeplejack because that's unusual for a lady and especially for a lovely, young-looking one. Mom is good at what she does; once when Dad was in bed ill, all by herself she painted a water tower 275 feet high.

Mom and Dad always painted the high stuff; P.J. would work the middle and Ellen and Elaine, our two beauty queens, would do the low stuff. When I joined the group at the age of 9, I started by hauling water up and down the ladder. The idea was to get me used to heights.

So that is the way it went, all of us working together as a family unit. Of course, I went to school but as I said, I wasn't much interested in it and I didn't get myself involved in any school projects. The friends I had were really just speaking buddies except for a kind of cast-off fellow I'll call Sam.

If you bummed around with Sam, you didn't hang around with the other guys. He was a rough customer. In a couple of run-ins we had I found it was good having him on my side. Mom and dad hired Sam to paint with us and that was fine. Off time, he and I would goof around together, shooting tin cans along the river and things like that.

When Sam and I got to be freshmen he quit school. "Come on, Harvey," he said, "Let's start living."

I suggested the idea to mom and dad, pointing out my D-minus average to them as proof that I should quit. They told me that instead of quitting I'd better work harder if I knew what was good for me. But I was Harvey Doodleburg and Harvey never cracked a book.

In the autumn of 1959, our family was on an important job in Fordville, checkerboarding storage bins. Dad was up 45 feet when his foot slipped on an outside rung. I heard a "ka-thud." I looked around; he had fallen across the railroad track. Dad's leg was smashed, his angle shattered, and he was out of commission for more than a year. It was then, with the job deadline facing her, that I convinced mom I should work full time. Naturally, I was supposed to go back to school later, but old Harvey had other plans.

Marion High School didn't like my leaving. My English teacher, Mr. Miller, reasoned with me especially hard, telling me about his own years of hard labor and how loading a boxcar one day at 4 a. m. he said to himself, "Why this for me? I can do something better." Mr. Miller made a big thing about how education would help me later.

But I didn't want to listen.

Well, I can tell you it was no time until I made Mr. Miller and his boxcar look a little silly because I began to make a lot of money. We finished up that Fordville job and with winter setting in I got work as a grease monkey in a trucking garage. Eventually I had two jobs. In the day I was a machine operator in a Formica top factory and at night a picture tube inspector in a TV plant. I was making about $300 a week.

What did I do with all that money? Well, I'll tell you something about teenagers. The most important thing in their lives is not a girl friend or their family or education—it's owning a car. A car is a good way to acquire a girl friend. If you have an expensive car, even the parents of a girl think more of you. A car is a good impression. I had a Mercedes-Benz.

The Mercedes was just a starter. I bought clothes, rings, all kinds of stuff and ran up big bills and fell heavily into debt. I'd go to Chicago, stay at a nice hotel, take my new buddies along and act like a big shot. My parents and I argued about these things but I wasn't doing anything dishonest or immoral.

Several years went by and I met some very special people. First I became good pals with two guys who worked in the TV factory:

Ronnie Keith and Fred Bell. Both are working to make money to go to college.

The third person I met was a girl. A fine girl; Evelyn was her name. I never had met a girl like her and I wanted to marry her. But she didn't want that because as she said, "I'm going to college."

Here were all these people talking about college, and I hadn't even finished my freshman year of high. Even without an education, though, I could talk to Evelyn about anything. She was very interested in religion and couldn't understand why I never went to church. It was clumsy explaining that I was Harvey Doodleburg about God too.

Evelyn, a Protestant, took me, a Catholic, to my church. And do you know, I started going every Sunday.

Our priest was the fourth important person I got to know. Father O'Neill looked like Ben Casey. He was a regular guy. I'd drive up in my Mercedes-Benz and he'd say:

"How about letting me take a spin, Andy?"

"Sure, Father, take over."

Then Father would take off his hat, saying, "Don't want the bishop to see me—not in a car like this."

Father O'Neill and I had long discussions on subjects I never thought I'd be talking about—odd, random subjects that didn't seem specific yet that had a way of hitting a spot. For instance, one time we were talking about penance and Father said:

"If someone has a rough life, Andy, don't automatically feel sorry for him. He may be offering his suffering to help others and that's a beautiful life."

That one statement made me think about something other than just helping myself to material things. I began to realize that it wasn't my own skill, or even hard double-time labor, that had made me such a good salary. I had been lucky to make so much money.

Then I began to think about Mr. Miller, the English teacher. When he had said in that boxcar at 4 a.m. that there must be something better, he didn't mean more money. No sir, a teacher's salary is hardly that. So what was "something better?"

These were the kind of thoughts I was having when I heard the terrible news about my friend Fred. He was killed in a highway accident. Poor Fred never got to finish college.

His death shook me hard, hard enough to make me want to do something.

"Harvey Doodleburg," I said to myself, "you're aimless. You've got to head for something. You've got to make a start somewhere." And the best start I could think of was right at the beginning—school.

Once Evelyn had suggested that I go back to Marion High, but it seemed too hard then. Now I was deep in debt and scared to face all those teenagers who were at least 4 years younger than I. While I was thinking of this I saw one reason for dropping out: guys who are not doing well in school, who can't break out of the rut, can't stand the constant reminder of their inferiority. They don't have the guts to face what other people think. They don't have the will to try harder.

In 1963 I went back to Marion High School as a freshman.

Today I'm paying off my debts by working at a gas station and doing mechanical work on the side. I drive a heap, a 1955 model that barely runs. I'm still slow in studying and had to take algebra in summer school last year because I failed it, but I have a B average. I'm active in the French Club, the Art Club and the Future Teachers of America. And last year, though really I didn't want it, they voted me class president.

The extra-curricular activity I am most interested in is a club which I former myself. It's called RODS, which stands for Re-Opening Doors for Students. We are a group of students who try to prevent kids from dropping out of school. This past summer I got 59 names of kids who had dropped out. I went around to see each of them. Three came back. Our club wants to get to them before they drop out.

And what do I say to kids? I tell them my story and I say that I let my family down because I let myself down. And I let myself down because I was too stupid and too lazy to make the most of myself.

I hope to graduate in 1966 and then—who knows? Maybe Harvey Doodleburg will go to college.

Mrs. Wavie Drew, of Wilmington, Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, one of the most outstanding public servants in Massachusetts, Mrs. Wavie Drew, of Wilmington, was honored Saturday evening at a dinner in the Moose Hall in North Reading.

Mrs. Drew, who is the chairman of the Board of Selectmen in Wilmington, served as chairman of the Republican Town Committee for 16 years, and on the committee itself for three decades.

Widowed while her children were still in grade school, Mrs. Drew raised an outstanding family of eight children. Tragically, one of her sons was killed in action in World War II. Mrs. Drew always found time, not only for political activity, but for active participation in a number of civic and veterans' groups as well.

The warmth of the regard for Mrs. Drew was demonstrated by the turnout for her testimonial dinner. Mrs. John A. Volpe attended the reception before the dinner, representing her husband, the Governor. Mrs. Elliot Richardson, wife of the Lieutenant Governor attended the dinner and spoke briefly and eloquently. Master of Ceremonies Lloyd C. Bender III, a member of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen, introduced Republican State Chairman, Senator John O. Parker, who presented Mrs. Drew with a special citation reading:

THE COMMONWEALTH
OF MASSACHUSETTS,
October 20, 1965.

GOLDEN DOME CITATION AWARDED TO MRS. WAVIE M. DREW FOR DISTINGUISHED PUBLIC SERVICE

Nothing makes the world so wonderful than to have it populated by individuals like Wavie M. Drew. Her devotion to the Republican Party over a lifetime and for more than 16 years its chairman in the town of Wilmington is a record few persons can match.

The full story of her achievements, as a party worker, member, and chairman of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen, her civic and charitable efforts, is a diary of the sincere application of a splendid woman to the betterment of mankind. Her loyalty to her family is a monument of love and affection. Few persons in Massachusetts' history have given so freely of their time, energies, and talents to support party programs, community welfare, and a helping hand to those in need.

This Golden Dome Citation is, therefore, awarded to a rare and wonderful persons who serves her party and her town with honor, integrity, and a high sense of public spirit.

JOHN A. VOLPE,
Governor of the Commonwealth.
ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON,
Lieutenant Governor.
EDWARD W. BROOKE,
Attorney General.
JOHN F. PARKER,
Senator, Chairman, State Committee.

Others in attendance included, Mrs. Albert Kitchener, who succeeded Mrs. Drew as Republican town chairman, Roland Wood, vice chairman of the town committee, Madeline Slater, secretary, and Miss Willard Richardson, treasurer.

Assistant Attorney General John Sheehy represented Attorney General Edward Brooke, and State Committeeman Andrew Card, of Billerica, and State Committeewoman Marion E. Hunt, of Lexington, were also present to honor Mrs. Drew.

State legislators, Senator James Long, of Woburn; Representative Frank Tanner, of Reading; and Representative Fred Cain, of Wilmington, attended as did all the members of the Wilmington Board of Selectmen: Mr. Bender, Mr. Charles H. Black, Mr. Paul H. Niles, and Mr. Rene J. LaRivee.

Also present were selectmen from Andover, Reading, North Reading, and other towns, as well as former colleagues of Mrs. Drew on the Wilmington board.

Rev. Robert Smith delivered the invocation while Father Edmund Croake pronounced benediction at the close of the evening.

All in all, it was a magnificent tribute to a great lady. Under unanimous consent, I include an article by Raymond Bates of the Lowell Sun about Mrs. Drew's dinner in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD following my remarks:

TO HONOR WILMINGTON'S "MRS. GOP"

(By Raymond P. Bates)

STATE HOUSE.—Wilmington's most fabulous lady, the redoubtable Mrs. Wavie M. Drew, known throughout the community as "Mrs. Republican", will bow out of the Wilmington Republican town committee after three decades of dedicated service.

On Saturday night Mrs. Drew, now in her 70's, will be honored by more than 500 Republicans and Democrats at a testimonial banquet to be held in her honor at Moose Hall, in North Reading.

Many visiting dignitaries, both men and women, including U.S. Representative F. BRADFORD MORSE, Republican, of Lowell, will be on hand to pay tribute to Mrs. Drew, who until recently had served 16 years as chairman of the Wilmington GOP town committee.

Mrs. Drew also has been, and still is, a familiar figure at the Wilmington townhall, where she has served on the board of selectmen for 16 years and currently is rounding out her fourth term as chairman of that board.

During her many years in GOP committee affairs and as a Wilmington selectman Mrs. Drew has won the respect and admiration of all for her forthright manner in dealing with both friend and foe alike.

Many of the State's leading ladies will be in attendance in the farewell tribute to Waive Drew on Saturday night. Among these will be the Governor's wife, Mrs. John A. Volpe, of Winchester, and Mrs. Ann Rich-

ardson, of Brookline, wife of Lt. Gov. Elliot L. Richardson.

In addition to Congressman MORSE, the other prominent members of the GOP will include Senator John F. Parker, of Taunton, newly elected chairman of the Republican State committee.

Mrs. Drew, mother of seven sons and a daughter, was widowed while her eight children were in grade school. Her sons enlisted in the military services during World War II. One son, Elmer, was killed in action. As a Gold Star Mother, Mrs. Drew also has been most active in the auxiliaries of the three veterans organizations in Wilmington.

Small wonder that Mrs. Drew in the past had won the honor of being named Wilmington's "outstanding woman of the year."

Building World's Largest Nitric Acid Plant

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STUART SYMINGTON
OF MISSOURI
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, recent announcement, as carried in the Louisiana Press-Journal, of Louisiana, Mo., that the Hercules Powder Co. is building there the world's largest single line nitric acid plant recalls to mind the fact that just a dozen years ago this plant was idle, declared surplus by the Federal Government. It had been built during World War II for experimental work in possible development of automobile fuel from coal and was readily convertible to production of anhydrous ammonia for use in fertilizer and other industrial purposes.

Thanks to prompt approval of the disposal of this plant by the House and Senate Armed Services Committees, these facilities were sold. Many improvements have been made since that time, and this present facility with 460 employees is one of the largest industries in northeast Missouri.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this article from the Louisiana Press-Journal be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUILDING WORLD'S LARGEST NITRIC ACID PLANT HERE—HERCULES EXPANDING SEVERAL OTHER FACILITIES AT MISSOURI CHEMICAL WORKS

The world's largest single line nitric acid plant is now under construction at Hercules Powder Co.'s Missouri Chemical Works at Louisiana.

The plant is scheduled to be in operation next spring, with a capacity of 800 tons of acid a day. It will augment the 300-tons-a-day existing capacity at the Hercules plant and is the latest in a series of multimillion-dollar expansion projects at Missouri Chemical Works, making the plant complex one of the largest of any of the 40 plants Hercules operates in the United States.

The company's entire board of directors toured the facility today, Tuesday, and will conduct its regular September board meeting at the plant tomorrow.

In addition to the new nitric acid plant, there is now nearing completion an expansion of ammonia facilities and a 20,000-ton low-temperature ammonia storage unit. Also under construction are expansions of existing formaldehyde and pentaerythritol facilities, a $600,000 unit for the control of plant waste, and a major expansion of water intake equipment on the Mississippi.

Supporting services for the expanded plant include new railroad siding, additional dock space and modernization of offices and laboratory facilities.

That new nitric acid plant is being built adjacent to the old facility. It can be operated in conjunction with the old plant or separately.

According to MCW Manager Joe Talley, the present crew of the old plant will be able to operate the new also, with no more than half a dozen more workers being necessary.

However, the total work force at the Missouri Chemical Works has risen to 460 from 400 on the payroll at the first of the year. Manager Talley describes this as stockpiling of manpower to meet the employee needs which are expanding along with the chemical production facilities.

When the plant's sewage treatment system is complete, it will treat all of MCW's chemical wastes as well as the sanitary sewage from the plant and Ordonia.

There are so many contractors now working at MCW that an estimate of total construction personnel now employed there is impossible.

"Plastic Surgery Ain't Too Bad Now"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, my good friend, Mr. Harold Trulock, editor of the Muncie Press, is a newspaperman and editor of rare quality and possesses an acute sense of the appropriate.

His response to the recent series of anti-American demonstrations by some students and professors on American campuses in protest of the Vietnam war, was the publication of perhaps the finest story concerning that war which we have seen.

In selecting this story, Harold Trulock gave his readers more information, drama and stark realism concerning that dirty war in Vietnam and the caliber and morale of our men there, than any amount of editorializing could have accomplished.

My wish is that every American could read this story by Mr. Trulock.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the article from the Muncie Evening Press:

"PLASTIC SURGERY AIN'T TOO BAD NOW"

(By Tom Tiede)

BIEN HOA, VIETNAM.—Pfc. James Wright tried to talk but his efforts were drowned by the gagging of his own blood.

He has been shot through the jaw with a machinegun.

The right side of his face resembled an early American quilt. Scores of surgical stitches wove discolored patches of flesh together and crimson saliva ran from his gaping, wired mouth.

He had been a handsome kid once—brush headed, blue eyed, fair of complexion. There was a girl back in Dallas, in fact, that thought he was just about the best looking guy alive.

She wouldn't know him now.

"I guess," he had said when hit, "this ruins my beautiful smile."

"WE KILLED SOME OF THEM IN THE TREES"

Swathed in bloody sheets and clinging to life by a tracheotomy tube which allowed him to breathe through his throat, he wrote down how it happened on a pad of yellow paper. The grammar was faulty. He apologized for that:

"Can you make it out? I'm sorry, I never finished high school."

Jim Wright, 18, was a member of Company A when the 1–503 (Airborne) Infantry was assigned to clear out an area in what is called war zone D—a frightening countryside with the enemy under every rock.

As he wrote it: "We walked into an ambush. They (the Vietcong) were in the trees and they opened up a .50-caliber machinegun which pinned us down. I was scared real bad.

"After we got organized, we could see they had two .50's and two .30-caliber guns on us. We killed some of them in the trees and then my platoon started after the gun bunkers.

"But they were on a hill and the firepower was too much for us. Four of our guys got it right there. The rest of us stalled."

HE DROPPED GRENADE IN FOES' BUNKER

The boy stopped writing and began to choke blood. It ran down his narrow chest before being blotted up with gauze.

It hurt when he coughed, he said. But then it hurt when he didn't cough, too.

"So then we regrouped," he went on, "and made another stab to get on line.

"About then I saw where one of the .30 calibers was positioned and I decided to rush it. I kept low and tried to make a small target, but they zeroed in on me. Next thing I know they hit me in the face with two slugs.

"But I didn't black out. I knew exactly what was going on. And that machinegun was still firing up there. So, I just kept moving toward it.

"SO MAYBE I'M EVEN LUCKY

"When I reached them, I dropped a hand grenade in their damn bunker. Our guys told me later I killed five of the people."

By the time they got to Jim Wright, he had caught another bullet—a flesh wound in the side. In sum, he had lost two pints of blood, an undetermined number of teeth, some of his jawbone and part of a lip.

A terrible price.

But with it he purchased five enemy lives and, in part at least, a way out of hell for a company of American infantrymen.

"I ain't so bad off," he indicated. "I think they got maybe a dozen of our guys back there. So maybe I'm even lucky. At least I'm still alive."

He started to cough again and squeezed his eyes in pain.

"And, anyway, they say plastic surgery ain't too bad now."

Appellate Review of Criminal Sentences

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, on October 22, I introduced S. 2722, a bill to provide for the appellate review of

sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States.

Under existing Federal law, the determination of the sentence in a criminal case is left to the sound, but unsupervised, discretion of the district judge before whom the case is pending. As long as the sentence imposed is within the statutory limits, it is unreviewable by appeal. No matter how excessive or unjust the sentence might be, an appellate court is powerless to modify it in any way.

This basic shortcoming in criminal procedure—which is unique to our judicial system—has produced serious inequities and needless disparities in sentences. It has been frequently criticized. While programs such as the sentencing institutes admittedly have made substantial progress toward the development of better sentencing practices, experience has shown that such procedures and techniques are not enough. To adequately cope with the problem of excessive sentences—to correct injustices once they have occurred—the practice of appellate review is also required.

This is not to suggest that the right of appellate review will satisfactorily solve all of the remaining problems in determining a proper sentence. Quite obviously such a claim would oversimplify a complex and controversial subject. However, appellate review will at least provide an additional and important step in the right direction. It would give the judicial process the means of reaching and reviewing undeniable mistakes. It would clearly facilitate the development of proper sentencing practices and standards. It would, in other words, close the gap existing in the present system for which there is little logic and even less justification.

It is not to be denied that variations in sentences for the same crime are essential. Sound results can never be achieved by providing rigid and inflexible formulas. A sentence which may be quite proper in a case involving one set of circumstances may well be grossly inadequate in dealing with the same offense when committed by a different type of offender or under aggravated circumstances. However, where the same crime has been committed by similar offenders and under similar circumstances, it is sensible to expect that the punishment should be reasonably uniform. That any disparity should depend upon which judge happens to hear the case strikes anyone as unjust. Yet under our present system of unsupervised sentencing, this factor unfortunately does account for the difference in many cases.

The determination of a proper sentence involves the consideration of many elements. It can never be reduced to an exact science. Substantial leeway must be left for the exercise of sound judgment and, indeed, the differing views of individual judges in whose hands the sentencing power has been placed. But the determination of a sentence should be on a rational, not an arbitrary, basis. When, however, such judgments cannot be reconciled with reason, it is utterly incredible that the appellate courts should be denied the right to prevent a miscarriage of justice.

To place this matter in perspective, it is appropriate to quote a still applicable passage from the address of James V. Bennett, formerly the Director of the U.S. Bureau of Prisons. Speaking to the Sixth Circuit Judicial Conference on April 28, 1961, he observed:

> I have a great and abiding respect for judges and for their courage as demonstrated particularly in this circuit in recent months. I admire them for their dedication to the ideal of equal justice under law. The care that is taken to ascertain the facts about an offender and how he is to be treated constantly amazes me. In no other judicial system in the world do judges now have or are able to obtain so much information about an offender as in the Federal system. And it is being used effectively to improve the administration of justice.
>
> Even though I feel thus and agree that our courts and judges are the bulwark of our way of life, I cannot be so shortsighted as to overlook or shrug off without concern some cases where I have been duty bound to carry out the mandate of the court. Take for instances the cases of two men we received last spring. The first man had been convicted of cashing a check for $58.40. He was out of work at the time of his offense, and when his wife became ill and he needed money for rent, food, and doctor bills, he became the victim of temptation. He had no prior criminal record. The other man cashed a check for $35.20. He was also out of work and his wife had left him for another man. His prior record consisted of a drunk charge and a nonsupport charge. Our examination of these two cases indicated no significant differences for sentencing purposes. But they appeared before different judges and the first man received 15 years in prison and the second man 30 days.
>
> These are not cases picked out of thin air. In January the President of the United States commuted to time served the sentence of a first offender, a former Army lieutenant, and a veteran of over 500 days in combat, who had been given 18 years for forging six small checks.
>
> In one of our institutions a middle-aged credit union treasurer is serving 117 days for embezzling $24,000 in order to cover his gambling debts. On the other hand, another middle-aged embezzler with a fine past record and a fine family is serving 20 years, with 5 years probation to follow. At the same institution is a war veteran, a 39-year-old attorney who has never been in trouble before, serving 11 years for illegally importing parrots into this country. Another who is destined for the same institution is a middle-age tax accountant who on tax fraud charges received 31 years and 31 days in consecutive sentences. In stark contrast, at the same institution last year an unstable young man served out his 98-day sentence for armed bank robbery. An examination of sentencing statistics produce a less dramatic picture, for they inevitably level off the extremes of leniency or severity. But they do serve to prove the widespread extent of disparities. For example, the crime of forgery usually involves similar circumstances and individuals, but last year the district of northern Indiana gave average terms of 52 months, while western Washington imposed an average of 10 months. For auto theft, an offense so often involving similar factors, one court in this circuit imposed terms averaging 48 months, but eastern New York imposed terms averaging slightly in excess of 14 months. The proportion of all types of convicted defendants placed on probation ranged from 67 percent in South Carolina to 10 percent in western Tennessee.

Unquestionably, some of these judgments are the direct result of the absence of any appellate power to review individual sentences or to exercise general supervisory power over sentencing practices. Other phases of the work of trial judges are subject to appellate review and supervision. Only sentencing errors are not capable of being corrected on appeal, apparently for reasons that are for the most part historical. Such reasons are increasingly irreconcilable with prevailing notions of procedural due process and are woefully out of step with the requirements for a fair and just sentencing system.

There appears to be a substantial divergence of opinion as to whether trial judges' sentencing power should be curtailed. The adoption of appellate review procedures would not be necessary if sentencing should cease to be a judicial function, but that is not the case today. Since the sentencing power is in the hands of individual Federal district judges, the right to review the exercise of such judgment should be given to the Federal appellate courts.

Legislation to provide for appellate review of sentences is not new. It was recommended by the American Law Institute in its Code of Criminal Procedure and by Attorney General Cummings in the 1930's. Attorney General Cummings sent his proposal to the Congress with this statement:

> My studies of the disposition of criminal cases in Federal courts have led me to the conclusion that there frequently occur wide disparities and great inequalities and sentences in different districts, and even by different judges in the same district, for identical offenses involving similar states of facts.
>
> While, of course, varying points of view as between individual judges must of necessity lead to a certain degree of divergence in sentences imposed, the result is that the penalty which a person convicted of a crime has to undergo may depend on chance and on the fortuitous circumstances that a particular judge disposes of the case. This situation makes it difficult to maintain that equal, evenhanded justice is attained.

These reasons are as applicable today as they were 30 years ago. The intervening years have, however, intensified the need to cope with the problem of the grossly disproportionate sentence and have witnessed a widespread acceptance of the principle of appellate review. The time has come, therefore, to enact such legislation in the interests of enhancing public confidence in the administration of criminal justice.

S. 2722 confers on the courts of appeal the power to review certain criminal sentences. It would allow a convicted person, who is sentenced to imprisonment for a term or terms aggregating more than 1 year, to appeal his sentence within 10 days after entry of the final judgment or order imposing the sentence on the ground that it is excessive. The courts of appeal, by rule or order, may require the forwarding of such transcripts and records which are deemed necessary to decide the matter from the clerk of the district court. The bill provides that the courts of appeal can make available to counsel any presentence reports and other evaluations relating to

the defendant on such terms as are considered necessary for an effective prosecution of the appeal. The bill also provides that the district judge is required to state for the record his reasons for the sentence when imposing a sentence subject to review.

With one exception, the appellate court may decide the matter with or without an oral hearing. It is given the power to reduce, increase, or otherwise modify the sentence as it deems appropriate. However, before any sentence is increased the appellant is given the opportunity to appear for the purpose of making a statement and presenting any information in his own behalf. By taking an appeal, however, he is deemed to have waived any right to plead that as a result of the revision of the sentence he has been twice put in jeopardy.

Because it would not be reasonable to expect an individual to appeal a suspended sentence of any kind, the bill also provides that, in the event probation is subsequently revoked, the right to appeal from a sentence of more than 1 year is preserved until entry of the judgment or order imposing such sentence of imprisonment.

Furthermore, S. 2722 makes clear that the right to bail after conviction remains discretionary with the district court. The legislation does not confer or enlarge any right to be released pending an appeal from the sentence imposed. Because it is contemplated that the courts of appeal will require a reasonable period of time following enactment of the legislation to adopt appropriate rules governing appeals against sentence, the law would become effective 6 months after its approval and would apply only to sentences imposed thereafter.

While this legislation is patterned after bills I have introduced in previous sessions of the Congress, it has benefited from considerable discussion devoted to the subject in recent circuit conferences, as well as the thinking expresed in numerous legal periodicals. The basic departure from S. 823 introduced in the 88th Congress—granting the power to increase as well as reduce sentences—is in response to the recommendation of the Judicial Conference of the United States as adopted in its meeting of September 1964.

Rather than to discuss the merits of each provision of the bill at this time, it is more appropriate to offer two articles for the consideration of the Senate. The first, written by the Honorable Simon E. Sobeloff, was published in the Brooklyn Law Review. The second, by Prof. Gerhard O. W. Mueller, was published in the Vanderbilt Law Review. It is my hope, Mr. President, that, when Congress reconvenes next January, hearings on the bill will promptly be scheduled. To quote Judge Sobeloff in his closing remarks to the symposium of the Judicial Conference of the Second Circuit on September 24, 1962:

> To guard against irrationality, inequity, and oppression, every long sentence warrants a second look.

This bill will provide that opportunity.

For purposes of full information I am having the text of S. 2722 printed at this point:

S. 2722

A bill to amend chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, to provide for the appellate review of sentences imposed in criminal cases arising in the district courts of the United States

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by inserting immediately after section 3741 thereof the following new section:

"§ 3742. Appeal from sentence

"(a) In every case arising in a district court of the United States in which a defendant has been sentenced to imprisonment for one or more criminal offenses where the term or aggregate terms total more than one year the defendant may, upon application to the United States court of appeals within ten days after entry of the final judgment or order imposing the sentence, appeal from the sentence so imposed upon the ground that the sentence, although lawful, is excessive. Upon the making of such application, the clerk of the district court shall certify to the court of appeals such transcripts of proceedings, records, and other information relating to the offense or offenses of the defendant and the sentence imposed upon him as the court of appeals by rule or order may require, including any presentence reports or other evaluations made pursuant to statute or otherwise. The court of appeals shall provide for the availability of such presentence reports and other evaluations, or portions thereof, to counsel for the defendant on such terms as may be necessary for an effective prosecution of the appeal. Any district judge imposing a sentence subject to review under this section shall state as part of the record his reasons for imposing that particular sentence.

"(b) Subject to the provisions of this subsection, any appeal may be determined by the court of appeals with or without an oral hearing thereon. The court of appeals may reduce, increase, or otherwise modify the sentence imposed by the district court as it deems appropriate: *Provided, however,* That before any sentence is increased the court of appeals shall afford the defendant an opportunity to make a statement and to present any information in his own behalf. By taking an appeal from the sentence under this section, the defendant shall be deemed to have waived any right to plead that as a result of any revision of the sentence by the court of appeals he has been twice put in jeopardy for the same offense.

"(c) In any case where a judgment or order of probation is revoked and a sentence of imprisonment is imposed for more than one year, the defendant may appeal from such sentence as provided in this section within ten days after entry of the judgment or order imposing the sentence.

"(d) This section shall not be construed to confer or enlarge any right of the defendant to be released following his conviction pending an appeal from the sentence imposed.

"(e) The procedure for taking an appeal under this section shall follow the procedure for an appeal from a judgment or order of conviction and, where the appeals are joined, a single notice of appeal shall be sufficient.

"(f) This Act shall become effective six months after its approval and shall apply only to sentences imposed thereafter."

(b) The analysis of chapter 235 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"3742. Appeal from sentence."

Statement by the Honorable Gabriel Valdes, Foreign Minister of Chile

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD J. IRWIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. IRWIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an excellent presentation of the Chilean viewpoint on Latin American integration by Gabriel Valdes, Foreign Minister of Chile.

Mr. Valdes' statement follows:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE GABRIEL VALDES, FOREIGN MINISTER OF CHILE, AT THE PAN AMERICAN UNION, WASHINGTON, D.C., TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1965

Whenever the Government of Chile has stated the need for integration, it has done so with the deepest conviction of its great urgency. We are convinced that progressive forms of integration that eventually lead to a Common Market adequate to meet the political, economical, and social reality of Latin America are conditions of development. We are also convinced that 140 years of disunity have been the principal cause of our poverty and political and social instability and, in short, have arrested our advance toward better and fairer forms of life already attained by other nations in the European Community.

There is no doubt that integration is a political and economic phenomenon and that it also responds to political and economic requirements. In our particular case, I shall discuss the latter, not because I consider them to be the most important and urgent, but because they have been given priority in our continent. It is curious, in this respect, that Latin America integration has been started and promoted by technicians and economics, while in Europe integration began with the impulse and decision of politicians like Adenauer, De Gasperi, Schuman, and Monet.

Here seems to lie the explanation for the great difference in the speed and shape of both processes.

As we see it, Latin America is confronted today by a dilemma: United it faces its responsibility in the world of today, or it must lag behind, protesting conditions for which we—the Latin Americans—will be to blame because we have failed to understand history or see its trend.

Existing conditions of international commerce and the characteristics of modern technology make economic development impossible in compartments of stagnation.

To a considerable degree, the present reality in Latin America—that is to say, disintegration—determines a structure inadequate to foster development and also hinders it. It is inadequate in the sense that markets are too narrow to support industries that generate adequate levels of scale economies. Nor would it be possible for certain industries to become dynamic centers of development. It is also inadequate insofar as it makes impossible further substitution of imports.

We well know that substitution of imports is still a condition of the development of Latin America and of equilibrium in its global balance of foreign payments. I would like to mention here the figures given by ECLA concerning the deficit that would exist in Latin America in 1970 between the possible value of exports and the demand for imports. In the cases where substitution

plans are successful, the deficit would reach a figure of $1.520 million. If there is no such success, the deficit would be $4.300 million. Our main objective in integration is to create a large regional market that makes possible a process of substitution of imports on a regional level.

The substitution of imports is not a simple process: it demands protective measures, that beyond a certain limit might turn the protected activity into an antieconomic one. If substitution is not paired with an increase of productivity, internal costs might affect the stability and levels of exports. Moreover, we all know that modern technology makes it compulsory to produce on a large scale or raise the customs protection to permit competition of national and imported products. The problem, as we see it, is that in order to utilize the advantages of technology, we must not only increase our ability to acquire the capital which incorporates technology, but must also increase our ability to fully exploit the advantages offered by technology with respect to specialization and large-scale economies in production.

In this sense, integration must take place in a protected regional market. It will have to be so, just as the United States and European markets were during their initial stage of development. It is not that we seek the imposition of barriers as high as, for example, the average 57 percent tariff that imports to the United States paid in 1897. What we need is that our industries attain, in the shortest possible time, production levels that permit them to compete in domestic and foreign markets with those of more developed countries.

I pointed out a moment ago that the present Latin American economic structure also tends to "put the brake" to development. That is because it consolidates archaic structures and makes a solution to the problem of international trade in our region difficult.

In the years following the great depression of the 1930's, many Latin American countries sought a greater degree of self-sufficiency through protection, and deliberately initiated a process of imports substition. Some countries were successful in this and created industries that developed, in many instances, protected by high tariff barriers. Thus, while establishing their industries, those countries gave rise to groups interested in consolidating and perpetuating those barriers. It is clear that only integration will permit industries thus created to become efficient and dynamic activities through their own development.

Latin America on the other hand confronts a situation in which it is impossible for it to acquire the imports essential to development with the product of its exports. In this respect, integration would permit an expansion of markets for products of the region, and a reduction in the region's dependence on world trade. Integration would enable a better regional interchange, allowing the increase of available foreign exchange currency for the import of goods that are not produced within the region but are essential to the development.

Generally speaking, the archaic structures that determine the present reality in Latin America are not only economic but social as well. We believe that integration will have have a cause and as a consequence the gradual increase in Latin America of the people's pressure to obtain a greater participation, security and profit.

At the present time, in many regions of Latin America, well being is a privilege of those who inherit it. On the other hand integration that requires and generates a modernization of society will create and be the consequence of more dynamic communities in which those who contribute more to the common good of the nation and the region are those who attain prosperity and success. Competition in larger markets will make this possible.

Furthermore, the necessary greater mobility of capital within the region and the inflow of capitals from outside the region that will have to be effected under conditions of regularity of treatment, will channel those capitals toward the countries where social peace, derived from well-being is stronger.

Besides, communication between the peoples of Latin America through exchanges between associations of workers and between unions, should bring with it an improvement of social conditions. This will have the result of equalizing upward the workers gains.

As we have indicated, the political aspects of integration, hold the greatest importance. In the future, political understandings, the currents of international traffic, and of world trade, will take place between the large nations or between large communities of nations. This is a fact we cannot forget. Our nations, by remaining disunited, will be unable to take part in this dialog between continents.

Latin America, in this respect, cannot permit itself to be relegated, and for all time, to the category of a second-class region. More than 200 million men, who increase at the highest rate in the world, must have a voice and influence within the concert of nations. But separated into 20 different countries, without the bonds that are each day uniting people, this voice and this influence will continue to be at a minimum.

To our way of thinking, this problem must be the fundamental concern of the American Governments, because it means deciding today the future of Latin America.

The Latin American Governments, are presently facing very serious political, social, and internal economic problems. They have the tendency to relegate to a second level the demands that the more or less near future imposes. But many of these problems should be easier to solve in an integrated system; that is the reason why our policy of pushing integration has the same priority of our policy intended to solve the internal problems that afflict us.

Latin America has already begun two processes of integration. At the beginning of 1960 there was signed at Montevideo the treaty that established a free trade zone and set up the Latin American Free Trade Association, which is signed by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay, later on adhered to by Colombia and Ecuador.

At the end of this year, the General Central American Economic Integration Treaty will be signed at Managua, including Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.

Although this treaty was signed after that of Montevideo, it was the culmination of a process, for which previously various obligations had been taken. The Central American Convention for the equalization of import duties, and its protocol on Central American Tariff Preferences, the Multilateral Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration Treaty, and the Treaty of Economic Association signed between Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras, had been decisive steps in Central American integration.

The routes followed in each one of these zones have been different.

Central America has made substantial advances toward a common market, establishing a common external tariff, creating measures to coordinate its monetary policies, coordinating its development plans, establishing its own banks to finance joint projects and coordinating its social policies.

With respect to the nations of the Latin American Free Trade Association, they have been slower in their advances. The Treaty of Montevideo has been used only as a commercial instrument through which it is intended to liberalize international trade on the basis of periodic negotiations, product by product. This is, in itself, a slow and complicated process.

The objective of integration is not only a liberation of existing trade. It cannot be, since such trade is of little importance in volume and in relative terms it is a minimum part of the total of international trade, and of the product of the region.

Integration, as we see it, must be a directed process, with a view to changing the present structure of Latin American economy, to consolidate the political union of our peoples, to improve social relations, and to bring efficiency to the institutions and mechanisms that regulate the life of the continent.

Such broad tasks cannot be the product of automatic forces nor of simple liberating measures. We do not have such faith in the mechanisms of the market.

Furthermore, we believe that the liberation of trade is an important measure, but that it must neither constitute the center of the problem, nor may be obtained without other measures being taken simultaneously.

We run the risk of serious disturbances in the future if we concentrate, with too much enthusiasm, on liberating measures, without simultaneous action with respect to common import duties, monetary measures, mechanisms of the redistribution of profits, programmation of investments and, in general, measures permitting an equitable distribution of the benefits of integration.

I wish to briefly dwell upon these aspects.

It is undoubtable that in underdeveloped economies there does not occur the displacement of resources and goods according to the tendencies of the market, as has been the European example. The simple lowering of duties, with differences so marked in import duties, with different rates of inflation, and various grades of progress among the Latin American nations, may provoke such disturbances and disequilibriums as to denaturalize the objectives and very tools of integration.

Furthermore, with the exaggerated emphasis on simple measures of liberation, there is a risk of consolidating and aggravating the present economic structures of Latin America. This should be, for example, the case of the monopolies that, now dominating the national economies in many places, expand their harmful action to the regional ambit.

That is why there must be joined to the internal taxing measures, a simultaneous process that permit harmony between taxes and expenditures, for the purpose of avoiding distortions in competition within the zone. It is necessary, also that the countries obligate themselves to adopt monetary and exchange policies that prevent the tensions that unilateral measures in these matters may bring about in the region. The harmonization of customs duties toward third countries is another condition for the success of integration. This the artificial differences in the undue costs and advantages of exchange can be avoided.

The economic community to be established must, as a necessary condition for its operation, adopt a regional program of investments, coordinating investment policies with national planning. This aspect is of special importance. It is possible that the dynamics of integration without sufficient safeguards will condemn certain regions, that are now more backward, to remain in this situation. This will occur in some countries, at least in relation to other zones of Latin America, that will grow with great rapidity after the liberation of regional trade. An important instrument, for the coordination of investments as well as for the development of the more backward regions, apart from reciprocity, must be an institution that will preferentially finance those investments whose market will be regional.

With reference to this, some consideration should be given to the role that foreign financing must play in the process of integration.

In the first place, credits that satisfy the need for foreign capital in Latin America must orient themselves in a multilateral manner to permit in this way the financing of joint projects in Latin America.

The method that will most efficiently benefit integration would be that which would permit adequate coordination in the use of the scarce resources of capital in a given region.

Furthermore, financing requirements change in an integrated market. In such instances, credits for the production of certain goods should supplant credits for the acquisition of resources. An integrated market justifies the production of certain goods that cannot be justified in limited national markets. This, in turn, determines that loans formerly made for the acquisition of goods may now be made for regional production, since the median term of the loans is equivalent to the volume of acquisition. This applies, for example, to certain equipment that, as in transportation, can be produced in Latin America, with plans financed there instead of their acquisitions being financed year by year abroad.

Third, international financing instructions should show special interest in financing complementary industrial programs, which are of great importance to integration. Through the establishment of complementary industries, we hope that Latin America may more rationally utilize its capital resources and specialized manpower, intensify the movement of merchandise within the region, and, in brief, avoid the inefficiencies inherent in productive processes that fail to function economically. We cannot but praise the promotional work of the Inter-American Development Bank in this respect. It fully justifies what its president said some time ago when he called it "the integration bank."

Naturally, these aspects are related to foreign investments. We believe that we must develop a uniform treatment by all the Latin American countries toward external capital. Our countries, which stand so badly in need of such capital, should standaridize certain forms of guarantee and treatment applicable to external investments. Otherwise, the competition for such capital, by no means abundant, can bring consequences that will be politically and economically inimical to our countries.

The measures that we advocate may be adopted maintaining in action the Treaty of Montevideo. I am now talking of the LAFTA countries. But it will not be an easy task to mobilize the mechanisms that we have outlined, as it will not be easy to attain the proposed objectives.

What is required, in the first place, is a political decision which will express a will to advance toward economic integration. Many of such measures will be taken through a process which might lengthen itself. However, the great political decisions cannot be repeated indefinitely. They involve resolutions which are adopted, once and forever, so that by avoiding hesitations they will bring about their full value.

This political decision must contemplate, in the first place, the creation of an efficient regional institutional structure. An important role would be played by an executive organism with adequate authority and within which those who represent the Latin American community should make the decisions.

We believe that it is necessary to overcome the stage where decisions are adopted by mere governmental agreements. The purpose is not to annul the nation state but to assign to the community organisms certain powers which up to now have been conceived as pertaining to the nation state, the sovereignty of which is increasingly acquiring a mere symbolic value.

Without an institution of this nature we cannot have regional programs that will yield the best utilization of resources within the framework of coordinated policies and of fair distribution of profits.

The great political decision has a significant importance in the national spheres. It implies the need to confront in a definitive manner the imperious necessity of not listening to those who benefit from the anomalous existing structure. It means the need to confront the most powerful groups, who are not the most legitimate; those who have benefited from trade barriers, with tax privileges, with favorable credit systems, with monopolistic conditions.

Such political decision also means that we must be prepared to stop the arms race in Latin America; that is, to avoid that many countries continue to spend around 4 percent of their national income in weapons.

Moreover, economic integration requires other conditions.

It would be absurd to attempt integration if this only meant perpetuating social life as it is today. That is why popular participation is fundamental in engineering those decisions that will lead us toward integration.

The participation of the people is, therefore, a requisite without which integration either becomes impractical or turns itself into an effort of certain privileged minorities to enlarge the scope of their business dealings.

For these reasons we believe that in the institutions through which integration should be promoted there must be a place for the well-organized people, the unions, the labor unions, the management groups, and the professionals of Latin America.

The political attitudes that will enable us to attain integration will meet with certain difficulties.

In our continent, integration is attacked, as all the measures endangering the existing order, by the extreme right as by the extreme left. The extreme right attacks it because it considers integration a menace to its interests, to its positions, generally bound to those of nationalism. The extreme left attacks it because it knows that integration is the real answer to many Latin American problems instead of its own solutions. I still recall some of the expressions of the leaders of the extreme left in my own country: they considered integration as an escape, as a means to make the people forget that only through violent methods they could obtain an improvement of their situation.

For us, integration is precisely the opposite; it is the means to unite all the Latin American peoples in a common enterprise, and through a spontaneous blending of the will of many sectors; workers, managers, and professionals, to give one step further, within a climate of freedom at international level, toward what Pope John XXIII called the "socialization," that is "the gradual multiplication of all social relationships."

Integration requires changes in certain juridical conceptions and in several fields of legislation. This is the task of jurists and lawyers and we have been left behind by economists and engineers in the creative process, because we have been concerned with teaching and implementing an individualistic law that still expresses the reality of the 19th century. It is about time that we, men of law, abandon the office of museum curators in order to assume our responsibility in creating the channels, in building the architecture of a dynamic national and international order, in which the social part has priority; in which the common good predominates over the individual rights of persons or state.

The commissions of jurisconsults formed by eminently respectable men, have often been an expedient to lengthen studies and to turn the law into a brake instead of an impulse.

I have the presumption of thinking that the day that men of law really start working with imagination, creating and not repeating, that day the integration will be possible. Only in such a manner will the analysis and programs of economists—often too numerous—will have an adequate effect. Therefore we celebrate as a decisive step toward that goal, the creation of the Institute for Integration of the Inter-American Bank in Buenos Aires. Its president—a man of law—has understood the vital importance of this aspect.

There is a certain parallel between the reforms to juridical internal structure that development demands and those that have to be achieved in the international field to attain integration. In the internal field of our countries with a Latin juridical tradition, different from that of the Saxons, where law is more susceptible to evolution because of its pragmatism, the written law acquires a sacred respect and an immobility that often reaches a stage of paralysis to the point of becoming antisocial. In the center of this structure stands the concept of private property, derived of Roman law in its classical powers, jus utendi, fruendi et abutendi, that grants to a few people what becomes a privilege, while the great majority remain outside of it and, therefore, it becomes very easy for them to place themselves against the law. To change this criteria and to modify the law is fundamental to the creation of new conditions of development. They are the most revolutionary of all tasks.

Implementing them will make possible an agrarian and a city reform. This brings about another concept: Individual progress can only be certain and increasing if it is the result of the general situation of the community; profit derives of the efficiency with which the community is served. This is the general policy we are implementing in Chile, that in the end gives more guarantee to property, to investment and therefore to freedom. We want no laws that are under the menace of the people's pressure.

In the international order, the concept of absolute sovereignty is also staying behind in the 19th century.

If man is considered as the center and his development, security, and freedom are the purpose of the state, we shall soon begin to see that there are two different classes or conceptions: on one side the flag, the traditions of the country, the election of its rulers and in general the internal expression of human communities organized in nations; on the other, exchange rules, labor laws, taxes, custom tariffs, transportation, communications and commercial law, jurisdiction of the courts, etc.

Certain concepts essential to maintain the individuality of the community require some sort of grading; others must give way for the benefit of common good; in the economic order this is not limited by geographical frontiers and should not be limited by political ones, since resources are distributed by nature without regard for these frontiers. Nations are not built to put a limit to man, but to give him integral development. That is why we consider that instead of speaking of ideological frontiers in our America—frontiers that would destroy its unity—we must speak of the integration of the economical and cultural frontier.

What we have stated in relation to the integration of Latin America, implies necessary reform to the inter-American system.

The reform of OAS should be destined to accommodate the system to the new ideas

and mechanisms contained in the Charter of Punta del Este, and therefore to the political, social, and economical aspects of Latin American development.

It is a question of making possible through new and more efficient mechanisms, the full action of the concept of the Alliance for Progress—and therefore of the multilateral and united effort in America. This means the granting of a new structure to the system in which the central guiding conceptions are the Alliance and the integration.

In its essence, the inter-American system has developed itself until now, according to the lines drawn 130 years ago in the Congress of Panama when the continent newly born to freedom had to defend itself from the foreign menace of European monarchies. It was the juridical pattern, followed a quarter of a century ago, in front of the foreign menace of nazism.

But nothing is achieved by closing doors to a foreign menace if at the same time our own home is being destroyed and crumbles from inside, consumed by poverty, ill-based on archaic foundations, shaken by tragical and economical tensions. Foreign menaces to our continental frontiers are only occasional and sporadic. The permanent menace is the one derived from the inadequacy of our old economical and social structures. In order to face this permanent problem, we have accumulated in a haphazard way, committees and commissions. There has been no complete revision of the system in order to organize it according to the new realities.

Many efforts have been done to dynamize the action of the system in the social and economical aspects. However, we do not believe that we can go on working on the bases of an inorganic superposition of different institutions, committees, and commissions.

To explain it in the simplest possible way, we would say that the Alliance for Progress as a power-generating idea, and integration as an objective, constitute for us the bases and fundamentals of the new charter.

Men of extreme right are those who try to present the policy of integration as a move against the United States. According to them it would be a question of dividing in two this hemisphere: on one side a Latin American united block and on the other, the United States of America. It is to be presumed that this united Latin America would tend to gravitate toward the anti-North American orbit and that its economy under a process of development, would seek a worsening of the tensions of cold war as an incitement.

Those who worry so much about that eventual division of the continent have not realized that this continent is now already divided in a more serious and dangerous way. Divided between the richest and strangest nation of the earth and 20 countries, more or less small and evenly poor. Those who are concerned for the security of the United States (and who usually do not have the responsibility of that security), should ask themselves if this security is not threatened in a higher degree by the existence of an area politically unstable, socially explosive, and economically backward, subject to all kinds of compulsions that can only continue to increase, if events are not channeled with political foresight. I ask if the political and military security of the United States and world peace itself, would not have a better guarantee through the creation of a prosperous and united Latin-America.

Our fundamental concern is the well-being of our own people. We hope to insure it during the span of our life, in such a way that there might be a worthy place under the sun for 500 million of Latin-Americans, a figure that will be reached within a few decades. And if we insure this well-being; if we give those millions of men of our suffering masses, bread and freedom, we are certain that we shall be contributing in the most effective manner to establish peace and harmony in this hemisphere.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the letter I addressed to Oregon constituents under date of July 28, 1965, supplied the details of an amendment proposed by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250. I asked these constituents to give me the benefit of their studied views on the amendment which had been proposed by the Department at that time. The replies I received addressed to me on August 5 and 6, 1965, were most helpful. I ask unanimous consent that the text of these communications be included at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DAY & COURTRIGHT,
Medford, Oreg., August 5, 1965.

Re amendment to Oregon's bill S. 250; your letter of July 28, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: I am opposed to the proposed amendment requested by the Secretary of the Interior as contained in your letter of July 28, 1965.

The term "any lands" includes land contained in sustained yield programs and other lands owned by the Government and either providing or having the potential to provide important economic and other valuable use to the people of the State and to the communities in which the land is located. Only lands containing valuable resources would be acceptable by the private individual making the exchange and it is a poor policy to give the Secretary of the Interior such absolute right to transfer valuable resources from the public domain.

Money is the proper exchange for payment for land which the Government needs. We have adequate methods of determining the proper purchase price through either negotiation, arbitration or trial by jury. The proposed amendment opens the way for outsiders to fatten their own pockets at the expense of both the dunes area landowner and the public generally by acquiring options or making quick purchases of the land in the dunes area, and then stalling in the exchange procedures with the Government until we have been harmed, both by delay and by upgrading of the values of the privately owned lands. Such transactions even though they are fair and square do raise questions of sharp dealings, influence, and honesty.

If there are public lands which should properly be in private ownership then the correct procedure is to classify these lands, place upon them minimum values, advertise that they are for sale by bid subject to the minimum values and allow as many people as wish to bid upon the lands. Such a procedure would properly dispose of unneeded public lands and close the backdoor approach to its acquisition.

I do not want anything which I have written to be interpreted as opposition to the Oregon Dunes Park bill or to the exchange of public lands for the purpose of blocking out holdings for greater efficiency to both public and private owners.

I hope that my comments will be of some assistance to you and you have my very best wishes.

Sincerely,

BEN DAY.

P.S. As this is in answer to your personal request, I will not send copies except with your permission. If I hear from you that you have no objection, I will send copies to Governor Sprague, Governor Hatfield, Senator NEUBERGER, and Representative DUNCAN.

BEN.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 5, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

In reply to your letter addressed to me dated July 28, 1965, re proposed Interior amendment to S. 250, I disapprove the amendment which could only tend to increase public disaffection with Federal land trades in this area.

I fully recognize the advantages as well as hazards of land exchanges in specific circumstances where Federal funds will not do the job, but Interior's amendment is far too broad. Oregon will not hold still for a continuing program of trading off sustained-yield Federal lands, but it will accept reasonably safeguarded exchanges of land classified for disposal under the Classification and Multiple Use Act of 1964, providing adequate public notice, consultation with advisory boards, and hearings.

The wording of Representative DUNCAN's proposed amendment to H.R. 7524 in this respect appeals to me as being a good approach to the Oregon Dunes problem, as well as to similar situations involving land transfers.

Sincerely,

HERBERT LUNDY,
Editor, Editorial Page, the Oregonian.

STATE OF OREGON,
OFFICE OF STATE FORESTER,
Salem, Oreg., August 6, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Reference is made to your letter relative to the proposed amendment to the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, and to your request for my reactions regarding the possible effect of granting unlimited authority to the Secretary of the Interior in administration of timberland in exchanges which could mean so much to the sustained yield program and the economy of the State of Oregon.

We are very much concerned by the proposal to grant blanket authority to negotiate exchanges of timberlands to the Secretary without policy guidelines from the Congress and without requiring concurrence in such exchanges by State authority; the only criteria being the exchange of timberland of "approximate equal value."

While the proposed Dunes Park area contains only a very minor part of Oregon's forest resource, the planting of the seeds of authority to make all decisions here could lead to disaster for the sustained yield program if carried out in the future as general authority for all Interior lands.

Oregon went through a similar problem with the Department of Agriculture back in the early 1930's when that Department was carrying on an expansion program, trading timber for land and exchanging forest land with little regard for equal values or acreages. The Oregon Legislature at that time passed a law to curb the acquisition program. (A copy of the history of the board of forest conservation is attached, together with a copy of the law enacted by the State legislature.) The authority of this board applies

only to the acquisition and exchange of lands by the national forests; however, it has worked quite well and insures that local and State government have knowledge of the terms of exchange and the values involved. The Forest Service has made a real effort to comply with the requirement of the law and the policies of the committee. It is possible that the law setting up the duties of this committee may be broadened to include Interior Department forest lands if supported by the people familiar with present problems.

The 53d Legislative Assembly of Oregon in its regular session adopted House Joint Resolution 60, introduced by the joint committee on ways and means, which established an interim committee on public lands to survey the public land problem in Oregon. The objective of the committee will be to study the many problems relating to the acquisition, sale, exchange, ownership, and management of public lands.

It is important where broad powers are given that policy guidelines be spelled out to insure proper administration and protection of the country and State interests.

The local community economy in Oregon is becoming more and more dependent upon the allowable cut from Federal lands. These figures are known and are taken into consideration by local industry as a guide for expansion and development.

It is the consensus of opinion here that the type of exchange which this authority could grant would tend to cut down the immediate allowable cut in local areas or counties and support a possible tendency to trade high values in mature stands of timber for areas of cutover lands or reproducing lands which in the immediate future would tend to lower the allowable cut and thereby upset the sustained yield program.

The balance of public versus private lands is at a very critical point in Oregon and any appreciable increase in the acquisition of private lands by public agencies could definitely influence the tax base of any particular county affected.

We recognize that some exchanges and purchases are necessary and inevitable for the welfare and safety of the people, but provision can be made for the orderly handling of such needs through well publicized and approved long-range plans which take into account the highest use priority.

We also recognize the need for blocking in of ownerships in order to permit more efficient administration and management, but these should be on a reciprocal basis whereever possible.

We feel that in some instances exchanges involving lands designated for sustained yield would be justified for the public interest. However, it is my thinking that these exchanges should be considered individually upon the merit of the specific case and with approval of the specific county and State authority.

I appreciate the opportunity to express, in a general way, some of my reactions to the proposed amendment to S. 250.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,

D. L. PHIPPS,
State Forester.

THE HISTORY OF THE BOARD OF FOREST CONSERVATION

The events leading up to the passage of the act creating the Oregon Board of Forest Conservation had their beginning back in the depression days of the 1930's when counties found themselves short of funds through extensive tax delinquencies. There was considerable agitation at that time for the Federal Government to take over some of the tax distressed lands. It stemmed mainly from the Federal sources and the segment of the State population that was being indoctrinated with the philosophy of Federal control of various State affairs and especially in matters concerning forestry and forest production. Stepped-up acquisition was a part of the program.

An example of early forest acquisition concerned the Olean Land Co., an eastern holding company which owned about 16,000 acres of pine land lying along Green ridge just north of the town of Sisters. It found itself in financial difficulties and, after some negotiation, the Federal Government purchased the land outright and added it to the Deschutes National Forest. There was considerable vigorous objection to the deal. At the same time the practice of trading Federal stumpage for privately owned cutover lands was continuing on an expanded scale, especially in the eastern part of the State.

Counties strongly objected to the program on the basis that it took lands off the tax rolls without provision for current lieu tax payments. Counties demanded action that would prevent the practice, or provide for financial reimbursement for tax losses.

At that time Guy Cordon was attorney for the land-grant counties and during one session of the State legislature in a conference with State forestry officials it was suggested that a bill be introduced which would prohibit further land acquisition by the Federal Government. Mr. Cordon stated that such legislation would be ineffective since Federal laws took precedence over State measures.

Then some time prior to the 1935 session of the State legislature, the Federal Government requested the passage of an act by the State of Oregon that would permit the Federal Government to acquire forest lands. Similar requests were made of other States in the Nation and a model act was submitted by the Federal Government. This act, modified to meet Oregon conditions, was introduced in the 1935 session of the State legislature. It carried the blessing of the late Gov. Charles H. Martin.

The bill immediately caused a storm of protest from the various counties on the basis that it was taking lands off the tax roll. A suggestion was made that the proposed law be amended as to make such acquisition contingent upon approval by the State board of forestry.

The showdown came later and finally ended in a special order of business in the senate and several rollcalls and polls of the house. The bill in its original form was simply the enabling act permitting the Government to acquire forest lands in the State. It passed the house but the senate amended it by setting up the commission composed of the Governor, the State forester, the chairman of the State tax commission, and two county judges appointed from counties having more than 400,000 acres of forest land. The bill also required the approval of the county court in which an acquisition area might lie.

Opposition to this bill centered in the county courts, especially in the land-grant counties where there was a lot of Federal ownership. There was little income in those days from either the national forest or O and C lands. The counties insisted that provision should be made for the Government to make lieu tax payments. In spite of the opposition the bill passed the senate by a 22-to-8 vote.

LEGISLATION GIVING THE CONSENT OF THE STATE OF OREGON TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO PURCHASE LAND

(The Weeks Law of 1911 requires the consent of the State for purchase of land by the U.S. Government for national forests. Not all States have such enabling legislation for that specific purpose. However, all States have legislation giving authority for acquisition of real estate by the Federal Government. Below are the pertinent sections from the State statutes under which the Federal Government acquires land for national forests or for other purposes.)

ACQUISITION OF LAND; NATIONAL FORESTS; BOARD OF FOREST CONSERVATION

272.040 Acquisition of land for national forests; retention of jurisdiction for certain purposes (1) The Legislature of the State of Oregon hereby consents, subjects to the provisions of ORS 272.050, to the acquisition by the United States by purchase, gift, or condemnation with adequate compensation, of such lands in the State of Oregon as in the opinion of the Government of the United States may be needed for the establishment, consolidation, and extension of national forests in this State under the provisions of the act of Congress approved March 1, 1911, and entitled "An act to enable any State to cooperate with any other State or States, or with the United States, for the protection of the watersheds of navigable streams and to appoint a commission for the acquisition of lands for the purpose of conserving the navigability of navigable rivers," as amended.

(2) The State of Oregon retains a concurrent jurisdiction with the United States in and over lands so acquired so far that civil processes in all cases, and such criminal processes as may issue under the authority of the State of Oregon against any person charged with the commission of any crime without or within such jurisdiction, may be executed thereon in like manner as if this consent had not been granted. The State of Oregon retains a concurrent jurisdiction to tax persons and corporations and their property and transactions on such lands so acquired; and retains concurrent jurisdiction for the purpose specified in ORS 376.505 to 376.540, subject, however, to such modification as to the detailed location of any right-of-way as may be necessary to protect the interests of the United States.

272.050 Board of forest conservation and county court to approve acquisition for national forest. Acquisition authorized under ORS 272.040 shall be contingent on the approval of the Oregon Board of Forest Conservation which hereby is created. It shall consist of the Governor, the State forester, the chairman of the State tax commission, and two other members to be appointed by the Governor from the county judges in office in counties of this State containing at least 400,000 acres of forest land. Before approval by such board of the acquisition of any tract, the consent of the county court of the county wherein such tract or any portion thereof is situated must be given by an order duly made and entered in the records of such court and a certified copy thereof transmitted to the board.

PORTLAND, OREG.,
August 6, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Mr. Joseph W. McCracken, executive vice president, Western Forest Industries Association, has been almost continuously out of the city. We have had an opportunity to discuss together, however, your letter to him of July 28 regarding the land exchange amendment proposed by the Department of the Interior for the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250. Mr. McCracken has asked me to thank you for your letter and to present to you the views of Western Forest Industries Association.

The proposal of the Department (on S. 250) is as follows:

"In the exercise of his exchange authority the Secretary may accept title to any non-Federal property, and in exchange therefor he may convey to the grantor of such property any federally owned property under his jurisdiction which he classifies as suitable for exchange or other disposal and which is of approximately equal value. If the properties are not of approximately equal value, the Secretary may accept cash from, or pay

cash to, the grantor in order to equalize the values of the properties exchanged."

This proposal, if enacted, would open the door to practices that the public interest condemns. It would surrender to the Department of the Interior and its subordinate agencies the most effective control that the Congress now possesses with respect to such agencies—the control of the purse strings. It would discriminate as between owners of large tracts of timberland and the owners of other types of property scheduled for inclusion in the dunes project. Within the timber industry itself it would necessarily entail an unacceptable and unreasonable discrimination. It would impair investments and jobs remote from the dunes area in circumstances which make the impairment noncompensable.

As to the encouragement of practices that contravene the public interest, your letter points to the invitation implicit in the Department's proposed language for speculators to acquire interests in or relating to dunes lands for use as base for exchanges for timberlands elsewhere. Such practices were apparently adopted and even encouraged in connection with the acquisition of lands for a park in California, the lands and interests so acquired thereafter being advanced for exchange for old growth timberlands in Oregon that were and still are being managed for sustained yield timber production.

Nor are unwholesome practices limited to the private sector. It is possible for an agency without consultation with anybody to shift its internal plans in such fashion that lands theretofore managed for sustained yield timber production are removed from that classification; the next day they may be declared disposable and involved in an exchange on the ground they are not being managed for sustained yield timber production. Public surveillance of activities of this sort is extremely difficult, particularly where an agency is bent upon acquiring new lands for which it does not have and cannot get from the Congress an appropriation.

As your letter points when Federal lands that are or recently have been under sustained yield management or are susceptible of and ought to be under sustained yield management, are exchanged for private lands in the interest of Federal acquisition of a park or scenery, there is no assurance that the lands so disposed of will be managed under sustained yield. At this point the Nation will have paid out its sustained yield timber production for scenery or a park.

It does not seem to us that the United States is so impoverished that it must pay with its sustained yield program for scenery and parks. We simply do not believe that the acquisition of land for the dunes is so utterly inconsistent with sustained yield management of timberlands that the concept of sustained yield must surrender. An honest purchase for cash, the price if necessary to be fixed by the U.S. court, would allow the concept of sustained yield timber management to continue, treat the landowner fairly, and provide a park.

Besides opening the door to practices that public interests condemns, the Department's proposal asks Congress to strip itself of its control over the purse strings in this instance. Where parks on other property are to be acquired by the Federal Government for cash, the agency must come to Congress with a budget request that it is expected to justify. When Congress appropriates the requested funds the agency is free to proceed within the limits of the appropriation. Even this process, as the Senate is unhappily aware in so many instances, does not always force the agencies to stay within the dollar limits originally proposed to Congress. Even so, the agency must return to the Congress to explain where the money has gone and justify the request for increases.

But when an appropriation for land acquisition is coupled with a blanket exchange authority, the wraps are removed from the agency. Under the customary secrecy employed for the appraisal and valuation data, the agency is free to expend as much of the Federal asset as the agency, rather than the Congress, thinks is appropriate in the circumstances. Where the landowner is not forced to sell and the agency has an intestinal commitment to the acquisition of his land, rather fanciful exchanges can be anticipated. Here it seems to us the Congress must be particularly vigilant in holding the purse strings.

The breadth of language that the Department of the Interior desires for itself would, of course, authorize the Department to trade off national park lands, O & C lands, reservoir, recreation and irrigated lands, and so forth. As a matter of fact there may be oil lands that are worth almost as much as old growth timberlands. As one who is rather intimately familiar with the Department of the Interior and its history since the days of President Harding, it seems to me that the requested blank check approach ought to be refused. It should not be necessary to recall such instances as the Department's efforts at swapping naval petroleum reserves for oil storage tanks in Hawaii, or the more recent episode involving the disposal of old growth timberlands under the cloak of the mining laws. Really, I do not believe that the present or any future Secretary of the Interior needs or even wants the authority to swap the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor for a tree farm on Tahkenitch Lake in Oregon.

I have remarked that the Department's proposal would discriminate as between owners of tracts of timberland and owners of other types of property scheduled for inclusion in the dunes project. When the late Senator Cordon and Representative Ellsworth with the support of the late Secretary of the Interior McKay proposed to authorize exchanges of private timberlands being acquired for Federal reservoir purposes, Dick Neuberger brought out his trenchant pen. Writing in the October 1954 issue of Frontier magazine Dick Neuberger said:

"On top of all this bill (H.R. 4646) attaches to the lumber industry—and particularly the biggest operators in the industry—a standing and respect never accorded thus far to homes, schools, farmhouses, hospitals, and even churches.

"Whenever a piece of private property is acquired for a public purpose, the sole obligation on the Government is to provide just and fair financial remuneration. Highways have cut through farmhouses and barns. The Army has flattened schools and churches to clear the way for airbases. Cottages and bungalows have given way to the lakes impounded behind irrigation dams. In these situations, the Government paid for the property it took. But no legislation ever was proposed that the payment be in kind. The Government did not have to furnish a family farmhouse similar to the one it had flooded. No parish was guaranteed a church identical to the chapel which was leveled by military tractors and steamshovels.

"But Representative Harris Ellsworth and Senator Guy Cordon, two of Oregon's isolationist Republicans, believe the lumber industry should be more inviolate in eminent-domain actions than are homes, farms, schools, and churches.

"THE CONSERVATIONIST VIEW

"Significantly, their bill limits its benefits to lumber operations where a sustained-yield unit is in operation. At first blush, this might seem commendable. Yet this description applies in the Pacific northwest only to the cutting carried on by the biggest companies.

"One of America's leading conservationists, Lyle F. Watts, believes the generosity in the bill 'would extend only to large operations. The little man with 160 acres or even 640 acres could not apply. It's essentially a big man's bill.'

"The philosophy of the Ellsworth-Cordon bill is especially revealing. Occasionally, the construction of roads, bridges, and railroads in forest areas requires the taking over of summer cottages. To these cottages their owners attach a sentimental and nostalgic value. They may have been the scene of a wedding or honeymoon. Neither Senator Cordon nor Representative ELLSWORTH ever has remotely suggested that the Government should reimburse the owners of summer homes in kind. This privilege is to be reserved exclusively for timber operators, who will have their pick of public lands that are similar and suitable."

When the bill about which Dick was writing reached the House, Senator LEE METCALF, then a freshman Representative, led a floor fight that forced its recommitment. When an attempt was made by a segment of the lumber industry to resurrect this policy later in the Eisenhower administration, that administration reconsidered and reversed the policy supported by Secretary McKay. The full exchange of correspondence is contained in the appendix of House Report No. 293 86th Congress, 1st session, a photographic copy of which is enclosed. (See, especially, letters from Department of Agriculture on pp. 12–16.)

Within the timber industry itself, as remarked above, the Department's proposal would necessarily entail an unacceptable and unreasonable discrimination. Discussing the effect of such an exchange in the context of national forest land, the Department of Agriculture advised the House Government Operation Committee in 1959, as follows:

"The national forests are managed under principles of sustained yield and multiple use. A large number of timber industries are wholly dependent upon the timber from the national forests. An even greater number are partly dependent to a considerable extent, upon a continuing supply of timber from the national forests. There is sharp competition for sales of national-forest timber. If such an exchange procedure were followed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to avoid the result that the private timberland owner whose timberland is acquired for a Federal reservoir would be made whole at the expense of other timber operators dependent upon the national forest timber." (House Rept. No. 293, 86th Cong., 1st sess., p. 15.)

Where timber under sustained yield management by the Department of the Interior is swapped for reservoir sites, for campgrounds, for scenery or for parks, the lumberman dependent upon that timber for his raw timber supply has no privilege of acquiring replacement timber. And where the timber on which he is dependent is transferred to another lumberman whose private timber is being acquired hundreds of miles away for a park, the lumberman dependent upon the continuing supply of public timber is hurt because his timber supply is cut off by an agreement between a Government agency and a private party—an agreement to which the lumberman who is hurt is not a party.

This leads to a further point. The kind of exchange proposed in connection with the Oregon Dunes not only harms lumber operators in the area where the public lands are to be transferred to a favored company, but the harm is not compensable. If the tree farm around Lake Tahkenitch is acquired by the Government for cash, full compen-

sation must be paid to the owner including, if only part of the tree farm is taken, such severance damages as may be appropriate. But where the tree farm is acquired in exchange for allowable cut on lands under Federal sustained yield management in Clackamas County or in Clatsop County, the operators who thereby lose allowable cut in those and adjacent counties have no compensation. If this bite out of the allowable cut is enough to force the closure of one mill, a Government decision to favor one timberland owner by compensating him in kind rather than in cash will have destroyed the investment of another mill owner.

If that mill is in a small village, as is common, the employees lose their investments because they must leave in circumstances where there is no market for their homes.

The local drugstore, the garage, the hardware store, and their employees suffer the same fate. If there is a small school district there with a new school for the children of these families, the remaining people in the school district, probably the farmers, will continue to pay taxes to retire the bonds which were used to build the school for the children who are not there.

Somehow, Senator, results of this sort seem absurd and unnecessary. The tree-farm owner can and must be treated fairly. He must be treated just as fairly as every other person is treated whose property is wanted or taken by the Government for a public purpose. If he is paid in cash he can invest elsewhere or he can use the cash in an effort to compete for the public timber supply. But if he is paid in kind, he is favored at the expense of great harm to others who will not be compensated—indeed, to the great harm of many who are not even directly in the lumber industry either as landowners, investors, managers, or labor. Any decent regard for the principle of balancing equities would bar the kind of exchange that is being discussed.

If, nevertheless, it is believed that some sort of exchange must be made, I would suggest that the Secretary be limited to public domain lands which, if timber bearing, are in an area in which the Chief of the Forest Service, who has extensive research data and facilities available to him, finds that there is a surplus of available allowable cut of timber as measured by the installed plywood and sawmill capacity. While an exchange so limited would violate our traditional practice against compensation in kind for real property acquisitions, it would avoid the noncompensable harm that must inevitably follow the kind of proposal that is being discussed.

And then, because we feel strongly that the burial of the principle of sustained yield timber management is premature, we suggest that if the owner of the tree farm enters into such an exchange, the lands conveyed to the tree farm owner be covered by the kind of sustained yield covenant or agreement that Crown-Zellerbach entered into when it acquired a portion of the former Klamath Indian Reservation.

For such help as it may be to you I am enclosing a copy of a statement that was submitted by Western Forest Industries Association to the House Public Lands Subcommittee for inclusion in the dunes record it recently compiled.

I apologize to you for the length of this letter. It is long for two reasons. First, both the association and all of us who have been concerned about good forestry and fair competitive opportunities in the lumber industry feel strongly about this matter. Second, we want to explain that our conclusions have not been reached on frivolous reasons.

Because of this, all of us appreciate greatly your deep and thoughtful concern for this problem.

Sincerely,

LEONARD B. NETZORG.

Schoolmates Urged To Support Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, every war in which the United States has been a participant has brought to the fore a group of dissenters—the pacifists and the conscientious objectors. The crisis in Vietnam, however, has brought forward a more vocal and demonstrative group than we heretofore have had to face.

The political repercussions of the recent demonstrations notwithstanding, the adverse effect on our young combat troops cannot be minimized. A letter from a Hawaiian marine stationed in Danang with the 3d Battalion of the 9th Marines, reflects the anxiety the demonstrations have caused in our fighting men. Pfc. Ralph Hamilton wrote to his former schoolmates at McKinley High School in Honolulu:

The most disheartening and biggest blow to morale is reading or hearing about people picketing and demonstrating about the armed forces in Vietnam.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the article which appeared in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and in which Private Hamilton relates not only the daily hardships which he and his buddies face in the performance of their duties, but also the reasons why he feels that they are fighting for a worthwhile cause:

LETTERS FROM AN ISLE GI: SCHOOLMATES URGED TO SUPPORT TROOPS

Opposition to U.S. policy in Vietnam is difficult for some American servicemen who are fighting in the jungles to understand.

It's a blow to his morale.

A 1964 graduate of McKinley High School, Marine Pfc. Ralph G. Hamilton, recently wrote to his schoolmates at the school from Danang, where he is stationed with the 3d Battalion of the 9th Marines.

Hamilton keenly feels this criticism of U.S. policy because he has a rifle in his hand and is getting shot at.

He writes:

"I would like to address this letter mainly to the student body as a whole.

"I believe this letter will have an effect on the attitudes (regarding) the pros and cons of (the Vietnam war).

"My job with the scout section is an interesting, yet dangerous one.

"I go out on patrols to gather intelligence.

"Most of the men are around the ages of 19 to 20 and are having a rude awakening to the cruelties of life.

"We finally realize what luxuries we have back home and what a wonderful country America is.

"The hardest thing on the men here is watching their buddies drop beside them, never to move again.

"It's a hard feeling, but that's one of the many cruelties of war.

"The rain, extreme heat, and insects make life miserable for us.

"Letters from home are the biggest morale boosters.

"Knowing that someone knows and cares makes us realize just what we're fighting for when the chips are down.

"The most disheartening and biggest blow to morale is reading or hearing about people picketing and demonstrating about the Armed Forces in Vietnam.

"We know why we're here and are glad to see magazine and newspaper reporters coming out to talk and live with the men in the lines.

"If the people back home could only see for themselves the cruelties and hardships, the suffering, the disease and poverty these people have lived through while under Communist influence.

"If we let (the Communists) take over southeast Asia, they'll be that much closer to the States.

"Next stop would be the Philippines and Australia.

"We have seen how these people live and we know that as long as we live our families will never suffer like the Vietnamese.

"We have few luxuries ourselves.

"Bathing is a luxury.

"Ice water is just about the best thing besides a letter from home.

"Clean water is scarce. Milk is unheard of. Fresh vegetables are unsanitary. Most of our food is canned.

"We have dehydrated potatoes, dehydrated eggs, anything you can think of is dehydrated.

"Like all Americans, we carry our feelings wherever we go. We give sticks of gum and cigarettes while on patrol to little children begging in the streets.

"I have not eaten a few meals because I gave my 'C' rations to a small child so that his family could have a bite to eat.

"By the time the men do a tour of duty here they can honestly say that they've been to hell and back."

Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BIRCH E. BAYH
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BAYH. Mr. President, I would like to say a few words in behalf of Col. Ralph E. Vandervort, Jr., who has retired as liaison officer between the Department of the Army and the Senate.

I know that I speak for my colleagues in saying that Colonel Vandervort has been more than a representative of his Department during the last 6 years. He has become a personal friend to many Senators by virtue of his warm personality and his efforts to serve without hesitation or complaint.

Colonel Vandervort distinguished himself long before he became liaison officer to the Senate. During his 24 years of military service, he has accumulated a regular who's who of Army medals. They include the Purple Heart, Croix de Guerre with Gold Star, EAME Campaign Medal, American Defense Service Medal, American Campaign Medal, World War II Victory Medal, Army Occupation Medal—from Germany—DAGS identification badge, National Defense Service Medal, five overseas bars, and the Army Commendation Ribbon with Medal Pendant.

Having entered the service shortly before World War II, Colonel Vandervort served during the Korean conflict and

in other areas of the world during the various cold war crises.

Although Senators will miss the advice and counsel of Colonel Vandervort, his many friends wish him well in the years ahead.

Service Recruiters Being Kept Busy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, we have all been dismayed by the spate of anti-American demonstrations, teach-ins and other pro-Communist activity by some students and professors on American university and college campuses.

At the same time, there has been noted a very real surge of patriotism in the wake of these demonstrations by Americans from all walks of life across the United States.

There has been an overt attempt, in my opinion, over the past few years to submerge American nationalism and patriotism under a wave of propaganda about one-world government and allegiance and faith in the United States as the protector of world peace.

While we all wish the United Nations well, so long as it does not adversely affect the best interests of the United States, reasonable and informed persons conclude that the American fighting man and the Strategic Air Command stand between the free countries of the Western World and Communist aggression.

In the recent anti-Vietnam war demonstrations—and there are more planned this month—we detect the involvement and exploitation of the Communist conspiracy to inspire a lessening of our efforts against the Vietcong and an attempt to dampen morale of our men fighting that war.

A recent article in the Richmond Palladium-Item illustrates, in my opinion, the typical reaction of an American community to this Communist ploy, and sets straight any Communist hope that the American citizen can be brainwashed out of his native patriotism and love of country.

Under unanimous consent, I submit the following news story from the Richmond, Ind., Palladium-Item. The article follows:

SERVICE RECRUITERS BEING KEPT BUSY—REPORT MORE INQUIRIES THAN EVER FROM DRAFT-AGE MEN, VETERANS

Patriotism remains strong among Richmond area World War II and Korean war veterans and younger men alike, recruiters for the Air Force, Navy, Marines, and Army are finding.

They said Wednesday they are receiving more inquiries than ever from draft-age men plus many from veterans out of service for as long as 20 years.

At the same time officials of local draft boards No. 87 and No. 293 say they "know only what they are reading and hearing" about lifting the ban on drafting childless married men who said "I do" before midnight August 26.

This ban was lifted Tuesday by the Selective Service System in Washington. Earlier President Johnson ordered men married after August 26 to be classified in the single category for selective service purposes.

MORE TO BE SENT

The two local draft boards in October sent two men who were married after August 26 for induction. Mrs. Winifred Timins, chief clerk of the two local boards, Wednesday said more men married since August 26 will be sent for induction in the November calls next Monday.

Reiterating a statement carried in the Palladium-Item several weeks ago, the board officials say men married before August 26 and who are childless may be drafted in January. More face physical examination calls in December.

"This depends on the quotas we receive," Mrs. Timins said.

The December quotas are expected next week.

OFFICE BUSY

In the meantime, the office in the Colonial Building was busy as young single men and young husbands were seeking their status. Officials were telling them it depends on the quotas.

The local boards last month were sending men 19½ years old to fill quotas. The draft age group is 19 to 26. A man must register within 5 days after his 18th birthday.

U.S. Air Force S. Sgt. Lee Stumborg, who heads the recruiting office in room 220, Colonial Building, says:

"We have had heavy enlistments since July. We still have openings for those who can qualify physically and mentally."

He cited many queries from World War II and Korean war veterans, who say they want to get back into service.

"Many say they want to do their part again," Sergeant Stumborg said.

He added he is sorry they can't be used because they have been out of service too long, are too old, could not get old rates back, and have too many dependents.

INQUIRIES DAILY

Marine Sgt. Joe Dorsett, whose recruiting office is in the Richmond Auto License Branch Building, 300 East Main Street, said the marines have plenty of openings and he is getting many inquiries daily.

"Since our quotas have been increased, we can take the men. Daily I get veterans trying to get back in, saying they want to help in the present situation. One man was 57 years old and has five children. I am sorry, we have to turn them down," Sergeant Dorsett said.

Navy Recruiter Quartermaster 1c. James Eakin, located in the same facility, also is busy with young and old. The Navy also has many openings since the fleet is being enlarged.

Local recruiters for the Army located at 1025 East Main Street, were in area offices. They have said their enlistments are up and more openings remain.

The recruiters point out that the more men that volunteer for the services will mean draft call reductions.

A man called for draft induction still can enlist in any service.

Exchange Provisions of Oregon Dunes National Seashore Bill—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the letter I addressed to a number of Oregon constituents on July 28, 1965, concerning an amendment which was then proposed by the Department of the Interior with respect to the exchange provisions of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250, brought a response from the Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board. However, I did not receive this response until 2 months after I made my initial inquiry. On October 4, 1965, I received from the Oregon office of the Bureau of Land Management a copy of a publication entitled "Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board Meeting Proceedings, Prineville, Oreg., August 4 and 5, 1965." At pages 6 and 7 of this publication appeared the response of the Oregon State Multiple Use Advisory Board. I ask unanimous consent that this response be included in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

In addition, between August 9 and September 23, 1965, several other Oregon residents wrote to me on this specific land exchange problem. I ask unanimous consent that their letters also be included in the RECORD at the close of my remarks.

The replies I received on this subject are most thought provoking and I am sure they will be useful to my colleagues in the Senate in connection with any further consideration which may be scheduled for the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, S. 250.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXTRACTS FROM AUGUST 4 AND 5, 1965 PROCEEDINGS OF OREGON STATE MULTIPLE USE ADVISORY BOARD MEETING, PRINEVILLE, OREG.

Resolved by the Oregon Multiple Use Advisory Board, That this board opposes the unlimited power granted the Secretary of the Interior to exchange without limitation BLM land for lands within the boundaries of the Oregon Dunes National Seashore as proposed by the addition of section 2(B) to Senate bill 250;

That this multiple use board opposes in principle the removal of any public timber land from sustained yield either in the county where the Oregon Dunes National Seashore is proposed, or elsewhere; and be it further

Resolved by this multiple use advisory board, That in the event any sustained yield forest area be exchanged for dunes lands that such forest lands be required to be maintained on a sustained yield basis of production;

That in explanation of the foregoing resolution said Oregon Multiple Use Board resolves as follows:

That national parks and other areas of single purpose use, in general, be acquired by purchase and not by exchange and that any exchange in connection with the acquisition of lands devoted to a single purpose be accomplished only after approval of the people in the area affected;

That this board is dedicated to the principle of multiple use on all publicly owned lands and that with rare exception this board believes that each acre of publicly owned lands should provide the greatest possible diversity of uses;

That this board does not oppose all exchanges as such but recognizes that some exchanges may be in the public interest and in the interest of the owners of non-Federal lands offered for exchange;

Further that each proposed exchange must be fairly examined and the impact on the economics of the area from which the non-Federal lands shall come, shall be considered along with the impact upon the area from which the Federal lands shall come;

That generally and with few exceptions, the exchange of lands shall be for lands of like kind and character;

That no exchange shall be across State lines;

That of the lands finally classified for disposal they shall be first used in exchanges for non-Federal lands which will best improve the public land pattern and its uses before public sale is considered;

That in the event of public sale the owner of adjoining or adjacent lands shall be given the privilege of meeting the high bid; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished the Secretary of the Interior, the Oregon congressional delegation, the O & C Advisory Board, and the public lands committee of the Oregon State Legislature.

INTERNATIONAL WOODWORKERS OF AMERICA,
Portland, Oreg., August 9, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is to acknowledge your letter dated July 28, 1965, in which you bring to my attention some changes that were made in the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, and you point out certain changes on page 2, line 5, of section 2.

In the last paragraph of your letter you pose several questions. Your first question is: "Do you support this unlimited power of the Secretary of the Interior to exchange BLM sustained yield forest lands for private timber lands?" I do not think that any one individual should have unlimited power to trade, sell, or exchange BLM timber. After all there has been an advisory committee set up for many years to advise the Bureau of Labor Management in the handling and processing of BLM forest lands and I think that before any such trades or exchanges be made that they should be discussed with the advisory committee and to receive their recommendations.

Your second question: "Should public timber lands now designated for sustained yield in this or another county be taken out of BLM allowable cut for this sort of exchange?" As you know I was opposed to exchanging Oregon timber for the park site that was proposed in the State of California. I have not changed my mind on that issue. I do realize that it may be of advantage in some certain instances to exchange timber holdings in order to build a more compact area to operate in.

Your last question: "Should sustained yield forest be exchanged without provision that it must be managed for sustained yield?" I presume that if the Government got equal amount of footage and as good as timber as they traded off they would not lessen the amount of footage that would be in the BLM holdings. It has long been my view that the Government should have something to say about the management of private holdings because they, in many instances, depend upon the State and Federal Governments to protect their timber from fire and when they sustain damages for blowdown timber from severe wind storms or in some cases heavy snow storms, they always look to the Government to help bail them out and I feel that there should be a closer working relationship with the private timber owners and the Government-owned timber so that the future generation will be guaranteed the benefits that come forth from well-managed forest lands.

With very best wishes, I remain,
Sincerely yours,

A. F. HARTUNG,
International President.

MASON, BRUCE & GIRARD,
CONSULTING FORESTERS,
Portland, Oreg., August 9, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Your letter of July 28 is received. My opinions given below refer in general to the Oregon Dunes and to any similar situations which may be considered in Oregon involving O & C or BLM land.

For about 40 years I have been quite active in encouraging, wherever possible, the practice of sustained yield forest management so I am, perhaps, biased where such management is under consideration.

In establishing national parks or similar recreation areas to be owned by the United States, I believe that normally the United States should acquire any private land involved by the payment of cash. Private land to be used for such purposes, when the purpose becomes known, generally acquires a new value in addition to that which it previously had for ordinary use for grazing, for forest, for town lots, etc. This additional value usually is not a well-established market value which can be readily determined. Therefore, to attempt to determine the fair market of such land to be exchanged for other grazing or forest land is unusually difficult; this easily leads to charges of improper procedure whether or not such charges are justified. If there is failure to agree upon the cash value, then the courts should decide.

If, however, there is to be provision for exchange of property, such as is proposed in connection with the Oregon Dunes bill, there should, in my opinion, be several limitations placed upon the Secretary's authority without, however, removing his obligation to use good judgment. The limitations which occur to me are the following although, perhaps, there should additionally be others.

1. Such an exchange should be limited to lands within the State; and so far as practicable such lands should be as close together as feasible within the State.

2. Such exchanges should be limited to relatively small areas, for the larger the areas involved, the more difficult it is to arrive at suitable exchange values.

3. The exchanges should be limited to lands of like kind, that is, grazing land for grazing land or forest land for forest land. Also there should, of course, be recognized, in order to get approximately equal values, such matters as accessibility, the character, age, and volume of timber present in the case of forest land, etc.

4. If any land to be acquired by the Secretary is forest land dedicated to sustained yield management, the owner thereof should receive in payment therefor forest land suitable in character, location and value upon which sustained yield management may be conducted by him. If land to be given up by the Secretary has already been dedicated to sustained yield forest management, then the receiver should be required also to maintain the practice of sustained yield management.

5. In order to assure wisdom and judgment and to avoid as much as practicable later public criticism, it would be well to consult the appropriate existing advisory board as to policy in a proposed exchange before proceeding with the working out of the details.

The above is not intended to prevent or affect "blocking-up" exchanges; many of which have been made in the past.

The above, I hope, covers the ground concerning which you inquired in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

DAVID T. MASON.

STATE OF OREGON DEPARTMENT OF GEOLOGY AND MINERAL INDUSTRIES,
Portland, Oreg., August 10, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your letter of July 28 in which you asked me to comment on the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250.

My particular concern with the Dunes bill has been that it did not adequately cover the matter of reserving mineral exploration and development rights, particularly those that pertain to oil and gas and water.

A copy of my letter to Congressman DUNCAN concerning the House companion bill, H.R. 7524, is enclosed for your information as it includes suggested amendments to Mr. DUNCAN's bill. These suggestions, I believe, are also appropriate to S. 250.

As a member of the O & C Advisory Board I would have to answer in the negative the three questions you pose on page 2 of your letter. I am against unlimited power for the Secretary of the Interior for anything, including exchange of BLM sustained-yield forest lands for private timberlands. I also feel strongly that the BLM allowable cut should not be tampered with and in this same context I am a firm believer that sustained yield forests be maintained.

Thank you for contacting me on this very vital issue to the State of Oregon.

Sincerely yours,

HOLLIS M. DOLE,
State Geologist.

JULY 13, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT B. DUNCAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Inasmuch as you folks are taking testimony on H.R. 7524, the Oregon Dunes National Seashore bill, I feel compelled to once again comment on its language as it pertains to the possible development of oil, gas, and water. My comments, I believe, are consistent with the position established by the State of Oregon on the Senate's dunes bill in testimony presented to the Senate subcommittee when it held its hearings in Eugene, Oreg., on May 4, 1963. I believe this testimony can be found beginning on page 208 of the proceedings prepared on the hearings.

It is my feeling the following additions should be made to the bill to make oil and gas exploration and development usage compatible with the concept of the proposed seashore legislation. To this end I offer the following:

1. Modify section 7(a), lines 13 through 21, to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (a) The Secretary is authorized and directed, under terms and conditions prescribed by the State of Oregon, if permission therefor has been obtained from said State either before or after the effective date hereof, to permit the investigation for and the appropriation, storage, withdrawal and conveyance to a point outside the boundaries of the seashore for beneficial use in accordance with the laws of said State of, crude oil, natural gas, gasoline, condensate and other hydrocarbons associated with any thereof, and of ground water, surface water, and lake, stream, and river water: *Provided*, That".

2. Modify section 7(b), page 12, line 3, to read as follows:

"The Secretary is authorized and directed to permit transportation and storage in pipelines within and through the seashore of crude oil, natural gas, gasoline, condensate and other hydrocarbons produced from tide and submerged land leases of the State of Oregon or Outer Continental Shelf land leases of the United States which are or may

be granted by said State or by the United States either before or after the effective date of this Act and which are situate seaward of and in the general vicinity of the seashore and to permit".

3. Modify section 7(c), lines 10 through 17 to read as follows:

"SEC. 7. (c) The Secretary is further authorized to grant such additional easements and rights, in terms up to perpetuity, as in the judgment of the Secretary would be appropriate and desirable for the effective use of the rights to explore for, produce and remove oil, gas, water, and other substances, and for the disposal of waste provided for herein and for other utility and private purposes, subject to such reasonable conditions as are necessary for the protection of the scenic, scientific, historic, and recreational features of the seashore."

I appreciate the privilege to contact you on this and hope that if there is any question you will call on me.

Sincerely yours,

HOLLIS M. DOLE,
State Geologist.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Salem, Oreg., August 11, 1695.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Old Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: It was very thoughtful of you to write concerning the Oregon Dunes bill and the proposals of the Secretary of Interior for land exchanges. I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have directed to Representative ROBERT DUNCAN in response to his request for my comments on the Crown Zellerbach proposals for amendment.

I believe that these comments will express some of the reservations which I have to exchange to public timber lands.

Thank you again for your thoughtfulness in writing.

Sincerely,

MARK O. HATFIELD,
Governor.

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR,
Salem, Oreg., August 11, 1965.

Hon. ROBERT B. DUNCAN,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR BOB: Your most recent telegram concerning the Oregon Dunes bill requests my position concerning the specific wording of the Crown Zellerbach amendment. I cannot concur in that wording. It would appear that additional safeguards should be included which would protect the principles of sustained yield and provide for additional attention to the public interest.

For example, the following should be considered:

1. In the provisions for disposition of certain lands which had formerly been in the Klamath Indian Reservation, there was included a specific sustained yield covenant. The conditions of this convenant were stringent and detailed and conceivably could serve as a pattern.

2. Provisions for exchange should require that such exchange should not be disturbing to the administration of a management unit and particularly that they should not involve O & C lands.

3. Provisions for exchange should specifically exempt lands set aside for special purposes.

4. Consideration should be given to the possibility of restricting exchanges to areas in which there is a surplus allowable cut.

Sincerely,

MARK O. HATFIELD,
Governor.

WESTERN FORESTRY AND CONSERVATION ASSOCIATION
Portland, Oreg. August 13, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Thank you for your recent letter inquiring as to the position of Western Forestry and Conservation Association on forest land exchanges.

Our association recognizes the real need for land exchanges to consolidate forest ownerships for more effective management wherever they are intermingled or badly scattered, as in much of Oregon. We are pleased that the American Forestry Association, as well as the Columbia River Section of the Society of American Foresters, also recognize this need, as expressed in their policy statements (see copies enclosed).

We also believe that the accelerated taking by Government of private forest land for public uses makes it more and more imperative that such land be replaced in kind with suitable public forest land wherever feasible and under proper safeguards. Not to do this will frequently curtail private sustained yield stewardship operating in the public interest, interrupt stability of communities and tax bases, and further reduce the shrinking private forest base in our western areas of high Federal ownership.

We recognize that certain safeguards are needed to assure that exchanges of public land for private land are in the public interest. Among these, we recommend the following:

1. Lands to be exchanged should preferably be within the same political subdivision.

2. Exchange procedure should not be used as an expediency for obtaining properties for which Congress has refused Federal funds and where the effect would be to bypass the appropriation process.

3. Appropriate State and local governments and advisory boards should be consulted on exchange proposals involving public lands prior to consummation.

We hope our position will be helpful to you in your approach to this subject on any particular proposal with which you may be concerned. We appreciate very much the opportunity of calling it to your attention.

Sincerely,

H. R. GLASCOCK, Jr.

FIRST NATIONAL BANK OF OREGON,
Portland, Oreg., August 16, 1965.

Senator WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: Your request for my opinion on the Oregon Dunes bill, S. 250, with the proposed amendment by the Secretary of the Interior, is appreciated. I attended the Oregon Multiple Use Advisory Board meeting in Prineville on August 4 and concur with the resolutions presented, which have been forwarded to your office.

My personal views may not be quite as stringent as those in the resolutions, as I feel that in some cases trades or sales are essential for the betterment of the public lands. I do agree that the classification of the land is imperative, prior to negotiation, and am encouraged at the progress being made within the State of Oregon on the classification of many of the Bureau of Land Management properties. However, I hasten to add that I do not support unlimited power for the Secretary of the Interior to exchange Bureau of Land Management forest lands or grazing lands, without limitations and at least a governing body to approve his recommendations.

I wholeheartedly agree that our sustained yield forests should not be exchanged without the provision that they must be managed for continued sustained yield. The forest industry and its economic impact to the well-being of the State of Oregon is too valuable to permit any dilution.

In our recent advisory board meeting, there was considerable discussion relative to exchange of lands across State lines. However, I cannot agree with the group, as in my opinion if it benefits the multiple use of public lands, I do not believe the State line should be the barrier.

I wholeheartedly support the opinion that, if after classification it is deemed to the benefit of the public interest to dispose of individual properties, the adjoining or adjacent landholders should be given the opportunity of meeting the high bid on this specific property.

Your continued efforts in establishing guidelines for the management of our public lands is appreciated. With a major portion of our Oregon land area under public ownership, this subject is certainly vital to our future and economic growth.

Again may I thank you for soliciting my opinion, and my participation on the advisory board will continue to emphasize the multiple use of our public lands.

Very respectfully,

GRANT W. PERRY,
Vice President.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON,
Eugene, Oreg., August 18, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR WAYNE: Thanks greatly for your several communications.

In response to your July 23 letter about land exchanges with reference to the Oregon Dunes National Seashore, it seems to me that exchanges are neither good nor bad in themselves. In many situations they are good, that is beneficial to both the people at large through their Government and to the individuals concerned, or to both segments of government when the exchange is merely between jurisdictions as recently between BLM and Deschutes County. Or they can be bad or undesirable for many reasons, as you would recognize.

With respect to exchanges connected with the dunes it is easy to understand the desire of Crown-Zellerbach to avoid a reduction in its operations by exchanging its land needed for the seashore area for other productive forest land in the neighborhood. Its operations are probably on as sound a sustained yield program as are public forest lands. The objectors are those who fear that a reduction in the sale of public timber to operators relying mainly on that, may result. They have a point which should not be ignored but which may be outweighed by other considerations. Any reduction resulting from exchanges for the dunes would be a pretty insignificant fraction of the total allowable cut of the region from which purchases may be made. It is a bit difficult to see why timber operators and specifically this particular fraction of timber operators, are entitled to preferential treatment with respect to lands used for a national seashore as part of the national park system as compared with what is accepted practice with respect to lands taken for highways or other public purposes. Incidentally it is interesting to see people and agencies which very recently were strongly opposed to any additions to public lands by purchase for recreational or almost any other purpose, now advocating just as strongly buying park and recreational land rather than acquiring

needed sites by exchange. Actually, I gather, most of the protests to exchanges have originated with agencies concerned primarily with maintaining, or increasing, the allowable cut on public timber convenient to their particular operations. It does not necessarily follow that their special interest is also the best public interest.

As I said at the outset, it seems to me that no general rule can be laid down. Each situation should be determined on its own merits with respect to the best public good. I could imagine that some exchanges might be in order with respect to the dunes, others less so or definitely undesirable.

As to what action regulating or guiding the Park Service with respect to exchanges, my comments would be: (1) Despite the fact that we have on occasion been critical of specific actions of the Park Service we have great confidence in its integrity and dedication to what appears to be the best for the people at large. Whatever the factors involved in the recent ruckus over exchanges proposed or investigated on behalf of Point Reyes, there was certainly no dereliction on the part of the Park Service. (2) Appropriations should be sufficient to permit purchase if that should be advantageous as compared with exchange. Lack of adequate funds for Point Reyes acquisitions no doubt put the NPS under pressure to seek exchanges which it might not otherwise have regarded as desirable or practicable. The vast amount of publicity attending these affairs, probably in the main unavoidable in the nature of the operation of democracy, does result in land speculation and high costs to the public which Congress would do well, it seems to me, to provide for at the outset—delay only results in still higher costs as a rule, even without other complications, as over exchanges. (3) If Congress desires to lay down guidelines I can see no objection provided they do not so tightly tie the hands of the agency that it cannot operate, or is so restricted that it cannot serve the best long-term interest of the public in carrying out the purpose of the act.

Sincerely,

KARL W. ONTHANK.

ASSOCIATION OF OREGON COUNTIES,
Salem, Oreg., September 23, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: The Association of Oregon Counties Executive Committee, at its last meeting, discussed the amendment to the Oregon Dunes bill (S. 250) proposed by the Department of the Interior permitting the Secretary of the Interior to exchange any lands under his jurisdiction for private land within the boundaries of the proposed park.

The executive committee voted to oppose this amendment. The committee felt that granting the Secretary of the Interior this broad exchange authority would potentially compromise the integrity of any Federal land managment programs within the Department of the Interior.

The trend in future years will be for the Bureau of Land Management to manage more of its lands under principles of sustained yield and multiple use. This philosophy was codified by the last session of Congress with the passage of the Classification and Multiple Use Act. Our executive committee feels, and this view is shared by the AOC public lands committee, that if the amendment proposed by the Secretary of the Interior is included in S. 250 the door will be open for lands that are part of a sustained yield management operation, and that are essential to the economy of a local area, to be exchanged for private lands in order to fill out the boundaries of the Oregon Dunes Seashore or for the creation of future parks and seashores in other parts of the Nation.

Sincerely yours,

KENNETH C. TOLLENAAR,
Executive Secretary.

Selectman Paul W. Cronin Honored

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, Selectman Paul W. Cronin, of Andover, Mass., was honored on Wednesday evening, October 20 by the Greater Lawrence Young Republican Club and received that organization's Distinguished Service Commendation. The citation presented to Mr. Cronin by Club President Milton Lebowitz, of Methuen, read:

In sincere appreciation for his enthusiastic and energetic support of the Republican Party and its principles both as a precinct worker and later as captain—secretary of the board of selectmen in the town of Andover—company liaison officer with the government—representative of our U.S. Congressman. His sound judgment, tireless energy, and dedication to principles will ever be an inspiration to his fellow Republicans.

Principal speaker of the evening was our distinguished colleague, Congressman DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois, who as the youngest Republican Member of the House was a particularly appropriate guest for this occasion.

Mr. Cronin, who serves as my administrative aid, for district affairs, also received an award from the Greater Lawrence Teenage Republican Club as Republican of the Year. The award was presented by Club President Miss Susan McMakin:

In recognition of sincere, intelligent support to leadership of the Republican Party, exemplifying the type of Republican that will sustain and develop a strong party in this Commonwealth. His past record of service, both elective and appointive offices, point as an inspirational light to Republicans young and old.

Chairman of the dinner was Mr. Cronin's fellow Andover selectman, Roger Collins. Master of ceremonies was Dean K. Webster, III. The chairman of the Andover Board of Selectmen, Philip K. Allen, who is also a former Republican State chairman, read messages of congratulations from Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, Gov. John A. Volpe, Lt. Gov. Elliot Richardson, Attorney General Edward Brooke, and Congressman WILLIAM BATES.

Among the many colleagues in the Massachusetts Selectmen's Association who attended Mr. Cronin's testimonial at the Andover Country Club were Raymond Broadhead, chairman of the board of selectmen in North Andover, and William Moran, chairman of the board of selectmen in Methuen.

Father Paul Keyes, of St. Robert Bellarmine Church in Andover, delivered the invocation and pronounced benediction.

Mr. Cronin's proud family also turned out for the occasion. His parents, Mr. and Mrs. William Cronin, of Elm Court in Andover, his wife Kathleen and his brothers William, Leo, and John were all present.

In introducing Congressman RUMSFELD to the gathering, I extended my own personal congratulations to Paul Cronin for his achievements. There is no doubt that he represents the kind of leadership that will inspire other young Americans to carry on the great traditions of our society.

In his remarks accepting the award from the Greater Lawrence Young Republican Club, Mr. Cronin emphasized the intelligence and dedication of the great majority of young Americans, who are far better equipped in terms of education, than any previous generation to meet the perplexing problems of the modern world. At the same time he emphasized the need for flexibility and response to change, and to the needs of the people of the United States. He aptly summed up the challenge to today's younger generation in saying:

As Young Republicans we are now older than we have ever been before and prepared to handle anything that comes our way. At the same time, we are younger than we ever will be again and we have time to learn and do many thing.

Included in a comprehensive report on the evening in the Lawrence Eagle Tribune were excerpts from Mr. Cronin's remarks, and under unanimous consent I include these excerpts at this point in the RECORD:

We have all read of teach-ins, sit-ins, demonstrations against our policy in Vietnam, draft dodgers and Beatnick types galore, but do these people truly represent a generation? I think not.

We have over 2 million men in uniform safeguarding our freedom throughout the world.

We have millions trying to better themselves and the world through education.

Monday's paper carried an article on my alma mater, Boston University, where the Young Republicans joined the Young Democrats in a bipartisan drive to support our Nation's policy in Vietnam. Others give years of their lives to the Peace Corps.

I think we have allowed a minority to distract us from the job to be done.

More important than who these people are, what will they be in 1970? This generation will be measured by its contributions.

A modern framework of government must be established if we are to meet our ever-increasing needs.

As young Republicans, or still better, as young Americans, we have a responsibility to work for the fulfillment of this promise. One of the best ways to assure this is through a strong political system based on the two-party concept.

It is the duty of both major political parties to meet new problems with new solutions.

We must continue to encourage and seek qualified men and women to become involved at every level of government.

We must continue to build responsible leadership within the framework of the Republican Party.

Where do these contributions begin? I believe here. At the unglamorous but very root of democracy, local government.

Congressman Race's Back Home Service to Constituents

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM PROXMIRE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PROXMIRE. Mr. President, Congressman JOHN RACE, of Fond du Lac, achieved one of the most remarkable upset victories last year of any Congressman in the Nation. It was the big surprise in Wisconsin politics. RACE won election in a district which is the most solidly Republican of any in our State, and of course our State historically has been Republican.

The story of how Congressman RACE is working with his constituents, and how he is facing up to the tough, challenging problem of one of the Nation's most difficult reelection campaigns, is vividly told in a recent edition of the National Observer.

I ask unanimous consent that the article, "Back Home With a New Congressman" be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BACK HOME WITH A NEW CONGRESSMAN: WHAT FOLKS SAY ABOUT THE BIG ISSUES

FOND DU LAC, WIS.—You're a freshman Democratic Congressman from a normally Republican district. You managed to ride President Johnson's coattails into office in 1964. And for 9½ months you have been making his proposals—scores of them—the law of the land.

You have been part of the most productive Congress since the 1930's—the Congress that the President calls "the fabulous 89th." You have been instrumental in the creation of the Great Society. And now, at last, Congress has adjourned and you have come home to explain your record and defend it in your conservative constituency.

It is happening all over the country, and it is as important a happening as the passage of the legislation itself. For it involves the question: Did the American people really want the Great Society, or did they simply not want Barry Goldwater? Does the freshman Democrat go home and defend this mass of legislation with pride? Or does he find himself ducking a sharp reaction at home to what conservative Republicans are calling the rubber-stamp session?

PICKLES AND THE PRICE OF MILK

The reporter who goes home with a Democratic first-term Congressman to find out is in for a considerable surprise. For in congressional districts such as Wisconsin's sixth, the broad issues that seemed so important in Washington fade away like the morning mists around Lake Winnebago here. Immigration law revision?—Yes, but can the Congressman help get a Canadian doctor to settle in the rural community of Campbellsport? Labor legislation?—But what about the broken contract under which the high school boys of Slinger were to pick pickles in Michigan? The Great Society?—well, what difference is it going to make for the price per hundred for milk?

It's in terms of local problems such as these that the incredible legislative record of Congress will be evaluated by many people. And it is the answers that Congressmen give to such a question that will determine whether the 38 Democrats who in 1964 defeated Republican incumbents will be returned to Washington in 1966, when they won't have Lyndon Johnson's name on the ballot to help them.

Consider Representative JOHN ABNER RACE, of Wisconsin's Sixth District, for example. His home area includes the schoolhouse at Ripon, Wis., where, according to popular legend, the Republican Party was founded. The 51-year-old Mr. RACE is the first Democrat elected to represent that district in Congress since the early years of the New Deal. William K. Van Pelt, the Republican incumbent he defeated, had been in Congress for 14 years. "You're looking for a normally Republican district?" asks Mr. RACE. "I've sure got one."

HIS CONSTITUENTS ARE FARM FOLK

At least a third and perhaps more than half of the district's voters are farm people. But Mr. RACE came to Congress "straight out of the shop," as the International Association of Machinists takes pride in saying. For most of his 23 years in the big Giddings & Lewis Machine Tool Co. in Fond du Lac, he operated a huge overhead crane. And he has been president of Lodge No. 1402 of the machinists' union.

Mr. Van Pelt was a Goldwater conservative. But Mr. RACE has been an admirer since his youth of Wisconsin's famous Progressives. And in Congress, whether you calcuate on the basis of the most important legislative issues or on the basis of 66 major rollcall votes, he voted with the Johnson administration slightly more than 90 percent of the time.

On the surface it appears that Mr. RACE won election only because in 1964 President Johnson was bringing out the vote in the Sixth District against Barry Goldwater. Mr. RACE had run against Mr. Van Pelt in 1962—when the President wasn't running—and had lost by a 7 to 5 margin. Even with the district going for the President in 1964 by 26,107 votes, Mr. RACE managed to win by only 2,587 votes out of more than 160,000 cast. His victory margin was a scant 0.8 percent of the vote.

Small wonder, then, that the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee in Washington says that his district would have to be on any list of 10 in the Nation that the Republicans are most likely to recapture in 1966. But hope springs eternal in the human breast, and in this regard Congressmen are more human than most of us.

THE THIN MARGIN

Mr. RACE believes the difference might have been only 500 or 600 votes, but insists he still would have won even without the President on the ticket in 1964. The Democratic candidates for Governor and for the Senate failed to carry Mr. RACE's district in 1964. And the voting machines used widely in Wisconsin are not set up so that voters for President Johnson could pull that handle and vote a straight Democratic ticket at the same time, says Mr. RACE.

Moreover, there are some trends here in a Democrat's favor. Mr. RACE's district is rapidly industrializing. More Democratic votes are showing up as the number of people who live in the district but work in Milwaukee grows, and as more and more farmers take at least part-time jobs in urban centers. Observes a small-town attorney, himself a Democrat: "In the last 10 years, it has ceased to be unrespectable to be a Democrat here. Before, a Democrat was considered something in between a Communist and a s.o.b."

THE WEATHER COULD DECIDE

But, in 1966, the votes that decide the contest could go one way or the other on the basis even of such imponderables as next summer's weather. And so Congressman RACE came home last week to campaign as if the election were a few days away.

There was no band, no crowd, no warm welcome to dispel the October chill at Mitchell Field in Milwaukee as he arrived late in the evening, just another airline passenger from Washington. There was only Russell Meerdink, his 25-year-old administrative assistant, waiting to drive him to Fond du Lac in a car belonging to Russ' father.

At the Retlaw Hotel in Fond du Lac, Mr. RACE and his aid were up until 1 a.m. consulting with a local party worker and with Jim Callan, a feed salesman whose territory is coincident with the Congressman's district, and who tries to sell the Congressman there as well. Their talk was not about local reaction to this or that Great Society program; it was instead about such things as the constituents who own a building the post office leases in a small town. They want the Congressman to keep the post office there from moving.

Before dawn the next morning, the 6-foot-2-inch, 233-pound frame of the Congressman was squarely in front of the employees' entrance at the Wells Manufacturing Plant in Fond du Lac. He shook hands and passed out matchbooks to hundreds of day-shift workers just coming on. After a tour of the plant where he once worked, Mr. RACE went to Neenah to give a Kiwanis luncheon speech on the Nation's defenses. He larded his talk with locally popular "we must stand firm against communism" declarations. One Kiwanian did want to know about the rubber-stamp Congress charge. "I voted against the foreign aid bill," the Congressman responded. Other questions touched on such matters as Federal aid for Wisconsin's Menominee Indians.

A television cameraman in Neenah took shots of the Congressman denouncing the John Birch Society and other rightwing groups—hardly a major legislative issue. Then Mr. RACE toured a Kimberly-Clark papermill, where the plant manager gave him a "side tour only for Governors, legislators, and newsmen." The tour was designed to convince Mr. RACE that stiff, blanket Federal legislation against water pollution by such plants is not necessary. It was apparent that if Mr. RACE opposed such legislation, he would get the mills' support no matter how much Johnson welfare-society legislation he supported.

Mr. RACE had told the Kiwanians, "I believe in the Democratic platform." At an evening meeting of farmers he unflinchingly read off a list of Great Society legislation with a word of praise for practically everything. The farmers privately said they believed Congress had moved too fast. But if Mr. RACE succeeds in his attempt to get them 34 cents more per 100 pounds of milk, he'll get every vote in the place. (One farmer was asked, "What do you think of the volume of legislation Congress passed?" His reply: "Listen, the price of milk * * *.")

And so it goes. The next day the Congressman stopped at four rural post offices to shake hands as farmers came in for their mail. "What can I do to be of service to you?" he asked. The answer wasn't "Stop voting to spend so much money." The answer was: "We've got to get a doctor in this community," or "It'll be good if you succeed in getting the Government to establish the National Scientific Ice-Age Park here." Conservation programs are popular locally—and Mr. RACE is on the House Interior Committee.

DIALOG AT SLINGER

At the Slinger post office he talked with youngsters who want his help in winning a breach-of-contract case against a Michigan Pickle Growers Association. Then, Mr. RACE asked if there were questions about anything else. A mother quickly replied: "I think we'll just concentrate on the pickle people."

The Great Society, the poliferation of legislation, and the place of the 89th Congress in history are burning issues, it seems, only in Washington. If freshman Democrat

JOHN ABNER RACE is reelected in 1966, it won't be because he did or didn't vote for administration legislation. It will be because of what he did or didn't do about milk prices, doctors, and pickles.

—GERALD GEORGE.

True American Feelings Expressed in Letter From Mayor of Laconia to Troops in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, a young New Hampshire soldier, Pvt. William L. Bullough III, of Gilford, came home from Vietnam on emergency leave to attend his mother's funeral. In the midst of his grief, however, a very heart-warming thing happened to him. In nearby Laconia, Mayor Peter L. Lessard, deeply disturbed by the image of the country being projected by the various anti-Government student demonstrations, wrote a moving letter, which he gave to Private Bullough to take back to his comrades in arms. This letter, addressed "To Our Boys in Vietnam From Your Friends in Laconia, N.H.," will surely give them a big uplift in morale and go far to counteract the false impression created by the demonstrators that America is not united behind them. I offer Mayor Lessard's letter for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for all my colleagues to see, certain they will endorse its sentiments and join me in congratulating Mayor Lessard for writing it. I also join in thanking Private Bullough and all our fighting men for the magnificent work they are doing in a tough, complex, dirty, dangerous but vital situation. The entire Nation, including those who demonstrate against them, is in their debt. Without them, our very right to dissent, to protest and to demonstrate would be in the gravest peril.

The letter follows:

To our boys in Vietnam from your friends in Laconia, N.H.:

The fighting out where you are may seem pretty remote to many Americans, but we want you to know that to us in the small city of Laconia, N.H. (population about 15,000) you are all very real, and what you are doing for us is something which has earned our eternal gratitude.

Perhaps the reason that too many of us are taking too much for granted in this undeclared war is that we are used to doing that in our everyday lives.

We ask and expect too much from life, without doing our rightful share. We feel that the world owes us freedom, security, and a safe future, without our making any investment ourselves.

What you boys are doing for us now in Vietnam should cause all of us back home here to lift up our hearts to God in divine thanks for the guts, the determination, the spirit, and the faith which you are showing there, so that all peoples everywhere may continue to live in peace, freedom, and justice with their fellowmen.

But do we offer up such appreciation, to you men of steel, character, bravery, and sacrifice? No, instead many of us cry out when our taxes go up, to help support the war. We talk about what we would do, if we were running it, what's wrong with how it is now being handled, and how quickly we would end it, given a chance.

Several boys from the Laconia area have fought in Vietnam and returned here to take up their lives again.

One of them, of whom we all in the Laconia area are truly proud, is Pfc. William L. Bullough III, 20. He is returning to Vietnam soon, after being called home on emergency furlough, due to the death of his mother.

Young Bill spoke to the Kiwanis Club here this week, on what is going on in Vietnam, and his appearance, what he said, and what he didn't say, made us all feel mighty glad that we have soldiers like him fighting for all that we hold dear in life.

We feel that Bill in turn will be glad to take back this message from the people of Laconia, to all of you out there half a world away, letting you know as positively as we know how, that we believe in all that you are doing, and that we are supporting you every step of the way.

Many boys from throughout the United States—including some from New Hampshire—who went to Vietnam have paid the supreme sacrifice, suddenly, without warning. And always, as in past crises of our great Nation, they have measured up to their highest calling.

"Has this been in vain?" we hear their voices drumming in our ears, for they can still reach us, if our hearts, our minds, and our souls are receptive, and willing to listen.

"No, a thousand times no," we answer you, "who have given your all that we might live. You who now serve on a higher plane, answerable only to your Supreme Commander, the Heavenly Creator.

"Your sacrifice shall lead the way toward that ultimate day which God has ordained for mankind everywhere, when all of His creatures shall dwell peaceably together," we cry out in meaningful terms, direct from our hearts, to you newly crowned heroes.

And to you, in whom the blood of life flows still, but who are also willing to shed it for us if need be, and for all humanity, may we citizens of Laconia assure you men—a boy becomes a man quickly under such circumstances—that we are solidly behind you; that we are daily praying for you; that we believe in what you are doing; that we have implicit faith that you will win.

Remember, we ask you, the many wars of the Bible, when faith carried men through all obstacles, as long as that faith remained invincible.

We here in Laconia are setting aside one day of special prayer for the fighting forces in Vietnam, as a further evidence of our faith in you.

We are also asking that for those of us who may not be able to attend a formal service, that we take a moment wherever we may be to pause, bow our heads and ask God's blessing upon all of you, our brothers, out there, so far away in miles, but so close to our hearts in understanding, love and appreciation.

We are further asking God's divine guidance for President Johnson, as he directs the destinies of our great Nation, for the wisdom, in whatever decisions he makes, that will reflect the will of our Creator for the future and freedom of mankind.

We implore every thinking American, throughout the breadth of our glorious country, to join with his fellowmen in humble prayer, that lasting peace may descend upon this troubled world, and that friendship, love and compassion reign for all eternity.

This then is our message to you men in Vietnam. Take heart, God has heard your pleas. He will answer your prayers. He will bring you victory. For God is everywhere.

PETER R. LESSARD,
Mayor.

LACONIA, N.H.

Final Newsletter to Constituents of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. RHODES
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD the final issue of my newsletter which will be forwarded to my constituency.

The newsletter follows:

NOVEMBER 5, 1965.

THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Some have said that this session of Congress has been productive. Others say that it has been prolific. Some say it has been counterproductive. Other people say that it has been downright destructive. Some praise it highly, while others condemn it roundly. There are those who will tell you that this Congress has opened new vistas to all Americans. There are other equally sincere people who feel that the legislation adopted by this Congress sounds the death knell to individual initiative, and the free enterprise system as we know it.

The true verdict concerning the worth of this Congress will not be rendered for some years. Its true impact on our economy will not be felt for at least 5 years. Neither can the extent to which it will change American life be assayed for some time. But, have an economic impact it will, and change our lives it will.

There can be little doubt that this Congress has pushed the United States further toward a welfare state. The passage of medicare guarantees greater Government involvement in the medical profession and in the operation of hospitals. For the first time the Federal Government will be involved in the administration of our elementary schools, through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Higher Education Act, with its Federal scholarship provisions, will probably result in less private initiative in the establishment of scholarships, and undoubtedly will result in more surveillance of our colleges and universities by Federal bureaus. The Teacher Corps will provide a body of federally oriented and federally trained teachers to work in the school systems of our country, but not to be a part of them. Who can deny that the germs of vast Federal influence, if not Federal control, exist in these measures?

We are propelled farther along the road to the welfare state by the rent supplement program, which was contained in the Housing Act of 1965. When this act was passed the House was assured that (1) only persons eligible for public housing would be eligible for rent supplements; and (2) that the program would not be used for forced racial integration. However, regulations published by the Housing and Home Finance Agency went contrary to both of these conditions. Therefore, Congress deleted all funds for beginning the rent supplement program from the last supplemental appropriations bill.

The impact this Congress has had on the economy is best illustrated by the Appalachia

bill, the housing bill, the Economic Opportunity Act, and the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965. These bills are aimed mainly at pump-priming even though the country is admittedly prosperous. Some of them concentrate on areas of chronic depression or unemployment, while others sow their benefits broadcast. Most of these laws are well-intentioned, being aimed at helping people through governmental action. The only thing which bothers many of us is the fact that governmental action has never really helped people. These same remedies were tried during the Great Depression—and failed. It still takes private enterprise to provide the jobs and the high standard of living which makes America the great Nation that it is. I would certainly not charge that these bill were all politically motivated. However, I doubt that anyone would deny that they have political significance, and that this fact is certainly not lost on the Johnson administration.

This Congress also reduced excise taxes; it passed an Immigration and Nationality Act which started out to be very controversial, but ended up by having the support of most people. It pasesd a voting rights bill which was aimed at ending deprivation of the right to vote because of race. It also passed an omnibus farm bill, and an omnibus public works authorization bill. The House passed a bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, but the Senate has thus far refused to do so.

This Congress has created a new department for the President's Cabinet to be known as the Department of Urban Affairs. In this Department will be included most of the activities of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and will probably include similar activities which are now quartered in other departments or bureaus of the Government.

This Congress has been concerned with water matters. It passed the Water Resources Planning Act, the Water Quality Act, and has continued its support for the program for the desalinization of salt water. It has not yet passed a major reclamation act. It is hoped that the Lower Colorado Basin Project Act, which has now had hearings in both the House and the Senate, will be the first major reclamation bill—not only for the 89th Congress, but for the Johnson administration.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress appropriated $119.3 billion, to be spent through the administrative budget. This is by far the highest level of appropriation ever requested of a Congress, or granted by it. The Honorable GEORGE MAHON, chairman of the Appropriations Committee, has remarked that the days of $100 billion budgets are probably gone forever. Certainly, if the penchant to spend which we have seen prevail in this Congress is continued, the words of Mr. MAHON are indeed prophetic.

As we look back on the last session of Congress, it is natural for us to think about the next. The President has already indicated that he has another massive legislative program in mind for next year. It seems to involve further spending, further impetus toward welfare-statism, and further encroachment of the Government into areas of endeavor which many feel would best be left to the States and to individuals. Only the people can stop this pellmell rush to the left. Therefore, I hope that everyone who is an American citizen will become immediately active in the political party of his choice, so that he may have a part in the continuance of the great national debate which is now in progress—subject being "Resolved That the United States of America, as a Welfare State, Cannot Preserve the Fundamental Rights, Privileges, and Liberties Granted to Her Citizens by the Constitution."

Neutral Esperanto Language Gaining in World Popularity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I should like the attention of my colleagues concerning an interesting article which recently appeared in several newspapers throughout the country on the topic of Esperanto and the fact that it is gaining popularity as an international language. I have been interested in Esperanto for some time and was very pleased to see the enclosed article.

Certainly the group of independent nations with its various tongues and dialects makes it abundantly more apparent that if we are to have a better understanding among the nations of the world, we must develop an international language that will be available in the channels of diplomatic discourse.

I am quite sure that while we respect the national language of each nation, including our own, the development of a neutral language to be used in international relations would indeed bring about greater understanding and better harmony.

The Esperanto Society of Chicago whose president, Mr. David Jordan, is one of my constituents, was kind enough to suggest that the United States lead the way in petitioning the United Nations to urge its member states to encourage the teaching of Esperanto and further its uses in international relations between the peoples of the world.

I fully support this suggestion; and next January when Congress resumes, I shall offer a formal resolution for the consideration of the House urging that the United States lead the way for implementing Esperanto as a neutral language in diplomatic relations.

The UPI article follows:

NEUTRAL ESPERANTO LANGUAGE GAINING IN WORLD POPULARITY

NEW YORK.—Esperanto, the international language, may be poised for a breakthrough to global status.

The "language of hope" has been around for three-quarters of a century. But it looks like a natural for the jet age.

The proliferation of new nations, scientific knowledge, world trade, and travel demand a language that is easy to learn yet has a rich and supple vocabulary.

Basic English has certain drawbacks. For one thing, it is just too basic. You can't use it to write a treaty, a play, or a scientific thesis.

English is regarded by many people around the globe as a colonialist language. So are French, Spanish, Russian, and Chinese—the other four official languages of the United Nations. Esperanto is neutral.

Most people feel self-conscious when speaking anything but their mother tongue. Esperanto is the exception. Anyone who speaks Esperanto is on an equal footing with every other Esperanto speaker.

Americans who have traveled abroad know that it is just not true that "everyone speaks some English"—or French, or any other language.

The use of English is being officially discouraged in India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaysia, and other former British colonies. They are pushing their own languages. The same is true of Dutch in Indonesia or of French in former French territories.

With all these new nations retreating into their local tongues and dialects, language barriers are getting higher at the very time that the world's business demands that they be lowered.

The United Nations and other international organizations—more than a thousand in all—spend millions of dollars a year on translation services.

Most of this money could be saved if a common international language gained general acceptance.

Esperanto certainly is simple enough. It has just 16 rules of grammar and pronunciation, with no irregularities or exceptions. It can be learned in about one-fourth the time it takes to learn any other language. (The Esperanto Information Center, 180 Riverside Drive, New York 24, will send you more information for a stamped, self-addressed envelope.)

Yet the vocabulary is full sized. Shakespeare's plays and Einstein's theories have been translated into Esperanto.

More and more people are getting the idea. Examples:

Esperanto is taught in the schools of 32 countries, from the United States to the U.S.S.R.

International companies like Philips Electric of Holland and Fiat Motors of Italy print their brochures in Esperanto.

Communist China is pushing Mandarin as the language spoken by more people—half a billion—than any other. But Esperanto is one of the languages it uses in its propaganda broadcasts.)

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) gives financial support to the publication of great works, such as Dante's "Divine Comedy," into Esperanto.

Esperanto is one of the languages used in the official introductory guide to the New York World's Fair.

Ali Gerad Jama, Minister of Education in the new African Republic of Somaliland, says: "It is humiliating for the small nations to be obliged to learn the languages of the large. Only a neutral language like Esperanto can eliminate that cultural dependency."

E. L. M. Wensing, an executive of the Philips Co., puts it this way: "Esperanto is good business."

Justice Calls for Investigation

SPEECH
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, if what the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] says is true, then there is definitely "something rotten in the state of Denmark." The allegations are such as to shock the sense of justice of any American. The question here is not the guilt or innocence of James Hoffa, but an even greater one—one which affects the very integrity of our system of justice.

If this august body fails to take any action after having been apprised of the situation by one of its own respected Members, we will have sown the seeds which will grow into an ever increasing distrust of our Government. I join the gentleman from Illinois in urging that the House Judiciary Committee institute a complete investigation at the earliest possible moment.

FAO Appeals to World's Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the October issue of the Wisconsin Farmers Union News published an editorial which told of the inspiring work being carried out by youth throughout the world in support of the freedom from hunger campaign. This program, called Youth World Appeal, is one part of the great work being done by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization.

The editorial is as follows:

"HELP FEED THE HUNGRY": FAO APPEALS TO WORLD'S YOUTH

(By Carlyle Hodgkin)

On October 16 the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization launched an appeal to youth to help feed the hungry of the world.

The drive is called Youth World Appeal. It will run 21 weeks, during which young people are asked to give 21 hours of their time. (October 16 was FAO's 20th anniversary.)

Youth World Appeal is part of the FAO's worldwide, 5-year freedom from hunger campaign, which calls upon all of its 100-plus member nations to help to end the stark, chronic hunger that grips much of the world.

R. B. Sen, FAO Director-General in Rome, underscored its importance in a recent letter to the ministers of agriculture in member countries.

Food production in relation to population has not increased appreciably in the past 7 years, he said. The "alarming outlook" is that unless great improvement can be made, famines in some populous areas within the next few years are inescapable.

The Youth World Appeal is to be spearheaded in the United States by the Freedom from Hunger Foundation, 1815 H Street NW., Washington, D.C. 20006. In Canada, by the Canadian Assembly of Youth Organizations, 75 Spark Street, Ottawa 4, Ontario.

The FAO cited examples of what young people in some countries already have done.

In some African countries they have set up National Youth Services which, by youth training, help to check the drift of young people from country town.

In the Netherlands, in Operation 10 Times 10, young people give 10 percent of their spending money for 10 weeks, sending $550,000 to finance a home gardens project in West Africa.

In France, Catholic Scouts collected more than 140 tons of materials and made up more than 70,000 parcels of school supplies and equipment which they sent to developing countries, mainly in Africa.

In Laos, the Boy Scouts organized a football game and sent the proceeds to the Freedom From Hunger Campaign.

In the United Kingdom, the FFHC Committee developed programs and materials for use in the schools at all levels. In Scotland a textbook, "Food and People," was published in 1964 and used in all schools. One of the senior school-leaving examinations was based upon it.

In India, after learning about 4-H clubs during an exchange visit to the United States, a group of youth formed the Young Farmers' Association. Through a network of village clubs the association teaches rural young people improved farming and home-keeping methods.

The field is wide open, FAO pointed out, for young people to work out the details of their own programs.

A Declaration To End the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, the September 1965 number of Change contained a brief and highly incisive statement by Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, entitled "A Declaration To End the Cold War."

I commend this article to readers of the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DECLARATION TO END THE COLD WAR

(By Robert M. Hutchins)

I propose that the President of the United States make the following statement at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations:

"I hereby declare that the cold war is over.

"I do not minimize the depth and breadth of the ideological differences that divide the world. I am proud to proclaim the virtues of the American system. But I do not intend to carry on a war, hot or cold, to prove the superiority of our ideas or institutions.

"In the first place, such proof is not convincing. It is as though one university was proved better than another because it won a football game.

"In the second place, more urgent matters claim our attention. Millions of our fellow men are suffering from ignorance, poverty, hunger, and disease. They have learned that these sufferings are not inevitable. The knowledge and productive capacity of the world are sufficient to give every man, woman, and child on this planet a chance to become a human being and to lead a human life.

"These millions are therefore on the move.

"The interests of the United States require a peaceful and prosperous world.

"To this end two things are necessary. First, massive assistance to change in those parts of the world that need it; and, second, international police, and peacekeeping arrangements, designed not to prevent the revolutions that must take place but to help them take place without violence and loss of life.

"The United States, as the richest and most powerful nation in the world, is prepared to bear its full share—and more—of the cost of elevating and protecting mankind.

"But the United States will not hereafter take any unilateral action affecting any other country.

"Since our primary concern is the establishment of a just world order, we shall work exclusively through the United Nations or through regional organizations approved by it.

"We shall support such changes in the Charter of the United Nations as may be required to enable it to act expeditiously and effectively for the maintenance of peace and order.

"I promise the people of the world that the United States will gladly, in its own self-interest, make available its intellectual and material resources for the development of all peoples—regardless of race, color, creed, or political doctrine.

"I call upon the governments of the world to join in a great, new effort that will lead to peace, justice, and freedom for all mankind."

The above was written for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate before I went to Russia this summer. Now I wish I had included the following recommendation: "As President of the United States, I shall especially invite the Premier of the Soviet Union to meet with me to join in proposing a plan to the nations of the world—a plan by which violence may be abolished in settling international arguments."

Report to the People of the 16th Congressional District of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. MURPHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to the people of the 16th Congressional District of New York on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The report includes all rollcall votes. Its purpose is to collect in one place and in concise form, information which is scattered throughout thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I want to be able to provide any interested constituent with a simple compilation of my voting and attendance record.

There are 201 votes listed. I was present and voted on 179. I missed no major vote. Of the 182 quorum calls for attendance in the House, I was present for 173. On the votes and quorums for which I was not present, I was on official business of the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The report follows:

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
Jan. 4	2	Election of Speaker. McCormack, 289; G. Ford, 139	McCormack.
Jan. 4	3	H. Res. 1, a resolution authorizing and directing the Speaker to administer the oath of office to certain Members. (Yeas 276, nays 149.)	Yes.
Jan. 4	4	H. Res. 8, a resolution adopting Rules of the House of Representatives for the 89th Cong. (Yeas 224, nays 202.)	Yes.
Jan. 19	6	H. Res. 126, a resolution dismissing the notice of contest of election by James R. Frankenberry of the 25th New York Congressional District. (Yeas 245, nays 102.)	Yes.
Jan. 26	7	H.J. Res. 234, a joint resolution making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for certain activities of the Department of Agriculture, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 204, nays 177.)	Not voting, paired for.
Feb. 8	10	H.J. Res. 234. (Yeas 165, nays 241.)	Not voting, paired against.
Feb. 9	12	H.R. 3818, a bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 93, nays 289.).	No.
Feb. 9	13	H.R. 3818. On passage. (Yeas 300, nays 82.)	Yes.
Feb. 17	16	H.R. 2998, a bill to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to increase the authorization for appropriations. On passage. (Yeas 302, nays 63.)	Yes.
Feb. 18	19	H.R. 45, a bill to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize the United States to participate in an increase in the resources of the Fund for Special Operations of the Inter-American Development Bank. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 142, nays 237.)	No.
Feb. 18	20	H.R. 45, a bill to amend the Inter-American Development Bank Act. On passage. (Yeas 288, nays 93.)	Yes.
Feb. 25	23	H. Res. 188, a resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 58, nays 333.)	No.
Feb. 25	24	H. Res. 188. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 360, nays 29.)	Yes.
Mar. 3	28	S. 3, an act to provide public works and economic development programs and the planning and coordination needed to assist in the development of the Appalachian region. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 100, nays 323.)	No.
Mar. 3	29	S. 3. On passage. (Yeas 257, nays 165.)	Yes.
Mar. 10	31	H.R. 2, a bill to protect the public health and safety by amending the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 402, nays 0.)	Yes.
Mar. 15	33	H.R. 4714, a bill to amend the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations therein. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Failed.) (Yeas 217, nays 113.)	Not voting.
Mar. 16	35	H.R. 5505, a bill to require the establishment, on the basis of the 18th and subsequent decennial censuses, of congressional districts composed of contiguous and compact territory for the election of Representatives, and for other purposes. On Mathias amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 147, nays 255.)	No.
Mar. 17	38	H. Res. 276, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 5374, a bill relating to the salaries of the Chief Justice of the United States and of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 202, nays 183.)	No.
Mar. 17	39	H.R. 5374, a bill relating to the salaries of the Chief Justice of the United States and of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. On passage. (Failed.) (Yeas 178, nays 202.)	No.
Mar. 22	42	H.R. 5688, a bill relating to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 166, nays 216.)	Yes.
Mar. 22	43	H.R. 5688. On passage. (Yeas 251, nays 131.)	Yes.
Mar. 23	45	H.R. 5721, a bill to amend the Agriculture Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco, to amend the tobacco price support provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 206, nays 170.)	Yes.
Mar. 26	51	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 274, nays 119.)	Yes.
Mar. 26	52	H.R. 2362, a bill to strengthen and improve education quality and educational opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 149, nays 267.)	No.
Mar. 26	53	H.R. 2362. On passage. (Yeas 263, nays 153.)	Yes.
Mar. 31	57	H.R. 3708, a bill to provide assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons through grants to the States for community planning and services for training, and to establish within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare an operating agency to be designated as the "Administration on Aging." On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 1.)	Yes.
Mar. 31	58	H.R. 1111, a bill to provide for the optimum development of the Nation's natural resources through the coordinated planning of water and related land resources, and by providing financial assistance to the States in order to increase State participation in such planning. On passage. (Yeas 384, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 1	60	H.R. 4257, a bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, as amended, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 395, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	62	H.R. 980, a bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 360, nays 21.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	63	H.R. 7064, a bill to amend the Foreign Service Buildings Act of 1926, as amended. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 378, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 5	64	H.R. 7060, a bill making appropriations for the Treasury and Post Office Departments, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 347, nays 7.)	Yes.
Apr. 6	66	H.R. 7091, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other puproses. On passage. (Yeas 348, nays 62.)	Yes.
Apr. 8	70	H.R. 6675, a bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary health benefits program and an expanded program of medical assistance, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 191, nays 236.)	No.
Apr. 8	71	H.R. 6675, a bill to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged. On passage. (Yeas 313, nays 115.)	Yes.
Apr. 13	72	H.R. 2998, an act to amend the Arms Control and Disarmament Act, as amended, in order to increase the authorization for appropriations. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 316, nays 65.)	Yes.
Apr. 13	74	H.J. Res. 1, a joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and to cases where the President is unable to discharge the powers and duties of his office. On passage. (Yeas 368, nays 29.)	Yes.
Apr. 14	76	H. Res. 310, a resolution authorizing the expenditure of certain funds for the additional expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 313, nays 43.)	Yes.
Apr. 27	78	H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 113, nays 275.)	No.
Apr. 27	79	H.R. 6497, a bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act. On passage. (Yeas 301, nays 88.)	Yes.
Apr. 28	82	S. 4, an Act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to establish the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	84	H.R. 7091, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 316, nays 55.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	85	H.R. 7091, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, and for other purposes. On preferential motion of Mr. Keogh to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 6 to conference report. (Failed.) (Yeas 144, nays 228.)	Yes.
Apr. 29	86	H.R. 4714, a bill to amend the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations therein. On passage. (Yeas 239, nays 116.)	Yes.
May 3	87	H.R. 2986, a bill to extend and otherwise amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 347, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 4	90	H.R. 2985, a bill to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. On passage. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 5	92	H.J. Res. 447, a joint resolution making a supplemental appropriation for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1965, for military functions of the Department of Defense, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 408, nays 7.)	Yes.
May 5	94	H.R. 7657, a bill to authorize appropriations during fiscal year 1966 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, and naval vessels, and evaluation, for the Armed Forces, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 6	96	H. Res. 366, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, a bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
May 6	97	H.R. 7717, a bill to authorize appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 389, nays 11.)	Yes.
May 10	99	H.R. 2984, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act provisions for construction of health research facilities by extending the expiration date thereof and providing increased support for the program, to authorize additional Assistant Secretaries in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 334, nays 4.)	Yes.
May 12	101	S. 701, an act to carry out the obligations of the United States under the International Coffee Agreement, 1962, signed at New York on Sept. 28, 1962, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 300, nays 97.)	Yes.
May 20	104	H.R. 8122, a bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in accordance with sec. 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 43, nays 313.)	No.
May 20	105	H.R. 8122, a bill to authorize appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission. On passage. (Yeas 352, nays 1.)	Yes.
May 25	109	H.R. 7750, a bill to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 as ameneded, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 178, nays 219.)	No.
May 25	110	H.R. 7750. On passage. (Yeas 249, nays 148.)	Yes.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
May 26	112	H.R. 8370, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions to report back forthwith with an amendment as follows: On page 32, line 2, insert the following: "No part of this appropriation shall be used during the fiscal year 1966 to finance the export of any agricultural commodity to either the United Arab Republic or Indonesia under the provisions of title I of Public Law 480, eighty-third Congress, as amended." (Failed.) (Yeas 187, nays 208.)	No.
May 26	113	H.R. 8370, a bill making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture. On passage. (Yeas 354, nays 41.)	Yes.
June 1	116	H.R. 8639, a bill making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, the judiciary, and related agences for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 322, nays 60.)	Yes.
June 1	117	H.R. 3584, a bill to amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act so as to provide further for the prevention of accidents in coal mines. On passage. (Yeas 336, nays 42.)	Yes.
June 2	119	H.R. 8371, a bill to reduce excise taxes, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 401, nays 6.)	Yes.
June 3	121	H.R. 7777, a bill to authorize the President to appoint Gen. William F. McKee (U.S. Air Force, retired) to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. On passage. (Yeas 228, nays 137.)	Yes.
June 7	123	H.R. 3157, a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to eliminate the provisions which reduce the annuities of the spouses of retired employees by the amount of certain monthly benefits. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 323, nays, 0.)	Not voting.
June 8	126	H.R. 8775, a bill making appropriations for the legislative branch of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 149, nays 244.)	No.
June 8	127	H.R. 7105, a bill to provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 388, nays 1.)	Yes.
June 9	129	H. Res. 413, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 8464, a bill to provide, for the period beginning on July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in sec. 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 273, nays 109.)	Yes.
June 9	130	H.R. 8464, a bill to provide, for the period beginning on July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in sec. 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act. On passage. (Yeas 229, nays 165.)	Yes.
June 9	131	H. Con. Res. 285, concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the U.S. Information Agency film "John F. Kennedy—Year of Lightning, Day of Drums." On Mailliard amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 174, nays 216.)	No.
June 9	132	H. Con. Res. 285, concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the U.S. Information Agency film "John F. Kennedy—Year of Lightning, Day of Drums." On agreeing to concurrent resolution. (Yeas 311, nays 75.)	Yes.
June 16	141	H.R. 6927, a bill to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 141, nays 259.)	No.
June 16	142	H.R. 6927, a bill to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development. On passage. (Yeas 217, nays 184.)	Yes.
June 16	143	H. Res. 416, resolution to authorize each Member of the House of Representatives to employ annually, on a temporary basis, a student congressional intern. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 229, nays 153.)	Yes.
June 21	145	H.R. 7743, a bill to establish a system of loan insurance and a supplementary system of direct loans, to assist students to attend post-secondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 300, nays 0.)	Not voting.
June 21	146	H.R. 8620, a bill to amend the Agricultural Act of 1949 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. (Yeas 297, nays 2.)	Not voting.
June 21	147	H. Con. Res. 416, concurrent resolution to request the President of the United States to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. On motion to suspend rules and agree to. (Yeas 298, nays 0.)	Not voting.
June 23	153	H.R. 9221 a bill making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 407, nays 0.)	Yes.
June 24	155	H. J. Res. 541, joint resolution to extend the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. On passage. (Yeas 224, nays 167.)	Yes.
June 28	157	H. Res. 425, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 7984, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 230, nays 115.)	Not voting.
June 30	162	H.R. 7984, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. On Stephens amendment. (Yeas 240, nays 179.)	Yes.
June 30	163	H.R. 7894, a bill to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 202, nays 208.)	No.
June 30	164	H.R. 7984. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 169.)	Yes.
July 6	167	H. Res. 440, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, a bill to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 308, nays 58.)	Yes.
July 9	175	H.R. 6400, a bill to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States. On Cramer amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 253, nays 165.)	No.
July 9	176	H.R. 6400. On Boggs amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 155, nays 262.)	Yes.
July 9	177	H.R. 6400. On Gilbert amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 202, nays 216.)	Yes.
July 9	178	H.R. 6400. On motion to recommit with instructions. Ford-McCulloch bill and McClory amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 171, nays 248.)	No.
July 9	179	H.R. 6400. On passage. (Yeas 333, nays 85.)	Yes.
July 12	181	H.R. 8856, a bill to amend section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Failed.) (Yeas 216, nays 139.)	Yes.
July 12	182	H.R. 242, a bill to extend the apportionment requirement in the Civil Service Act of Jan. 16, 1883, to temporary summer employment and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 336, nays 22.)	Yes.
July 13	185	S. 559, a bill to regulate the labeling of cigarettes, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 286, nays 103.)	Yes.
July 14	188	H.R. 8926, a bill to provide for the coinage of the United States. On Battin amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 187, nays 218.)	No.
July 14	189	H.R. 8926. On passage. (Yeas 255, nays 151.)	Yes.
July 20	193	H.R. 9075, a bill to amend title 37, United States Code, to increase the rates of basic pay for members of the uniformed services. On passage. (Yeas 410, nays 0.)	Yes.
July 22	196	H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 178, nays 227.)	No.
July 22	197	H.R. 8283, a bill to expand the war on poverty. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 158.)	Yes.
July 26	199	H. Res. 437, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and sec. 705(b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the 1st provision of sec. 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 248, nays 171.)	Yes.
July 27	203	H.R. 6675, an act to provide a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act with a supplementary health benefits program. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 307, nays 116.)	Yes.
July 27	204	H.R. 7984, an act to assist in the provision of housing for low- and moderate-income families, to promote orderly urban development, to improve living environment in urban areas, and to extend and amend laws relating to housing, urban renewal, and community facilities. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 251, nays 168.)	Yes.
July 27	205	H.R. 2985, an act to authorize assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 414, nays 0.)	Yes.
July 28	208	H.R. 77, a bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended, and sec. 705b) of the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 and to amend the first proviso of sec. 8(a)(3) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 200, nays 223.)	No.
July 28	209	H.R. 77, a bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 221, nays 203.)	Yes.
July 29	212	H.R. 8856, a bill to amend sec. 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 275, nays 126.)	Yes.
Aug. 2	214	S.J. Res. 81, joint resolution to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to apportion the sum authorized for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 314, nays 11.)	Not voting.
Aug. 2	215	H.R. 8027, a bill to provide assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and other personnel, and in improving capabilities, and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 326, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Aug. 2	216	H.R. 6964, a bill to amend sec. 4082 of title 18, United States Code, to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 325, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Aug. 3	218	S. 1564, an act to enforce the 15th amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit. (Yeas 118, nays 284.)	No.
Aug. 3	219	S. 1564. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 328, nays 74.)	Yes.
Aug. 3	220	H.R. 8469, a bill to provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 396, nays 0.)	Yes.
Aug. 4	221	H.R. 8439, an act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 389, nays 0.)	Yes.
Aug. 4	222	S. 1742, an act to authorize the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to the articles of agreements of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 331, nays 54.)	Yes.
Aug. 5	224	H.Res. 498, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 4750, a bill to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 329, nays 44.)	Yes.
Aug. 5	225	H.R. 4750, a bill to provide a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 274, nays 97)	Yes.
Aug. 9	228	H.R. 9918, a bill to amend the Fire and Casualty Act and the Motor Vehicle Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia. On Sickles amendment. (Yeas 173, nays 156.)	Not voting.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
Aug. 10	230	H.R. 10306, a bill to amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 393, nays 1)	Yes.
Aug. 12	234	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities, other financial assistance and the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment and underemployment in economically distressed areas and regions. On Sisk amendment. (Yeas 196, nays 194.)	Yes.
Aug. 12	235	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 163, nays 224)	No.
Aug. 12	236	S. 1648, an act to provide grants for public works and development facilities. On passage. (Yeas 246, nays 138)	Yes.
Aug. 16	238	H.R. 6431, a bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain forms of nickel be admitted free of duty. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 298, nays 48.)	Yes.
Aug. 16	239	H.R. 8635, a bill to establish and prescribe the duties of a Federal Boxing Commission for the purpose of insuring that the channels of interstate commerce are free from false or fraudulent descriptions or depictions of professional boxing contests. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 346, nays 4.)	Yes.
Aug. 19	242	H.R. 7750, an act to amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 244, nays 150.)	Yes.
Aug. 19	243	H.R. 9811, a bill to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs, and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 169, nays 224.)	No.
Aug. 19	244	H.R. 9811, on passage. (Yeas 221, nays 172.)	Yes.
Aug. 24	246	H.R. 10586, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the Departments of Labor, and Health, Education, and Welfare for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 139, nays 263.)	No.
Aug. 25	248	H.R. 2580, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. On MacGregor amendment. (Failed.) (Yeas 189, nays 218.)	No.
Aug. 25	249	H.R. 2580, a bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 318, nays 95.)	Yes.
Aug. 26	252	H.R. 9567, a bill to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. On passage. (Yeas 368, nays 22.)	Yes.
Aug. 30	253	H.R. 9022, a bill to amend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Cong., to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster; to eliminate inequities in the application of Public Law 815 in certain military base closings; and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 305, nays 37.)	Yes.
Aug. 31	254	H. Res. 551, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, a bill to provide for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 363, nays 23.)	Yes.
Aug. 31	255	H.R. 9042, a bill to provide for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 280, nays 113.)	Yes.
Sept. 1	257	H.R. 3141, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to improve the educational quality of schools of medicine, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 340, nays 47.)	Yes.
Sept. 2	259	H.R. 5863, a bill to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 317, nays 24.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	262	H.R. 8439, an act to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. Motion by Mr. Hall: "*Resolved*, That the Committee on Armed Services be discharged from further consideration of the bill H.R. 8439, for military construction, with the President's veto thereon, and that the same be now considered." On Rivers of South Carolina motion to lay on table. (Yeas 323, nays 19.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	263	H.R. 10775, a bill to authorize certain construction at military installations, and for other purposes. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 347, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	264	H.R. 168, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation to reflect the increase in the cost of living from the year 1933. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 348, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 7	265	S.J. Res. 102, joint resolution to authorize funds for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 339, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 8	269	H.R. 10871, a bill making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 239, nays 143.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	273	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 272. (Yeas 226, nays 126.)	Not voting.
Sept. 13	275	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 274. (Yeas 244, nays 127.)	Not voting.
Sept. 13	279	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 278. (Yeas 256, nays 124.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	281	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 280. (Yeas 255, nays 121.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	282	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. On Hall motion to lay on table. (Failed.) (Yeas 138, nays 245.)	No.
Sept. 13	283	On motion to approve the Journal. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 257, nays 126.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	284	On motion to approve the Journal. (Yeas 265, nays 119.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	285	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 175, nays 204.)	No.
Sept. 13	286	H. Res. 506, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 10065) to more effectively prohibit discrimination in employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 259, nays 121.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	287	H. Res. 506, resolution providing for consideration of the bill (H.R. 10065). On Albert motion to lay on table. (Yeas 194, nays 181.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	288	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 174, nays 202.)	No.
Sept. 13	290	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on roll No. 289. (Yeas 243, nays 136.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	291	H. Res. 499, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 7371) to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 201, nays 171.)	Yes.
Sept. 13	292	H. Res. 478, resolution to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 260, nays 114.)	Yes.
Sept. 14	293	H. Res. 536, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 10281, to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 289, nays 84.)	Yes.
Sept. 14	296	H.R. 2091, a bill relating to the establishment of concession policies in the areas administered by National Park Service and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 73, nays 298.)	No.
Sept. 15	299	H.R. 8283, an act to expand the war on poverty and enhance the effectiveness of programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 209, nays 180.)	No.
Sept. 15	301	H.R. 9460, a bill to provide for the establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities to promote progress and scholarship in the humanities and the arts in the United States and for other purposes. On motion to recommit. (Failed.) (Yeas 128, nays 251.)	No.
Sept. 16	303	H. Res. 574, resolution directing the Postmaster General to provide the names of temporary employees employed by the Post Office Department during the summer of 1965. On Morrison motion to lay on table. (Yeas 185, nays 181.)	Yes.
Sept. 16	304	S. 2042, a bill to amend sec. 170 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended. On passage. (Yeas 338, nays 30.)	Yes.
Sept. 17	306	H.R. 9221, an act making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 382, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 17	307	H. Res. 585, resolution dismissing the 5 Mississippi election contests. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 228, nays 143.)	No.
Sept. 20	309	H.R. 10873, a bill to amend title 38 of the United States Code to establish a program of group life insurance which shall be provided by private insurance companies for members of the uniformed services who are on active duty. On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Yeas 362, nays 0.)	Not voting.
Sept. 20	310	H. Res. 560, resolution to express the sense of the House of Representatives declaring the policy of the United States relative to the intervention of the international communistic movement in the Western Hemisphere. On motion to suspend rules and agree to. (Yeas 312, nays 52.)	Yes.
Sept. 21	313	S. 4, an act to amend the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, as amended, to establish the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of municipal sewage treatment works, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 381, nays 0.)	Yes.
Sept. 22	315	S. 2300, an act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works and rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes. On Clark amendment. (Yeas 207, nays 185.)	No.
Sept. 22	316	H.R. 30, a bill to provide for participation of the United States in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Dade County, Fla., and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 255, nays 112.)	Not voting.
Sept. 22	318	On motion to adjourn. (Failed.) (Yeas 90, nays 204.)	Not voting.
Sept. 23	320	H.R. 7371, a bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On Bennett amendment. (Yeas 199, nays 178.)	No.
Sept. 23	321	H. Res. 580, resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 10232, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and for other purposes. On ordering previous question. (Yeas 280, nays 70.)	Yes.
Sept. 23	322	H.R. 10232, a bill to amend the Consolidated Farmers Home Administration Act of 1961 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to make or insure loans to public and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 326, nays 10.)	Yes.
Sept. 24	324	S. 306, an act to amend the Clean Air Act to require standards for controlling the emission of pollutants from gasoline-powered or diesel-powered vehicles, to establish a Federal Air Pollution Control Laboratory, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 80, nays 220.)	No.
Sept. 24	325	S. 306, an act to amend the Clean Air Act. On passage. (Yeas 294, nays 4.)	Yes.

Date	Roll-call No.	Measure, question, and result	Vote
1965			
Sept. 27	327	H. Res. 515, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4644) to provide an elected mayor, city council, and nonvoting Delegate to the House of Representatives for the District of Columbia, and for other purposes. On Multer motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of. (Yeas 213, nays 183).	Yes.
Sept. 27	328	H. Res. 515, resolution providing for the consideration of the bill (H.R. 4644). On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 223, nays 179.)	Yes.
Sept. 27	330	H.R. 4644. On Multer motion that House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of. (Yeas 234, nays 155.)	Yes.
Sept. 29	336	H.R. 4644. On recommendation of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union that the enacting clause be stricken out. (Failed.) (Yeas 179, nays 219.)	No.
Sept. 29	337	H.R. 4644. On Multer amendment as amended by Sisk amendment. (Yeas 227, nays 174.)	No.
Sept. 29	338	H.R. 4644, a bill authorizing the residents of the District of Columbia to make known their preference on the question of home rule, and, if they wish, to elect a board for the purpose of preparing a municipal charter for submission to the voters and to Congress. On motion to recommit. (Yeas 134, nays 267.)	No.
Sept. 29	339	H.R. 4644. On passage. (Yeas 283, nays 117.)	Yes.
Sept. 30	341	H.R. 2580, an act to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 320, nays 69.)	Not voting, paired for.
Sept. 30	342	H.R. 10281, a bill to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees in the Federal Government, to establish the Federal Salary Review Commission, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 238, nays 140.)	Not voting.
Sept. 30	343	H.R. 10281. On passage. (Yeas 370, nays 7.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	345	H.J. Res. 642, a joint resolution to authorize the Architect of the Capitol to construct the 3d Library of Congress building in square 732 in the District of Columbia to be named the James Madison Memorial Building and to contain a Madison Memorial Hall, and for other purposes. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 17, nays 321).	No.
Oct. 1	346	H.J. Res. 642. On passage. (Yeas 328, nays 5.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	347	H.R. 10871, an act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 164, nays 174.)	No.
Oct. 1	348	H.R. 10871. On adoption. (Yeas 204, nays 127.)	Yes.
Oct. 1	349	H.R. 3142, a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide for a program of grants to assist in meeting the need for adequate medical library services and facilities. On passage. (Yeas 296, nays 3.)	Not voting.
Oct. 1	350	H.R. 6519, a bill to amend the act of May 17, 1954 (68 Stat. 98) as amended, providing for the construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old St. Louis, Mo., and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 250, nays 12.)	Not voting.
Oct. 7	353	S.J. Res. 32, joint resolution to authorize a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injury to persons, and for use of and damage to private property, arising from acts and omissions of the U.S. Armed Forces, or members thereof, after Aug. 14, 1945, and before Apr. 28, 1952. On passage. (Yeas 312, nays 55.)	Not voting.
Oct. 7	354	H.R. 2020, a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project, Nevada, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 240, nays 134.)	No.
Oct. 7	356	S. 2084, an act to provide for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Failed.) (Yeas 153, nays 230.)	No.
Oct. 7	357	S. 2084. On passage. (Yeas 245, nays 138.)	Yes.
Oct. 8	359	H.R. 9811, an act to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 219, nays 150.)	Yes.
Oct. 12	363	H. Res. 598, a resolution providing for consideration of H.R. 11134, a bill to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. On agreeing to resolution. (Yeas 253, nays 80.)	Yes.
Oct. 13	366	H.R. 11135, a bill to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. On motion to recommit with instructions. (Yeas 160, nays 230.)	No.
Oct. 13	367	H.R. 11135. On passage. (Yeas 246, nays 147.)	Yes.
Oct. 14	369	H.R. 11588, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On Harvey of Michigan amendment. (Yeas 185, nays 162.)	No.
Oct. 14	370	H.R. 11588, a bill making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. On passage. (Yeas 242, nays 100.)	Yes.
Oct. 20	376	H.R. 9567, an act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. Conference report, on motion to recommit with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to insist upon the deletion of pt. B of title V of the bill, which would authorize the establishment of a National Teacher Corps. (Failed.) (Yeas 152, nays 226.)	No.
Oct. 20	377	H.R. 9567, conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 313, nays 63.)	Yes.
Oct. 20	378	S. 2300, an act authorizing the construction repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes. (Yeas 221, nays 139.)	Present (live pair for).
Oct. 21	380	H.R. 11588, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 250, nays 84.)	Yes.
Oct. 21	381	H.R. 11588, an act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes. Conference report, on motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment No. 66 with an amendment. (Yeas 166, nays 162.)	Yes.
Oct. 22	383	H.R. 11135, an act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended. Conference report, on adoption. (Yeas 174, nays 88.)	Yes.

The Progressive XDR System of Athletic Training

SPEECH

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, I am certain that we will all agree that physical fitness is a prerequisite for success—be it as a Congressman, a banker, or a farmer. And there should be no dissenter when I say that adequate exercise, proper diet, and sufficient rest are the three basic ingredients that comprise a system of physical training in the attainment of good health. These fundamentals of good health have been acknowledged by people of all ages—and yet, man continues to suffer from being physically unfit. Twenty-five percent of our young men are being rejected for military service. I believe, therefore, that we all need to be reminded occasionally of the importance of physical fitness and to take renewed interest in the techniques by which we may attain maximum physical fitness.

One such system is the progressive XDR system of athletic training, developed by Honolulu's Dr. Richard W. You. It is a progressive training program based on exercise—X, diet—D, and rest—R which has been used successfully in the training of U.S. athletes. As physician for the U.S. Olympic team in 1952 and 1956, and as a physician-trainer for the U.S. Pan American team of 1955, Dr. You with his XDR system has helped many athletes capture world championships and other titles.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Dr. Richard You's informative article on "The Progressive XDR System of Athletic Training":

AUGUST 1, 1965.

THE PROGRESSIVE XDR SYSTEM OF ATHLETIC TRAINING

(Prepared by Richard W. You, M.D., Honolulu, Hawaii, physician, U.S. Olympic team, 1952 and 1956; physician and trainer, U.S. Pan American team, 1955)

To all my friends and acquaintances throughout the universe—of all races and climes—I extend to you my warmest personal greetings and sincerest wishes for a unified, happy, healthy, and physically fit existence:

Leaders in every field of endeavor are groomed for success, seldom are they born with it; and to be successful, one must be mentally and physically fit in order to rise above or grow within his environment, and in the process help himself, his family, and his friends.

Good health nourishes a sound philosophy of life. As a wise man once said: "There is a tide in the affairs of man which, taken at the flood, will lead to fame and fortune."

Being healthy and physically fit can make a champion of a man when the opportunity comes, whether it be in business, sports, medicine, law, entertainment, politics, or any other line of endeavor.

Good health and physical fiitness can be achieved by properly supervised training.

In the field of athletics, which I feel qualified to discuss because of a life-long and satisfying association both as a competitior, coach, and trainer, I am convinced that any person endowed with good reflexes and coordination can become an inspiring leader and prolong his championship years beyond the so-called natural peak through the application of my progressive XDR training program.

What do the letters stand for? Allow me to explain. "XDR" means exercies, diet, and rest: Exercising daily and regularly, and

extra daily requirements of food and food supplements.

First, let's talk about exercise. All basic physical deficiencies should be corrected with the proper exercise in order to develop a strong healthy body that can withstand the stress and strain of any kind of competition. It is wise to start with light exercise; then gradually work toward increased resistance and weights in order to promote greater strength, agility, and flexibility. I have found that the best method of correcting deficiencies and improving athletic ability is through the use of progressive weight training such as barbells, dumbbells, pulleys, and other gymnasium apparatus.

Next, let's analyze the letter "D" (diet) in my XDR program. Diet is very important in competitive athletics. Many athletes who possess the physical attributes and natural coordination to become great champions never realize their maximum potential because of poor nutrition. The common signs and symptoms of nutritional deficiencies and unbalanced diet are overweight, underweight, high blood pressure, low blood pressure, low hemoglobin, dermatitis, high and low basal metabolic rate, low red blood cell count, impaired growth, nervousness, and frequent colds. The normal diet of the competing male athlete should always be high in proteins, vitamins and minerals with a moderate amount of fats and carbohydrates.

The average athlete should have a daily intake of at least 125 to 150 grams of good protein, light on fats and carbohydrates (about 3,000 to 4,000 calories), high in vitamins, especially vitamin A (25,000 units), vitamin B complex (especially vitamins B–1 and B–12), vitamin C (500 Mgm.), and vitamin E (100 Mgm.); plus high minerals, primarily calcium, iron, iodine, and phosphorus.

In the case of the female athlete, her nutritional intake is usually lower than that of the male. Her daily diet should be fortified with certain supplements and should contain at least 110 grams of good protein, moderate fats and carbohydrates (about 2,000 to 3,000 calories). The diet should also be high in vitamins, especially vitamin A (20,000 units); vitamin B complex including vitamin B–12; vitamin C (500 Mgm.) and vitamin E (50 Mgm.); plus minerals, especially calcium, iron, iodine, and phosphorus. Diets should be individualized because each woman participant varies in her ability to digest, absorb, and utilize the various foods. Nutritional requirements will vary from day to day, so the diet and food supplements must be flexible and various nutrients must be increased or decreased in order to attain the highest benefits. This also applies to the male competitor.

The exact quantity and type of food and food supplements needed each day depend on physical activity, climatic conditions, weight, individual response, and tolerance to the various nutrients and food factors. Always keep this in mind, that nutrition is the sum total of those processes by which the living organism receives and utilizes the materials necessary for the maintenance of life which includes growth, the repair of worn out structures, and the liberation of energy. And here's something else that's mighty important to every individual, whether an athlete or not: too much food is just as detrimental to a person as too little nourishment. The important thing to remember is to consume adequate and proper nutrients on a balanced basis.

And now let's briefly discuss the letter "R" (rest) in my XDR program for athletes. Rest is so important to all mankind. The more strenuously an athlete trains, the more rest and relaxation is required to restore the human body to its normal condition and to replenish those cells which have been destroyed by overactivity.

My progressive training program was developed nearly 35 years ago, and has improved with the years in the development of new ideas, techniques, and procedures to meet the complex requirements of the 1960's.

After many years of continuous research, I have found that my XDR program is one of the finest and most productive in the world today in developing champions in every field of athletics.

Here is something very important to keep in mind: Athletes require various methods of training and conditioning, but in general the athletes should be on a progressive, training program, which consists of sprints for speed, distance work for stamina, and progressive resistance work for power. All athletes should gradually increase their daily workouts and correct their weak points until they develop a maximum of speed, stamina, and power. Many people do not realize that most "burnt-out" athletes can be brought back through correction of the various deficiencies and proper training.

Always remember—natural ability alone will carry an athlete a long way, but the super performance and world record achievement can only belong to the star who trains himself into perfect condition.

My convictions are based on factual findings in the case histories and performances of more than 50 athletes who have been under my XDR nutritional and training program. Many of the athletes who have conscientiously followed this program have gone on to become national and world champions in their specialties—breaking many records along the way. When first examined by me, more than 90 percent of these athletes had physical and nutritional deficiencies, varying in degree from slight to severe. The most common nutritional deficiencies were in proteins, vitamins (especially B-complex) and in minerals (notably iron).

Among the athletes who have developed into nationally and internationally known champions by following the XDR training programs are:

Weightlifting:

1. Tommy Kono: Multidivision Olympic and world champion. Beside winning eight world titles in three weightlifting classes, Kono has won the "Mr. World" title in 1954, and the "Mr. Universe" title in 1955, 1957, and 1961. Kono has officially exceeded 26 world, 7 Olympic, 8 Pan American, and 37 American records in 4 different weight classes.

2. Isaac Berger: 1956 Olympic champion and 1961 world champion. Berger has broken many world records.

3. Charles Vinci: 1956 and 1960 Olympic champion. Vinci has broken many Olympic and world records.

4. Emerick Ishikawa: Former world record holder. National champion and member of the 1948 U.S. Olympic team.

5. Richard Tomita: National champion and member of the 1948 and 1952 U.S. Olympic team.

6. Harold Sakata: Runnerup in the 181-pound class at the 1948 Olympic games.

7. George Yoshioka: National 132-pound title holder in 1951.

8. Ed Bailey: Second place winner, National AAU 198-pound championship, 1952.

Swimming:

1. Ford Konno: 1952 Olympic 1,500-meter champion. Konno has broken numerous American and world records from 200 meters to 1,500 meters.

2. Dick Cleveland: Many times national sprint champion and former holder of numerous world records.

3. Evelyn Kawamoto: Many times national women's champion and record holder. Winner of the U.S. final Olympic 400-meter tryouts and third place winner in the 400 meters at the 1952 Olympic games.

4. Yoshinobu Oyakawa: 1952 Olympic 100-meter backstroke champion and former world record holder. Oyakawa has broken many American and world records.

5. Robin Moore: Former 100-yard freestyle world record holder.

6. Shelley Mann: 1956 Olympic 100-meter butterfly champion.

Boxing:

1. Johnny Santos: Hawaii's most promising junior welterweight at the age of 20. Undefeated since 1963 with 20 straight wins.

2. Gaspar Ortega: World welterweight contender with a recent record of 12 consecutive KO's scored since April 22, 1964.

3. Stanley Harrington: Popular local fighter and world welterweight, world junior middleweight and world middleweight contender.

4. Frankie Fernandez: One of Hawaii's greatest fighters and former world welterweight contender.

5. Phillip (Wildcat) Kim: Former world ranking welterweight great.

6. Eddie Pace: World welterweight and world junior middleweight contender.

7. Norvel Lee: 1952 Olympic light heavyweight champion, and voted the most outstanding Olympic champion.

8. Edward Sanders: 1952 Olympic heavyweight champion.

9. Charles Adkins: 1952 Olympic light welterweight champion.

10. Roy Kuboyama: 1952 National intercollegiate flyweight champion.

11. Nate Brooks: 1952 Olympic flyweight champion.

12. David Moore: Member of 1952 Olympic team and former world featherweight champion.

Golf:

1. Tura Kahaleanu: 1956 women's Hawaiian champion at the age of 18.

2. Edna Lee: 1954 Hawaiian titleholder.

Long distance running:

1. Norman Tamanaha: Undefeated Hawaiian marathon champion and 5th place winner at the 1952 Boston marathon when he was 45 years old.

Track and field—Men:

1. Lindy Remigino: 1952 Olympic 100-meter champion.

2. Milton Campbell: 1956 Olympic decathlon champion.

3. Tom Courtney: 1956 Olympic 800-meter champion.

Track and field—Women:

1. Mildred McDaniels: 1956 Olympic high jump champion and world record holder.

2. Leah Bennett Ferris: Two time All-American, 1962 winner of the 880-yard national indoor and outdoor championships, setting a new world record in the indoor meet. Mrs. Ferris won the 1963 indoor 880-yard national championship and placed second at the 1963 Pan American games. She is the present holder of the American record in the 800-meter run (2:08.8).

3. Cindy Wyatt: Twice an All-American, national women's indoor shotput champion, in 1961, 1962, and 1963.

4. Karen Mendyka: 1962 national javelin champion.

5. Cynthia Hegarty: Placed second in the 1963 national 880 indoor championship. Miss Hegarty was a member of the 1963 U.S. Pan American team.

6. Lacey O'Neal: Third place winner in the 80-meter hurdles at the final U.S. Olympic tryouts, and member of the 1964 U.S. Olympic team. She placed in the semifinals in the 80-meter hurdles at the 1964 Olympic games in Tokyo, Japan.

Here are the important training and dietary rules for the average athlete:

1. Correct all physical and nutritional deficiencies first, before going into the preliminary phase of training and conditioning.

2. Take up a well planned preseason weight training course.

3. Set a high goal and work diligently toward it.

4. Experiment with yourself and make out a scientific and progressive training system which is most suitable to you.

5. Train for speed (repetition sprint work), stamina (long distance work), and power (progressive resistance work).

6. Train regularly, but not to the point of complete exhaustion.

7. The coach and trainer should supervise the athlete's workouts.

8. Try to get at least 8 to 10 hours of sleep every day.

9. Avoid tobacco, alcohol, and poor health habits.

10. Again I must stress—eat a large amount of good protein daily, such as: meats, fish, poultry, fresh milk, powdered milk, buttermilk, eggs, cheese, soybeans, nuts, legumes, and seed cereals.

11. Eat a large amount of foods rich in vitamins and minerals daily, such as: vegetables and fruits.

12. Eat some fats and vegetable oils daily.

13. Eat seafoods at least four times weekly.

14. Drink about 1 quart of milk daily.

15. Drink at least three glasses of fruit juices daily, especially the juices from citrus fruits.

16. Eat foods rich in vitamin B-complex daily, such as: whole-grain cereals, brewer's yeast, meats, fruits, and vegetables.

17. Increase the intake of proteins and fats during cold weather.

18. Increase the intake of water soluble vitamins and minerals in hot weather to replace the excessive loss caused by perspiration.

19. Avoid excess of carbohydrates (starches and sugar) in the diet.

20. Increase the intake of vitamin B-complex when your diet is high in carbohydrates.

21. Do not combine high protein foods (meat, cheese, fish, poultry, eggs) with large amounts of high starches (potatoes, rice, bread, spaghetti) in the same meal.

22. Always include in your daily diet the necessary food supplements, such as: high protein tablets and powder, multiple vitamin and mineral concentrates, liver, vitamin B–12 and iron tablets.

Vallejo's Greatest Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, my hometown of Vallejo, Calif., celebrated its greatest day last week when we launched the SSB (N) *Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo*, the last of the current projected construction of Polaris submarines.

We were honored in the West by the appearance of L. MENDEL RIVERS, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, his wife, Margaret, and my colleagues Representatives EDWARD R. ROYBAL, ELIGIO DE LA GARZA, DON H. CLAUSEN, and HARLAN HAGEN at the event.

The chairman delivered the following important policy statement indicating the direction of our committee:

Secretary Nitze, Admiral Fahy, my colleagues from the House of Representatives, Mr. DE LA GARZA, Mr. ROYBAL, Mr. LEGGETT, and descendants of General Vallejo, and ladies and gentlemen, I do not know for sure how many of General Vallejo's descendants are here today but I do know that he was 1 of 13 children and the father of 16 children, so I think it is a pretty good guess that some of the family are with us today.

There are several reasons why I am particularly pleased to join in this ceremony. This is the first time I have had an opportunity to visit Mare Island as chairman of the Armed Services Committee and, as far as I know, this is the first time in more than 30 years that a chairman of the Armed Services Committee, or its predecessor, the Naval Affairs Committee, has visited here. As you may have heard, my predecessor, the distinguished Carl Vinson, was somewhat averse to travel. He once told me that he went down in a submarine as a young Congressman in 1917 and since that experience had not felt any need to go down in a submarine again.

I am also pleased for personal reasons to be here, since I have had in my legislative career occasions to take a special interest in this locality. In 1950, I was chairman of a special subcommittee which held 2 days of hearings here in connection with the closing of the Mare Island Naval Hospital. I continue to have a special interest in Mare Island. As I'm sure you know, our committee has always taken a profound interest in naval shipyards. I am very much concerned about assuring the continued capability of our remaining eight naval shipyards and it is an inspiration for me to join with you in the launching of what is perhaps the finest product ever launched by west coast shipbuilding—the Polaris submarine, *Mariano G. Vallejo*.

My being here is also a tribute to the persuasive powers of your Congressman BOB LEGGETT. He's a mighty effective Congressman.

I am also pleased to represent the Congress in the ceremony today because this ship represents two aspects of our national defense in which the Congress has taken a special interest and, I might say, a special pride—the Polaris and attack nuclear submarines and nuclear power for major surface warships. And I shall have more to say about that later on.

It is singularly appropriate that we should name a Polaris submarine after that great son of California, Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo.

This submarine will be one of our most powerful weapons in containing the world ambitions of communism as directed from Soviet Russia. Over a hundred years ago General Vallejo was busy practicing a policy of containment on the Russians in northern California. At that time, when California was still under Mexico, General Vallejo led an expedition through northern California which held the Russian influence in check and began the colonization of the northern area of the State.

Trained from early years for military service, Vallejo became commandante general of California—the senior military officer in all California—when he was not yet 30 years old. We remember him most, however, for his efforts to bring California under the flag of the United States.

This was at a time when U.S. power in relation to the rest of the world was nothing near what it is today and Russia, France, and England were all seeking domination over California.

Vallejo, as I'm sure you all know, in addition to his military service, served as a legislator during most of his public career and it is a tribute to his statesmanship that the problems of uniting California with the United States were solved. More than any other man, he was responsible for the annexation of California by the United States. I am sure those who will be privileged to be in the crew of this great weapon of freedom will bear in mind that the ship bears a name that is synonymous with selfless service and a tradition of duty to the public trust.

This ship is the 38th to be launched in our current program of 41 nuclear powered Polaris submarines. Your record here in the Mare Island Shipyard in this construction program has been outstanding. Since you launched your first nuclear attack submarine—the U.S.S. *Sargo* in 1957, you have constructed six great Polaris submarines—the *Theodore Roosevelt*, the *Andrew Jackson*, the *Woodrow Wilson*, the *Daniel Boone*, and the *Stonewall Jackson*—and I appreciate your getting a Confederate in there—and you will soon commission the *Kamehameha* (Ka-ma-ha-may-ha).

Your record in the attack submarine field is also a long and enviable one. I foresee a tremendous future for the capability of this great shipyard complex. Your record of efficiency is a model for the entire American shipbuilding industry.

I know the people of this area have a special interest in the actions we take in Congress, and in the committee of which I have the honor to be chairman, on the matter of naval shipyards.

In our committee this year, with a big assist of one of our most diligent members, Vallejo's own BOB LEGGETT, we included a policy statement—section 303—in the military procurement authorization bill on the so-called 65–35 provision. This is the appropriation rider which directs that at least 35 percent of repair and alterations go to private yards. Our committee convinced the Congress, and I mean both the House and Senate, to join us in voicing disapproval of this hamstringing, uneconomical policy. And the Appropriations Committee followed our lead and took the provisions out of the defense appropriation bill.

While you are interested in our action on naval shipyards, I suspect you also have a keen interest in the matter of base closings.

Our committee has insisted that it must be an equal partner with the White House and the Pentagon on any revamping of our military forces. We recognize that it is necessary to get rid of deadwood from time to time—but our committee insists that we have an opportunity to verify that the wood is really dead before the Pentagon lights the match.

Although the President vetoed our first efforts in the military construction bill, a revised formula was agreed upon and signed into law and I am satisfied it will allow the Congress to carry out its duties in providing for our Armed Forces according to the duties imposed on us by the Constitution.

The Polaris submarine which we launch today is a source of special pride to Members of the Congress. Both in the development of nuclear submarine technology and in the advance to the Polaris concept, the Congress has taken a special hand. Several committees over the years have pushed these developments and I think it is fair to say that without the spur provided by Congress the nuclear submarine program would not be nearly as advanced as it is at this hour.

The Polaris submarine is an undersea launching platform for long-range ballistic missiles. Its advent added to our strategic power the desperately needed quality of invulnerability. One of the greatest assets of this weapons system is that it provides insurance against accidental start of a global conflict for the very simple reason that it provides a barrier against a paralyzing first strike in a surprise attack.

There used to be the fear that a war could start by accident because such a firing would look like a surprise attack and there would not be time to determine whether the attack was real or not until it was too late. By its invulnerability, the Polaris submarine takes away from a potential enemy this option of destroying our capability with one surprise blow. The Navy used to have a photograph it distributed which merely showed a stretch of ocean and the caption was, "Polaris on Station." The message was apt.

You can't launch a surprise attack at what you can't see and what you can't find.

All of us in America sleep a little easier because we know these Polaris submarines are there, and I hope the men who serve on this ship and those who serve on all other Polaris ships who must fight tedium constantly in their long ocean deployments will remember when I say how much we all appreciate the importance and dedication of their service and know that their sacrifices do not go unhonored.

Your Navy, like the other Armed Forces, improving constantly with the rapid growth of new technology. It has not stood still and it must not stand still in the future.

If it is necessary for the Congress to take the lead to insure this, then the Congress will perform that duty. In approving a $15.3 billion ship, plane and missile program authorization bill this year, my committee included a number of unusually important developments. Among these were four fast deployment logistics ships, a hydrofoil gunboat that is faster than a PT boat, additional nuclear attack submarines and, most important of all, a nuclear-powered missile frigate.

The committee stated that it was unhappy with the rate of application of nuclear power to surface warships. I said at the time: "The committee feels that the Department of Defense has been extremely dilatory in pushing nuclear power for surface ships. It is true that we do have three nuclear-powered surface ships today but this is quite literally a drop in the bucket when viewed in the light of the ships which are still conventionally powered.

"The addition by the committee of this guided missile frigate will at the one time express the will of Congress that greater and more rapid progress be made in the field of nuclear-powered surface ships and help to break the logjam of disinterest—if that is what it can be called—in the Pentagon with respect to nuclear power.

"This is just one manifestation of the intention of the Armed Services Committee to place itself in the forefront of military determination in direct accordance with the constitutional responsibilities of the Congress."

One year ago this month the world's first nuclear-powered task force consisting of the aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, the guided missile cruiser *Long Beach* and the guided missile frigate *Bainbridge* made a historic 30,000-mile cruise around the world without logistic support of any kind.

This cruise, named Operation Sea Orbit, prove conclusively the feasibility of operating nuclear surface ships throughout the oceans of the world on a self-sustaining basis.

It gave world leaders the opportunity to witness firsthand the capability of the U.S. Navy to operate nuclear-powered warships anywhere, independent of support ships—a feat out of the question for conventionally-powered ships.

In the last 3 years the *Enterprise*, *Long Beach*, and *Banbridge* have proved their outstanding reliability in steaming over one-half million miles. In addition to these three operational nuclear-powered surface warships, a fourth, the nuclear-powered guided missile frigate *Truxtun*, will join the fleet next year. This first nuclear-powered task force will be assigned duty in the Pacific in the near future.

Oil-fired warships must be refueled every few days.

This requires a vulnerable, worldwide distribution system to provide fuel oil for conventional ships. As the number of foreign nuclear submarines increases and as the air striking capabilities of our potential enemies increase, the difficulty of providing this logistic support will increase. The basic reason for developing nuclear power for surface warships is to reduce this logistic support—support which will be most difficult, if not impossible, to provide in wartime.

Now that the United States has over 50 nuclear submarines at sea—now that our Polaris armed nuclear submarines stand their watchful guard hidden under the oceans of the world—few remember that it was Congress that arranged to buy the shipboard nuclear power plants for our first two nuclear submarines, the U.S.S. *Nautilus* and U.S.S. *Seawolf*, with Atomic Energy Commission funds for the simple reason that the Defense Department would not give the necessary support to the nuclear submarine project in the early 1950's.

Today history is repeating itself—Congress has had to take the initiative to overcome the reluctance of the Department of Defense to use nuclear propulsion in new surface warships. As I mentioned before, Congress this year authorized construction of the fifth nuclear powered surface warship—a guided missile frigate. This nuclear powered ship was added to this year's Defense Department authorization even though the Secretary of Defense had overruled a Navy proposal to build such a ship.

In doing this, Congress was acting under the power granted to the legislative branch under article 1 of the Constitution, namely the authorities: "To raise and support Armies, * * *; to provide and maintain a Navy; and to make rules for the Government and regulation of the land and naval forces."

These clauses were not inserted in the Constitution for the purpose of endowing the National Government with power to do these things, but rather to designate the legislative branch as the department of government which should exercise such powers. Moreover, they permit Congress to take measures essential to the national defense in time of peace as well as during a period of actual conflict.

These powers and the responsibility that comes with them were reaffirmed by the House Armed Services Committee in our report on the 1966 defense authorization bill and I quote:

"I hope that these words will go beyond this room, and that the American public will know that as of now this committee has picked up the gauntlet unhesitatingly that has been thrown down. And I hope in the months to come this committee will have the opportunity to prove to this Nation that we will discharge our responsibility as written in the Constitution and that this committee and the Congress is not the creature of an agency or department, but that department is our creature and it is ours to direct and guide."

Concerning the question of whether or not to build nuclear-powered surface warships, the committee has been told by the Department of Defense that the choice we face is between a given number of conventional ships and a smaller number of nuclear ships for the same total cost. In other words, to improve a weapons system, we are told that we must reduce the number of weapons to pay for it.

We in Congress reject the Department of Defense concept that improvements in our Nation's defense capabilities must be paid for by a reduction in the number of weapons. We reject the idea that we must not build nuclear-powered surface warships because we could build more conventional ships with the same money.

The U.S. Navy needs more warships with the unique capabilities provided by nuclear propulsion. Recognizing this, Congress has supported a major scientific and engineering effort to achieve the capability. Today the U.S. Navy is preeminent in the field of nuclear propulsion throughout the world. We must take advantage of this lead by building more ships which have the tremendous advantages nuclear propulsion can give them.

The argument used today against building nuclear-powered surface warships is the same as that used a decade ago by those in the Defense Department who did not want to go to nuclear power in submarines. It was also the one used by those in authority a half-century ago who did not want to convert our warships from coal to oil, and by those a century ago who did not want to shift from sail to steam. This argument is that the new means of propulsion is more expensive than the old.

Cost effectiveness comparisons have been cited to Congress by the Defense Department to support the contention that the advantages of nuclear propulsion are not particularly significant. These studies, however, contain a fundamental weakness that makes them wrong. The comparisons presented by the Defense Department were based on the assumption that in wartime logistic support forces will not be subjected to enemy attack and will suffer no losses. This is obviously a fallacious assumption. We must prepare our military forces for times of crisis. It is in the heat of battle that the superior mobility, flexibility and reliability of nuclear warships will give the United States an unequaled military advantage which could be crucial to deciding the outcome.

Further, many of the cost effectiveness studies have shown that the overall construction and lifetime operating costs of nuclear-powered surface warships are about the same as the overall construction and lifetime operating costs of conventially powered ships with their larger logistic support requirements. The higher initial cost of nuclear ships is counter-balanced by the cost of the extensive and vulnerable distribution system required to provide fuel oil for the conventional ships. The small differences in cost calculated for nuclear powered forces compared to conventional forces are less than the errors inherent in the oversimplified assumptions used in the calculations.

There is a real danger in continuing to produce ineffectual cost effectiveness studies to justify decisions affecting our national security. Such studies divert attention from the real issues that should form the basis for making decisions.

Past wars and military developments should have taught us by now that:

First, a war, small or large, does not follow a predescribed pattern laid out in advance. If we could predict the sequence of events, we probably could avoid the war.

Second, when a war starts, we must fight with what we have—not with equipment still on the drawing boards or in the minds of men. You will recall that the aircraft used throughout World War II had been designed prior to the war. Remember that it takes years to produce major military equipment from the drawing board. For example, it takes 4 to 5 years to build an aircraft carrier. We may not be fortunate enough to have such time available in the future.

I have just come back from Saigon and one thought particularly strikes home. It is difficult to know who will be our friends and who will be our enemies in future years. Since World War II our three major enemies have become our friends and two of our previous major allies have become our antagonists. Bases in foreign countries which we must presently depend upon for storage of fuel oil for our conventionally powered warships may not be available when needed in future conflicts due to changes in the international situation. It is dangerous to assume that such advance bases will be there when they are needed to support our combat forces in a time of a national emergency.

It was Congress who took the lead in forcing the shift to nuclear power in submarines. It was Congress who took the lead in spending a half billion dollars to develop nuclear propulsion for surface warships. It was Congress who strongly supported the building of the three nuclear surface warships now in the fleet which have so ably demonstrated to the world the obvious capabilities of nuclear propulsion in warships. It

is Congress who must exercise its responsibility to "provide and maintain a Navy" by authorizing more nuclear-powered surface warships.

The new nuclear-powered frigate authorized this year by Congress means a great deal more than a mere addition of a ship to the fleet. There can be no doubt of the wisdom of adding this vessel to the program, but this authorization by Congress goes well beyond that goal.

The House Armed Services Committee feels, and has felt for all too long that the Department of Defense has both procrastinated and vacillated in its approach to nuclear-powered surface ships. It has an in-and-out game, with nuclear propulsion recommended for 1 year and a return to conventional power the next year—and for the same general type of ship.

Since the authorization of the *Enterprise*, *Long Beach*, and *Bainbridge*, the Navy has added 12 new surface warships to the fleet which are types logically suited for nuclear propulsion. Of these, only one, the frigate *Truxtun*, will have nuclear power; this during a period when nuclear propulsion was technically feasible for all 12 warships.

The House Armed Services Committee was encouraged this year by testimony received from the Secretary of Defense to the effect that it is highly probable that a nuclear-powered aircraft carrier will be requested next year. However, the committee stated at that time that it will ask the House to authorize a nuclear-powered carrier next year whether requested by the Department of Defense or not. A nuclear-powered carrier will appear in next year's bill when presented on the floor regardless of any foreseeable circumstances, technical, fiscal, or otherwise. We may even go further and direct that it be constructed.

It is foolhardy not to build military equipment that is known to be superior to existing equipment presently in use if the technology needed to build the better equipment exists. The technology necessary to build nuclear-powered surface warships exists today. We already have three in operation and they work fine.

I am convinced, and I think it is fair to say that the Congress as a body is convinced, that the Navy of the future must be nuclear powered. There is no reason why our future aircraft carriers, cruisers, frigates, and destroyers cannot be powered by nuclear energy. It is clear that continuing to build conventionally powered warships will, in the long run, be economically wasteful; it would be following a policy of built-in obsolescence. I serve notice here and now that the Armed Services Committee is not going to let that happen. I hope the military planners will come in with a realistic request next year for nuclear power in the surface warship building program. But if they don't, my committee will make its own long and searching study into the problem. We are not going to let the U.S. Navy become obsolete.

In conclusion, I thank you for the contribution you have made here at Mare Island to our national defense as symbolized in this great ship. To the men of the USS *Mariano G. Vallejo*, I say you serve a ship with a proud name and I know that you will serve it proudly.

Economic Inequities

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY
OF GEORGIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CALLAWAY. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year, I was visited by Mr. William D. Pardrige, of Virginia, an economist who brought with him some thought-provoking articles which he has published throughout the country. Mr. Pardrige's purpose in visiting me was to ask that I insert in the RECORD a guest editorial which he had published in one of my district newspapers. In studying Mr. Pardrige's material, I found some points of disagreement, and therefore hesitated to meet his request; yet an exchange of correspondence between us has changed my mind. I want now to insert his material into the RECORD, preceded by our correspondence, which I believe will make clear his purpose and mine: to provoke, in spite of differences, some honest thought about the economic trends of this Nation:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., October 12, 1965.

Mr. WILLIAM D. PARDRIGE,
Economic Inequities,
The Plains, Va.

DEAR MR. PARDRIGE: I enjoyed meeting with you. I think your plan for a book on economics composed of 50 editorials in the 50 States is a unique one.

As you know, I told you that I would go over your editorial in the Columbus Enquirer carefully to see whether I felt it proper for me to enter this in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Although I am not one who enters a great deal of material in the RECORD, I would be glad to do it for an important project such as yours, provided I think the editorial contributes to the principles that I believe in.

Having read your editorial carefully now, I find that it is not entirely in accord with my own philosophy on at least two points. First, working teenagers; and second, the national mandatory school age limit of 18.

I, of course, think it is a shame for any teenager to drop out of school in order to work, and thus be handicapped by a lack of schooling for the rest of his or her life. I have always felt that gainful work by teenagers during vacation or during off-school hours is extremely important. I have strenuously opposed the proposed revisions of the minimum wage laws for the very reason that, in my opinion, these amendments would deny teenagers their present share of the work force. I don't think there is a better way to prepare a teenager for the life ahead than productive work at an early age.

I would very definitely be opposed to a national mandatory school age limit. I am not one of those who feels that we can solve all of our problems with national legislation. If there is anything that should by our Constitution and by our entire Federal concept be left up to the States, it should be the question of school truancy laws.

Although there is a great deal of what you say with which I agree, I feel that there is enough with which I disagree to make it inadvisable for me to enter your material into the RECORD.

I feel that I could not do this without some kind of a disclaimer, and that with the disclaimer, it would not serve your purpose.

Sincerely,

HOWARD H. CALLAWAY.

THE PLAINS, VA.,
October 14, 1965.

Hon. HOWARD H. CALLAWAY,
Third District, Georgia,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CALLAWAY: I have your honest letter of October 12.

On August 16 of this year Senator HUGH SCOTT, of Pennsylvania, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Pittsburgh Press, the article being one of the 50 parts of the series entitled "Economic Inequities." I quote Senator SCOTT: "One need not agree with every word to share the author's hope that he will stimulate the public's thinking."

On June 11 of this year Senator ALAN BIBLE, of Nevada, inserted in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD an article from the Las Vegas Review-Journal, it being another in the series. I quote Senator BIBLE: "While I do not necessarily endorse all of Mr. Pardridge's conclusions, I believe that they are worthy of the attention of the Senate."

Mr. Congressman, your letter of October 12 is flat proof that Senator SCOTT's and my hopes that the series "will stimulate the public's thinking" are not forlorn ones. Accordingly, with such hopes held high, I ask you as earnestly as I know how to enter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the disclaimer of your last paragraph along with the article from the Columbus, Ga., Enquirer.

I note that you decry the "proposed revisions of the Minimum Wage Act." I do also, Congressman CALLAWAY, on the economic ground that upward revision will reduce total employment and thus defeat in an aggregate manner the good intentions of those who think in terms of wand-like prosperity for all.

Second, I note that you oppose "a national mandatory school age limit." So do I. This is a State's problem of statute law, not a Federal one. I said in the article that "there is not one honest juvenile court judge in this Nation who would not sleep better if (1) the national mandatory school age limit were raised to 18." There isn't today any national mandatory school age limit. The juvenile court judges, bless them, would be happy as a societal minority group, yes, but the free sociopolitical structure of America would be attacked by any such Federal manifesto.

I have been to many, many parts of our country on foot and by automobile, and I know well that the differences in societal habits between different parts of America provide the basic sociological cause of American individuality. No, Mr. Congressman, I myself want no Federal legislation that could homogenize our geosocial traits. On the other hand, if some peculiar chap were seriously to propose in the Halls of Congress such Federal law, the ensuing hue and cry just might be enough to lead a lot of folk back home in the 50 States to look carefully at their own local laws governing school age limits.

I find it difficult, if not impossible, to deny that modern technological advances have not made mandatory more schooling and education than required when you and I went to grade and high schools. And that wasn't too long ago.

Let me return to Senator SCOTT's remarks of August 16. Again I quote him: "From careful thought, better solutions to our economic problems may emerge, and, for this reason, I believe the provocative points raised are well worth the attention of all of us."

If my article has induced you, not by tricks but by genuine differences of opinion, to think carefully about these matters, then the article has not been a waste but a profit. Give the article, together with the fundamental reasoning of your October 12 letter, to the people of Georgia and the other 49 States.

I urge you, then, to insert the article in the RECORD, but allowing, I see now, our two letters and any remarks my letter may bring to mind to precede its printing point.

Yours could be the finest disclaimer, if that's what it is, made public so far.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM D. PARDRIDGE.

[From the Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer, Sept. 25, 1965]

LABOR ISN'T LOOKING TO FUTURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The following article is written by William D. Pardridge, an econo-

mist of The Plains, Va. It is one of a series which will be compiled into a book called "Economic Inequities." Pardridge's previous articles have won the praise of Senators and Representatives, and although his pen is sharp and stabbing, he has a surprising message for the persevering reader.)

(By William D. Pardridge)

American management simply cannot be blamed for organized labor's abject failure to see beyond an increase in wages, an increase in fringe benefits, and a decrease in the workweek.

These three goals are justified ends in a normal, progressively productive economy, but they are not goals to satisfy labor's demands to be recognized. Everybody wants a cut of the pie when it's on the window sill, but nobody wants to pick the berries.

Organized labor today has the benevolent power to deliver a body blow to economic unemployment and to be a real hero to its children. But there's no glory for the leaders in fighting to get long-run benefits.

These near-sighted windbags will tell you it isn't moral to take a 10-year-old boy out of school and put him to work.

Making an 11-year-old girl work full time or even part time in a grocery store is not part of the great humanitarian aims of the glorious American labor movement.

That kind of talk is drivel. She isn't there for the same reason her 12-year-old cousin isn't working in the cannery where his father is a foreman. She just doesn't know enough to guide the tomato crates.

In the next county the cannery foreman has a widowed sister-in-law with 13-year-old twins and one boy a year older. The twins are in school, but the 14-year-old boy is a bona fide, real McCoy digit of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. You see, he works.

The widowed woman has a neighbor whose husband works in a steel mill and who drives a late-model car owned by the finance company. They have a 15-year-old daughter and a son. The girl goes to school now and then, but the 16-year-old boy dropped out of school because he didn't like civics and geometry. He plays pool while he looks for a job.

He can escape work, but he cannot escape the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics, which says he is unemployed. His old man's union doesn't want him—he can't do the work. Things have changed at the mill since the time his own father did go to work there at the age of 16 years.

Across the street live two brothers of the ages 17 and 18. The younger boy also dropped out of school because he didn't like history and geography. He works full time at a gas station on Main Street. The 18-year-old is a senior in high school, and so the BLS doesn't count him as a member of the labor force.

Now, on the north side of town the gas-station boy's uncle is out of work. He is out of work only because he himself was a gas station attendant on Main Street when he was 17.

The uncle is on some sort of a dole, which the Office of Unequal Opportunity calls "an appropriation by the U.S. Congress to wipe poverty off the face of the earth."

This is great. This is nifty. And labor's leaders are bloated with satisfaction. They don't have to worry about the uncle. Besides, it isn't costing anybody any money. Congress just appropriated it. Congress should do this more often.

One day, though, the gas station owner told the uncle he could have the 17-year-old's job because the kid was now going to a brandnew vocational school that never heard of history and geography.

The old-fashioned uncle took the job, went off the dole, and started bringing home the bacon. His neighbors thought he was crazy.

In America in 1964 there were 3 million—count 'em—3 million employed persons under 18 years of age.

And in that same America there were 3 million—count 'em if you dare—3 million unemployed persons over 18 years of age.

The exact figures, from the U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics, are 3,065,000 employed under 18, and 3,350,000 unemployed 18 and over.

While the union big wheels are eating mashed potatoes and gravy, their kids are either starving or playing pool, depending, of course, on how their parents vote. This is not a political party matter, though, as some would say, for Republicans and Democrats alike have their failings.

Tomorrow's job simply is forsaken for today's plum pudding.

Just who, then, is going to mind the store next week? Nobody.

Labor over the past century or so has fought diligently and nobly, at great personal sacrifice, to reduce the workweek from 80 hours to the present 40 hours. But not one of the "leaders" has placed a mortgage on his house of power to increase the mandatory school age of his very own children.

The crafts are dying right in front of the shortsighted eyes of the big, wonderful, humanitarian labor movement. They are dying because of the incredible technological advancement that has no place in it for the untrained, the school dropout—who would not be dropouts, by and large, if there were as many public trade schools as there are public schools for rote history and geography.

The engineers are ahead of the operators, and big labor either doesn't know this or is too afraid to do anything about it.

The 35-hour week is a big deal with much fanfare and immediate glory. So is the Office of Unequal Opportunity. There's room for everybody, folks. Step right up and get your share.

There is not one honest juvenile court judge in this Nation who would not sleep better if (1) the national mandatory school age limit were raised to 18, and (2) the billions of the poverty program were applied directly and immediately to construction and teacher-training programs for as many vocational schools as are needed.

These twin programs would in themselves be good for the economy if, of course, they were financed from the economic profits of the Nation instead of from its working capital.

Labor unions are like nations—they forget guys like Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Gompers, guys who put them in business in the first place.

Is there a single leader in America today who has the courage publicly to agree with Samuel Gompers, the cigarmaker who founded the American Federation of Labor, that "Doing for people what they can and ought to do for themselves is a dangerous experiment. In the last analysis, the welfare of the workers depend upon their own initiative. Whatever is done under the guise of philanthropy or social morality which in any way lessens initiative is the greatest crime that can be committed against the toilers."

Big labor in 1965 is in arrears. And the Devil is watching.

Major Policy Statement by President Nyerere of Tanzania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, seated next to the delegation from the United States in the Assembly Hall of the United Nations is the delegation from the United Republic of Tanzania, the President of which, Julius K. Nyerere, I am honored to number among my personal friends.

President Nyerere made a major policy statement regarding Southern Rhodesia in the course of his state of the union message to the opening session of Parliament in October. The occasion was the first meeting of the Tanzanian National Assembly following general elections held in September in which Nyerere received a massive vote of confidence from the electorate and after which he took over the reins of the Ministry of External Affairs.

In his statement on Southern Rhodesia he clarified Tanzania's policy, commented on British policy, outlined a three-point plan for a peaceful solution of the problem, appealed to white leaders of Southern Rhodesia, and discussed the proper role of Rhodesian nationalists in Dar es Salaam. His remarks in respect to the latter constituted a warning that Tanzania would not be used as a staging area for any violence in Southern Rhodesia.

TANZANIA POLICY

President Nyerere first noted that he had said during the September election campaign that Tanzania would leave the Commonwealth if Britain acquiesced in independence without majority rule. This remained true, he said, but was not a threat to Britain, for Britain does not own the Commonwealth. It was no more a threat to the United Kingdom, he explained, than to Ghana, India, or Canada, "but rather a test of our own adherence to the principles we say we believe in."

BRITISH POLICY

In commenting on British policy, President Nyerere said:

On the principle of majority rule before independence there can be no compromise. We are not yet satisfied that the United Kingdom Government is insisting on the achievement of majority rule before independence. But I want to make it clear that I regard the principle to be of more importance than timing. It is infinitely more important to have the right solution than a quick solution. And it is infinitely preferable to have a peaceful solution than to have the peoples of Rhodesia suffer the horrors of war.

President Nyerere acknowledged that:

For historical reasons the situation in that colony—Southern Rhodesia—is very difficult.

He added:

Because I believe we must seize any chance which remains to us, I have informed the British Prime Minister that so long as this principle (majority rule) is maintained, Tanzania would do all in her power to cooperate in securing a transition to majority rule and then to independence.

THREE POINT PLAN FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTION

The Tanzanian President then outlined three concepts which could contribute to the peaceful attainment of majority rule:

A. A right solution is more important than a quick solution.

B. The advancement of the Rhodesian people will be greatly assisted by the unity of the nationalist forces of that colony.

C. The possibilities of peaceful transition to majority rule will be much increased if nationalist leaders, provided they are not

locked up in prisons or detention camps, should show willingness to use constitutional methods of struggle if these are available to them.

President Nyerere said that the whole of Africa prefers to use constitutional methods and it is only when these are suppressed that other methods are considered. He declared:

We know no constitutional advance could satisfy nationalist forces unless it gives independence on the basis of majority rule. But this is no reason for not accepting interim steps so long as the final goal remains open. I do not say these things in ignorance of the difficulties which face our brothers in Southern Rhodesia. But I think that if the constitutional path is open to the smallest degree, it should be used.

APPEAL TO RHODESIAN LEADERS

In referring to the failure of the Rhodesian talks in London, President Nyerere said that the United Kingdom Government, despite a difficult internal political situation, refused to accede to the demands of the colonial minority government. He said:

Tanzania welcomed the stand, and congratulated Prime Minister Wilson and his colleagues for the courage they have shown. I hoped this indication that the principle of no independence before majority rule has been accepted despite British refusal to use these words. The dangers of UDI remain very real. I hope the London discussions will have caused Rhodesian authorities to think again and realize that black and white Rhodesians will gain from acceptance of the principles of democratic independence and that they planned to move toward their implementation. If the Rhodesian white people would accept these principles, I do not think they would find Africa unsympathetic to their genuine though baseless fears. It is no part of African nationalism to replace one type of racial discrimination by another.

PROPER ROLE OF RHODESIAN NATIONALISTS IN TANZANIA

President Nyerere then turned to the Rhodesian nationalists:

I wish to make clear our attitude to the leaders of the Rhodesian people now in Dar es Salaam and I hope these leaders will take note of what I am saying. We expect the members of nationalist forces who are in our country to act and talk as responsible people and to recognize the desires of humanity. Sometimes when they speak they sound as if they were anxious that there should be a fight in Rhodesia. The rest of us in Africa are working extremely hard and doing our best to safeguard the principles we stand by while avoiding violent struggle. We may fail and a fight may become inevitable. We hope it does not; but if it does, I want to make it quite clear that the fighting will take place in Rhodesia and will be led from Rhodesia and in Rhodesia. It is absurd to expect that the grim fight can be led from the comfort of Dar es Salaam. The right place for these leaders is with Joshua Nkomo and Ndabangi Sithole and the masses in Rhodesia.

He Does Us Honor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, recently the Chicago Sentinel, one of the oldest and most respected publications in Chicago, paid a most deserving tribute to Mr. Seymour Simon, president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners.

Mr. Simon has earned the respect of the entire community in Metropolitan Chicago for his dedication and imaginative leadership as presiding officer of the largest county in the entire world.

Mr. Simon has discharged his responsibilities with a degree of dedication which indeed places him as one of the truly competent government executives in this country.

I should like to include the Sentinel article in the RECORD today because Mr. Simon brings great honor on all of us privileged to serve in government:

HE DOES US HONOR

(By J. I. Fishbein)

American Jewry has noted with justifiable pride the recent elevation of two of its most distinguished sons to high public office. There is no doubt that U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg and Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas will bring us much "nachas" in the years that lie ahead.

Last week our local press gave praise to another member of our faith, who unlike most politicians, prefers to shun the limelight. Seymour Simon, second Jew to ever hold the important post of president of the Cook County Board of Commissioners, has by thoughtful effort accomplished wonders during his brief 3 years in office.

The news media gave praise to Simon for closing the boarder baby ward at Cook County Hospital which was formerly home for healthy children abandoned at the hospital. All of them—at times as many as 100—have now been placed in foster homes, legally adopted, or settled temporarily in orphanages. President Simon ordered the assignment of additional caseworkers, cutting through the redtape in adoption and child placement procedures to see that these children would not continue to be deprived of the care and affection they so desperately needed. For the first time, too, the space they occupied can now be used for babies needing hospital care.

In 3 years since becoming president of the county board, Seymour Simon has created a long list of impressive achievements in local government, not sufficiently acknowledged.

Cook County Hospital, which in 1962 was on the verge of losing its accreditation has been fully accredited. This was achieved largely through the adoption of the recommendations of a citizens' committee appointed by President Simon. Acting on its advice he put through a number of other improvements at the hospital which will assure future accreditation.

The administrative structure has been overhauled, the position of administrator created, and William McCoy, an extremely competent and experienced hospital administrator appointed to fill the job.

A diversion program was initiated and is proving successful. Through it, Cook County Hospital, cooperating with private hospitals, diverts a number of potential county patients to them, thereby eliminating the problem of overcrowding which has plagued county hospital for so many years. Because most of these patients are on some form of public assistance, the diversion program to be successful, required that someone cut through the redtape and establish procedures by which the State department of public aid could pay private hospitals in the same manner as they pay Cook County Hospital for hospital services.

Cook County opened Herrick House, a separate shelter for neglected and dependent children, in pleasant, rustic surroundings. The children were formerly housed at the Audy Home, where a confinement atmosphere prevails.

Budgets have been adopted which have greatly increased expenditures on welfare and hospital services without increase in taxes. In fact, there was a decrease in the tax levy for 1965. The administration has accomplished this amazing result through discipline and austerity in spending plus an imaginative program of pursuing non-real-estate sources of funds.

A department of air pollution was created in 1962. By 1963 some 15 monitoring stations were established and in 1964 it received a Federal grant of $150,000 to expand its research and activities.

A "clean streams" program is well underway using able-bodied relief recipients to clean badly polluted streams.

A public defender was assigned to the mental health clinic to protect the rights of persons involved in commitment hearings.

The superintendent of the Audy Home was given complete authority to hire personnel dealing with children without regard to any political sponsorship.

Liquor control laws in the unincorporated areas have been enforced in a serious and responsible manner.

Idle Forest Preserve land acquisition funds have been invested in interest-bearing U.S. Government securities.

For efficiency and economy, more centralized purchasing was organized. Also, a program has been initiated for cooperative purchasing with the city of Chicago and forest preserve district.

The building and zoning departments have been merged; administration of the highway department has been overhauled; the veterans assistance commission which duplicated activities of other agencies has been eliminated and its function taken over by the department of public aid. A number of the divisions within the department of public aid have been merged.

A new botanical garden, first of its kind in the Chicago area, is being developed at the north end of Cook County in the Skokie Lagoons.

Local government problems, particularly zoning, were brought closer to the people in the areas involved. Zoning committee meetings of the Cook County Board are being held in the village halls and the president of the county board attends them personally.

Aid was given to distressed areas in time of catastrophe, primarily through the department of civil defense.

This impressive record was achieved with more unanimity on the part of the county board members than almost any previous administration. It is a unique tribute to President Simon's administrative skill and dedication.

In addition to all this, he has found the time to play an active role in every phase of Jewish communal endeavor. He is never too busy to aid a good cause.

We Jews are so often involved in Jewish "tzoris" that we tend to overlook occasions for saying "well done." Seymour Simon deserves that "Yasher Koach." He does us all honor and adds luster to our name.

Report to the People of Maryland on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to report to the people of Maryland on the unprecedented

accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

From farm to factory, from city to countryside, from Assateague Island to Appalachia, the actions of this Congress have benefited the Nation and the State of Maryland.

For your information, I have compiled with the help of the Democratic study group a brief summary of the major legislation enacted in this session of Congress, including legislation to control crime and extend civil rights, legislation to promote the economy and improve our educational system, legislation to advance health and improve housing, and finally, legislation to aid the elderly, preserve our natural resources and natural beauty, and deal with many miscellaneous problems that confront our Nation.

To control crime we have enacted the following:

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Law enforcement aid: Authorizes 3-year program of grants by Attorney General to help State, local police, and other agencies improve enforcement methods and otherwise prevent crime; authorizes $10 million for 1966.

President's Crime Commission: Authorizes $1,500,000 for the expenses of the two Presidential Commissions on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement, both established in July of 1965 by Executive order for crime studies and recommendations to reduce and prevent it.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

To extend civil rights, we have enacted:

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

To promote the economy, we have enacted:

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed, 11-State Appalachian region. This bill is of great importance to Allegany, Garrett, and Washington Counties.

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty. In addition to continuing operation Head Start many local antipoverty programs in Maryland will be aided by this bill.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal excises by 1969. Along with other legislation aiding our economy, this bill helped push the unemployment rate in Maryland to its lowest point in the last 9 years.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation. Provides a ground work for "Bullet Train" in the Washington-Baltimore-Boston Northeast Corridor.

Manpower and development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs. To date 2,000 Marylanders have been trained or retrained for new jobs under this program.

Public works and economic development: Provides expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry. The Maryland Department of Economic Development strongly endorsed this legislation stating that it would not only "encourage the birth of new firms, but will also serve to encourage the healthy expansion of existing Maryland industry."

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement, bolsters farm income.

To improve our education system, we have enacted:

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families. Maryland schools will receive about $18 million annually under this bill.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loan and scholarships to aid needy students. Construction funds for Maryland colleges and universities are doubled by this bill.

Impacted aid: Extends and expands program under which Maryland currently receives $18 million annually for elementary and secondary school construction and operation to communities in which large numbers of Federal employees live.

Teacher Corps—part of higher education bill: Provides teacher teams and interns to aid school staff in slum areas. Six thousand teachers will comprise the Corps. This is especially significant to Baltimore City.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons.

To advance health, we have enacted:

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program. Expansion of the University of Maryland Medical School and Johns Hopkins School of Public Health have already been financed under this program.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunizations, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers. This bill would staff mental health facilities to be constructed in the Baltimore and Washington metropolitan areas.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke. Both the University of Maryland Medical School and Johns Hopkins Medical School are in the process of planning how best to utilize this program in Maryland.

To improve housing and urban development, we have enacted:

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas. Maryland's urban areas, in which 75 percent of our State's population lives, will now have a voice at the President's Cabinet meetings.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low and moderate income families. Expanded open-space programs and planning grants will help Maryland cities develop in a more orderly manner.

To aid the elderly, we have enacted:

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government. This bill aids almost 30,000 Federal retirees and their survivors residing in Maryland.

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in social security law. The medicare program will aid 264,000 Maryland senior citizens; 270,000 Marylanders will receive increased social security benefits under the bill; and another 15,000 will receive payments for the first time under the liberalized provisions.

To preserve and protect natural resources and natural beauty, we have enacted:

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Assateague Island National Seashore: Provides for the establishment of the As-

sateague Island National Seashore in the States of Maryland and Virginia. An estimated 3 million visitors annually are expected to visit the island.

Highway beautification: Provides for gradual control over billboards, signs, and so forth, along federally aided highways of the interstate and primary systems; offers incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control program, grants for waste treatment plant construction; strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams. This bill is important to Maryland's shellfish industry and to communities lacking adequate pollution control facilities.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development; another new law establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas; a separate program was authorized to plan a water supply system for the northeastern part of the country.

To deal with numerous other problems that confront our State and Nation, we have enacted:

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, and so forth. A grant to aid the establishment of a Maryland Council on the Arts is included in this program.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Federal pay comparability: provides salary increase for Federal classified and postal employees to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other changes in fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances. This measure is important to the Maryland economy and the 90,000 Marylanders who work for the Federal Government.

House rules reform: Amendments to rules of the House to expedite consideration of legislation and provide for more democratic procedures.

Immigration Act amendments: Abolishes discriminatory "national origins" quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants from all former quota countries and 120,000 from the Western Hemisphere, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens and persons possessing skills needed to improve our economic growth.

Mass transit for the Washington metropolitan area: Authorizes construction of a 25-mile rail rapid transit for the National Capital area, to be operated through contracts with private concerns, at an estimated total cost of $431 million excluding an estimated $52 million in interest. The bill authorizes $150 million in grants for construction and equipment—$100 million from Federal funds and $50 million from District of Columbia funds.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4-percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, including 50,000 Marylanders, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retirees.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

If you desire additional information on any of these programs, please let me know. I appreciate the opportunity to represent you in the House of Representatives.

Only 2 Left of Company I's 112

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. BARRATT O'HARA
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include the following article from the St. Joseph, Mich., Herald-Press of September 18, 1965:

TELLS OF 1898 CUBA CAMPAIGN

One of the last two survivors of the Berrien County Army volunteers to the Spanish-American war visited Benton Harbor this week on a sad mission.

Archie J. House, now of St. Petersburg, Fla., was here to attend to the burial of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Anna Price, the widow of M. A. Price who was a longtime Benton Harbor cigar merchant. Mrs. Price, 100, died Tuesday in St. Petersburg where she had resided for many years.

House, and Representative BARRATT O'HARA, of Chicago, are the only 2 survivors out of the 112-member Company I, 33d Michigan Volunteer Infantry.

LEAVES SCHOOL

House said he was a 16-year-old sophomore at Benton Harbor High School, then on Broadway, when he quit school to enlist in the Army when the war broke out in April 1898. The company left Benton Harbor in early May, trained at Island Lake, Mich., and then at Camp Alger, Va., and arrived in Cuba on June 27, 1898.

Company I was in the thick of a great deal of fighting that included the major battle for the Cuban city of San Diego. "I saw a whole Spanish fleet sunk in the bay across from where we were camped," said House.

But the Berrien County man's biggest battles were with the hot Cuban weather, poor food, disease, insects, and huge land crabs.

HOT UNIFORMS

House was in Cuba for a year and recalled that all during that time the soldiers had to wear uniforms designed for the cold north. "We had to wear long underwear, heavy trousers, jackets that buttoned up around the neck, heavy woolen shirts, and leggings that went up to the knees—all of this in the 100-degree Cuban weather," said House.

He said at that time war was quite personal with much of the fighting hand to hand with the enemy with the American soldiers' main weapon being the 45–70 blunderbuss. At that time there was no aviation, little artillery, and no mechanized vehicles such as tanks, jeeps, or trucks.

"At night we'd sleep in pup tents on the ground and at first those land crabs (big as a dinner plate) would rattle through and scare us. But after a while we didn't pay any attention to the crabs or the bugs," said House.

SOLDIERS' FOOD

The only food the soldiers had was hardtack bread and sowbelly plus some undrinkable coffee.

House is now 83 but looks much younger. He has retired twice. In 1947 he retired as personnel director over some 700 civil service workers at the Michigan State Prison at Jackson and then in 1955 he retired from his monument business.

He is past commander of the United Spanish War Veterans, a group encompassing some 9,000 of the remaining 12,000 veterans of that war.

MEMORABLE MOMENT

One of the high points in House's life was his audience with President John F. Kennedy on November 8, 1963, just 2 weeks before the President was assassinated. House was in Washington on that Veteran's Day attending to his duties as commander of the Spanish War Veterans' group when Representative O'HARA arranged for House to meet the President.

House said he had an informal chat with the President and then Kennedy arranged for House and Representative O'HARA to have the special tour of the White House. "We didn't miss a corner of that building," said House, "except for the President's private quarters."

House said "there aren't enough adjectives in the dictionary to explain Jack Kennedy. He was the most cordial, friendly man I ever met in my life." The President told House that his grandfather, "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald, fought in the Spanish-American war.

Minnesota Newspaper Comments on Job Corps Fallacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, with many of my colleagues, I am a sponsor of the Human Investment Act, which would give industry a very effective means of simultaneously increasing the demands for skilled personnel and helping the war on poverty. It would do this by granting income tax credits of 7 percent to companies for establishing a broad range of training programs, exactly as the Government does in the 7-percent tax credit allowed for investment in capital equipment.

This is the sort of approach that I believe will prove more effective than many of the welfare programs carried on under the present operations of the war on poverty. A pertinent comment on this subject appeared earlier this year in the editorial pages of the Delano, Minn., Eagle, which pointed out a flaw in the approach of the Job Corps. The editorial raises a thought-provoking point and I offer it at this point in the RECORD, as it was reprinted in the Reader's Digest for June 1965:

JOB CORPS FALLACY

We have received one of the first salvos in the war on poverty—an ad which we were asked to run free of charge for the Government. It tells how young people 16 to 21 years of age who can't find jobs can learn a trade in Job Corps camps and get $50 for each month spent there.

Why do we question it? As a business, we would gladly take youths and teach them a trade if we could get by with paying them $50 a month plus board and room. In fact years ago our printing plant and others throughout the country did just that. The same thing happened in virtually every trade. Now we must pay minimum wages with overtime. No employer can hire the unskilled at these rates except at a great financial loss.

If we realy want to war on poverty we could give business the same privileges the Government is taking. If an in-shop apprentice program were allowed at reasonable salary rates, a lot of youths walking the streets could be gainfully learning a trade—at no expense to the taxpayer. Such a program is too simple, however. There are no bureaucrats mixed up in it.

Review of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT B. DUNCAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DUNCAN of Oregon. Mr. Speaker, the 1st session of the 89th Congress is now history. It is an appropriate time to review what we have done, yet the full significance of our highly productive 10 months can only unfold as the programs we have initiated or strengthened, as well as funded, reach the communities and people throughout our great land.

What have we done to keep our Nation strong, prosperous and free, and how have we helped to bring peace closer and to extend basic freedoms in a world in revolution? How have we kept faith with the pledges we made the people who sent us here and what have we contributed to a greater realization of the promise that is America?

I submit that this session of the Congress did as much or more than any session in our history to marshall the great resources of this Nation to achieve more nearly the purpose of our Government as set forth in the Constitution: "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty."

The steps we have taken are not new, except where before they were promises or pledges, they have now been kept. Many of the programs have been before the Congress in one form or another for many years and had been finely honed in the full legislative process with years of public discussion for guidance. I am certain, as I am sure my colleagues are, that experience will dictate some modifications or alterations and as these become known the Congress will, I am confident, act accordingly.

Thomas Wolfe, the great American writer, stated our goal as well perhaps as it has been said:

So then to every man his chance—to every man, regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity—to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America.

And it is this promise the 89th Congress is keeping.

CONGRESS OF OPPORTUNITY

This has been, more than anything else, the Congress of opportunity. For what we in fact have done is to enlarge the areas of opportunity for full participation in the mainstream of American freedom and prosperity for all our people. We have broadened the horizons of a Nation and we have forged the tools for the Federal, State, and community governments to create the opportunity for better lives for the people. And we have charted the route, for those who would take it, from poverty to economic betterment.

While we have strengthened the constitutional rights and liberties of all Americans, we have not neglected our responsibilities to freedom throughout the world. We have met and shall continue to meet the challenge of communism and other forms of despotism wherever and whenever they appear. This is not without its pain and anguish. We all fervently hope for an early end of armed conflict. We know well and deeply the tragedy of young lives lost on foreign soil. But every generation has been called upon to defend freedom anew, and we are no exception. We will in the future, as we have in the past, measure up to this responsibility.

ACTION NEW, NOT THE IDEAS

Mr. Speaker, I said that major programs with which we were concerned in this session were not new. Medicare in various forms has been hotly debated both in and out of the Congress since 1945, with specific legislation in several of the Congresses since that time.

Housing programs were considered first as long ago as 1937 and substantial modifications were made in 1949 and 1961.

Aid to education has been considered actively since 1949 and a Department of Urban Affairs was proposed in 1954 and again in 1963.

The public works, economic development program was considered in 1957, 1961, and again in 1963.

Voting rights legislation was under intense study in 1957, 1960, and 1964.

Water pollution control was considered in 1956 and 1961.

Although some phases of the war on poverty appear new, they have their roots in the National Youth Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps of the 1930's and even the eminently successful Peace Corps established in 1961 made its contribution through a domestic version of volunteer activity, VISTA. The list could go on and on.

Although there were instances in which I believe we should have given fuller debate to a measure, to explore on the floor the full meaning of a bill—and I expressed this in words and votes at the time—any impartial observer would have to concede that with rare exceptions measures received full and complete committee consideration and careful debate in committee and on the floor.

POLITICAL PARTY PROGRAM

In August of 1964, delegates to the Democratic National Convention at Atlantic City drafted a platform to present to the voters. At that time we announced to the American people that our platform would be our program if we were elected.

A strong majority of this Congress and the President of the United States, elected on the same platform, have worked together to implement an unprecedented 85 percent of the platform—much of which was also in the Republican platform—adopted a little more than a year ago at Atlantic City. These are the principles to which both the executive and the majority of the Congress subscribed with neither subservient to the other.

We have not finished the job, but we have made great strides. Important support, ideas, leadership, and significant contributions have come from Republican Members. Despite the frequent ridiculing of political party platforms, as words without real meaning, the fact is we have been methodically carrying out precisely what we announced in advance we would and exactly what the voters of America charged us with the responsibility for doing.

CONGRESSIONAL DIFFERENCES WITH EXECUTIVE

On important details, we have had our disagreements with the executive and Congress has worked its will. The budget bills, for example, are more than $2 billion below the total amount estimated by the administration. Medicare, as finally passed, is a vastly different and, I believe, improved bill over that originally submitted. Home rule for the District of Columbia, as passed by the House, is far from the recommendation of the administration, and its final form may be changed even more.

The highway beautification program is greatly changed from that submitted. The tax reduction bills were also significantly altered, and I believe improved, for they gave even greater relief from the annoying excise taxes than the executive had urged.

Other measures could be mentioned, but this is sufficient to indicate that an independent and hard-working Congress worked well with an independent and hard-working President in a cooperative and successful effort to advance the welfare of the Nation.

It is accurate to report that every major bill that was a part of the President's legislative program was rewritten, amended, or substantially modified in the normal examination, study, and compromises of the legislative process before being enacted into law.

PERSONAL DIFFERENCES WITH EXECUTIVE

Speaking individually, I found myself disagreeing on details even more than did the Congress as a whole. And this, too, is as it should be.

District of Columbia criminal procedures bill: For example, I opposed the

District of Columbia criminal procedures bill, because I believed it unwise and a violation of our traditional legal safeguards of the rights of the accused and the suspected. The administration-supported measure, however, carried.

Federal Walter Pollution Control Act: I reluctantly supported the original House version of the water pollution control bill when it first came before us in April. While it was a step forward, it was far less than we should have done. I have urged stronger Federal controls in the establishment of water standards. These standards were later accepted in substance, and I could support the final conference report with greater enthusiasm.

In addition, I introduced legislation to double the authorization for funds available for water treatment facility grants; one-half of this requested increase was authorized together with additional authorization for this same purpose in other programs.

Further, I urged on the Bureau of the Budget, the conferees and the White House full funding of the entire authorized program since we should and we must do what we can and what we know needs to be done to protect the Nation's water supply. The final bill contained the appropriation for the full $150 million authorized, $20 million of which will be used for research and development.

Section 14(b): The repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law created more emotion than realism, and if my mail was any indication of public understanding of the measure, considerable misinformation has been disseminated concerning the repeal. Oregon was comparatively unaffected because it had no right-to-work law and, should this bill pass, no change will occur. I supported the repeal because I believe this issue should be subject to a common rule equally applicable to competing employers and their employees all over the country, and because I believe the choice of union security should be decided by a majority of the workers in each bargaining unit together with their employers, rather than by a majority of a State legislature not directly involved.

I also supported Mrs. GREEN'S efforts, despite the vigorous opposition of the administration and the leadership, to amend the measure to include a freedom of conscience provision. While this effort was not successful, a similar amendment has been added to the Senate bill. This matter goes over for further consideration next year.

Labeling on cigarette packages: I opposed the proposal to require specific warning labeling on cigarette packages basically on the grounds that it accomplished nothing while seeming to do much.

And I opposed the Roosevelt amendment to permit the States to impose other and/or different labeling requirements for one of the same reasons I supported repeal of 14(b); namely, cigarettes move in interstate commerce and the same rule should apply everywhere to avoid a multiplicity of different rules which would create chaos.

Duty on ferronickel: I opposed the successful administration effort to suspend the duty on ferronickel. A number of my colleagues and I managed to defeat the proposal on a teller vote, but on a hurried rollcall, the measure did finally carry. While I expect no lessening of employment in the Fourth District of Oregon where the only domestic nickel mine is located, it may limit exploration and development of new mines and new jobs. It puts more dollars in the hands of France for exchange for gold. And it represents another piecemeal, commodity-by-commodity reduction with no reciprocal concessions to American industry contrary to the overall concept of the Kennedy round of tariff negotations at Geneva.

Immigration Act: I supported the amendment to the Immigration Act that would limit the immigration from the Western Hemisphere. The amendment was vigorously opposed by the administration and defeated in the House. If our purpose was to remove discrimination among countries and peoples, it did not seem consistent to me to permit unrestricted immigration from the Western Hemisphere while putting a ceiling on immigration from the balance of the world.

It was readily admitted that a ceiling would be necessary in a few years and I felt it should be done now as a part of a major reform rather than later when it could easily be misinterpreted as a unilateral slap in the face of South and Latin America. My judgment was vindicated when the Senate added such a provision; it was accepted in conference and became the law.

Incidentally, no lessening of the security provisions of the immigration law was involved and we will not be flooded with hordes of undesirables. As a matter of fact the amendment referred to above will reduce immigration.

Arts and humanities: I opposed the administration's bill for aid to arts and humanities. I supported and will support increased assistance to the humanities. I believe firmly that, however masked, government influence over the arts is bad for the arts, for government, and finally, for the people, and that the expenditure of money for this purpose in the face of growing demands for basic education, health, defense, and other more pressing needs, cannot be justified.

Resolution on Western Hemisphere: I opposed the hastily introduced resolution which appears to announce the right to unilateral intervention in the internal affairs of Western Hemisphere countries by any other country. We cannot afford to conduct our foreign affairs from the floor of the House by passing resolutions against a background of heated emotions. We demonstrated in Cuba and the Dominican Republic that we would act in self defense. Our actions speak for themselves.

Highway beautification bill: I opposed vigorously, as did other Members of the Oregon delegation in the House, the administration's so-called highway beautification bill. My reasons were simple. I was advised that it penalized Oregon unfairly and could cost my State as much as $13 million in highway funds. This, when Oregon, as much or more than any other State, has an effective program of highway beautification of its own. However, in addition, as a member of the Appropriations Committee I could not support what in my judgment amounted to an open-end appropriation to pay the undetermined cost of the experiment. And the bill was poorly designed to achieve its stated purpose.

It is not only on the floor of the House, however, that I and other Members of the House have had differences with the administration.

Camp White saved: In my own case, for example, from the moment the rumor was first heard that the Veterans' Administration was planning to close Camp White Domiciliary and a number of other Veterans' Administration and Public Health Services hospitals and domiciliaries throughout the country, I protested early, and often and long to the White House, to the President directly, to the appropriate congressional committees and finally to the President's special commission to study the closings. I contended with full justification that closing of Camp White Domiciliary would not save the Government money and would not give the same or equivalent care to the veterans. As the cost studies I presented showed conclusively, it would have cost more money, and would have seriously lowered the level of care for many of the veterans and greatly inconvenienced the remainder.

At the same time, I contended, that should the administration be able to prove that it could in fact save the Government money and still render as good or better care to the members of the domiciliary I would not only support the plan, but would defend it to the people of the district. This the VA could not do, and we finally won our case. Camp White will remain open. Much credit is due to the Congress, the House Veterans Committee and Chairman OLIN TEAGUE.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF HOUSE MEMBERS

It is not only the responsibility of a Member of the House to criticize and oppose that which he believes is wrong or unnecessary, it is also his responsibility to support and seek to improve those measures he believes to be in the interest of his district and his country.

President Johnson will go down in history, in my judgment, not only as a great President, but as a President with a deep compassion for the problems of his fellow countrymen and for his ability and drive to do something effective about them. His genius lies in his ability to help shape a national consensus and translate it into needed public law.

MAJOR BILLS SUPPORTED

Among the major pieces of legislation I supported that were enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress in achieving its great record are:

Medicare and social security amendments: Provide hospitalization, surgical and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older financed through social security. In addition, a program of vol-

untary medical insurance was established that will assist those who want to participate, in meeting the sudden and high costs of modern medical treatment. This addition I have urged for years. Social security benefits were increased retroactive to January 1, 1965, and other liberalizing changes were made.

Elementary and secondary education: Provides for a Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control with the bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty stricken families. The program is a major breakthrough in providing at least minimum educational opportunities for all American children and in this we strike a real blow against the circle of poverty producing ignorance, and ignorance, poverty. I was pleased to give my fullest support to the measure. I would have preferred that the bill also include a provision for judicial review to determine finally whether the measure did violate our traditional policy of separation of church and state. I do not believe that it does, yet I felt that the final review of this should be made by the Supreme Court. I spoke on the floor of the House in support of an amendment to provide for judicial review, and I voted for it.

Excise tax reduction: Provides for excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items including cosmetics, luggage, jewelry, appliances, telephone service, and automobiles. It eliminates most Federal excise taxes by 1969. This will and is acting not only to increase spendable income for consumers, but to spur business to meet the demand for goods created by the increased spending power. This in turn helps to create more job opportunities. For the most part, businesses have been, and all of them should be, passing on to the consumer the excise tax reductions.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal and public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification and provides for a rent supplement program for low-income families. The Congress did not, however, provide funds to implement the rent subsidy.

Voting rights: Strengthens the machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting payment of a poll tax as a condition for voting and by prohibiting literacy tests as a means of discriminating against some voters; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of the potential voters are registered or vote. This interferes with the right of States to set voting qualifications only in those instances in which States have used their right to discriminate against and deny a segment of their population the full rights of American citizenship. States rights cannot be used as a sword to violate individual rights. In the conflict between States rights and the rights of the individual citizen, my choice was clear. I voted for the measure.

Public works and economic development: Provides for an expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects and is intended to aid economically depressed areas. The Fourth District was helped considerably by the old ARA; however, this program must be carefully administered to achieve its purpose.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control programs, establishes a stronger administrative organization for carrying out the program, strengthens the Federal responsibility in setting water standards, increases the grant program for water treatment plant construction, and increases Federal enforcement powers. Although I supported the bill, I am less than satisfied with it. We know the extent of the pollution problem throughout the country. We know the dangers pollution represents. It is inexcusable for us to do less than we can and less than we should. Yet this bill did represent progress in attacking the problem. I am hopeful the next time we consider this problem in the Congress we will do the rest of the job.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting 70 percent of our population that now resides in urban areas.

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, wool, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement and bolsters farm income. While all of these programs can be criticized, and I have done so, they have avoided the chaos of a farm depression which would inevitably envelop the whole economy and have helped make this the best fed Nation on earth at far less cost to the consumer than anywhere else on earth. The alternatives were unacceptable.

I believe that our biggest farm problem of the near future will be how to grow more, not less, to help feed the rapidly expanding population of this country and the world.

Immigration Act amendments: Gradually abolishes discriminatory national origins quota system but maintains all present security restrictions.

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes a comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed Appalachian region. It is basically a program to provide public facilities and technical assistance so that the region can participate in the growing prosperity of the entire Nation.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training programs to help the unemployed learn new skills so they become contributing members of the communities in which they live. This is proving to be a worthwhile program.

Economic opportunity program: Expands the antipoverty program and makes other improvements in the operation of various aspects of the war on poverty.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical centers to fight heart disease, stroke and cancer.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental and other health educational institutions and initiates a program of scholarship grants for needy students as well as increases the student loan program.

Presidential continuity: A long step toward closing a serious gap in the Constitution was taken by adopting a proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish a procedure to permit the Vice President to become acting President if the President is unable to perform his duty and to provide for filling a vacancy in the office of Vice President when this occurs. The amendment has been submitted to the States for ratification and it is hoped this will be accomplished speedily.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities and establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control and supervision over the distribution of certain depressant and stimulant drugs that are becoming a serious threat to the health and welfare, particularly of young people. This is not the final answer to the increasing problem but it is an important beginning.

I am now studying what our national policy should be and what, if any, changes we should make in the law to achieve an enlightened and effective policy in regard to the use and control of narcotics as well as barbiturates, amphetamines, and hallucinogenic drugs.

Older Americans: Establishes a new administration for aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the growing number of elder citizens.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends the present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development and another establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air pollutants and accelerates air pollution research programs.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry. The rapid acceleration of our scientific

and technical knowledge makes it increasingly necessary that these advances be put to the benefit of the people generally through the widest possible dissemination.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of the Federal Government.

Federal pay comparability: Provides salary increases for Federal classified and postal employees to achieve more equitable relationship with the pay of employees in private industry and makes other fringe benefits and overtime allowances. The pressure for adjournment prevented achievement of as good a bill as should have been passed, particularly that part of the measure involving overtime pay of postal employees, but I am hopeful that this deficiency can be corrected. A laborer is worthy of his hire, and this is no less true for an employee of the Federal Government than for one in private industry.

And many more measures which I supported were passed which add something to creating a better and more just America.

RESPONSIBILITY TO DISTRICT

Important as is our function as a Member of Congress in participating in shaping national and international policy, it is also my function as a representative of a congressional district to be concerned with, and act in the interest of, my district and its some 500,000 people. It is my job to see that they share in the general prosperity of our country, that Federal responsibility is properly assumed and administered in my district for those functions that properly fall within the sphere of the U.S. Government, and to act as attorney in Washington for the people and organizations in my district who cannot come back here to present their own cases.

This does not mean that I must adopt each citizen's view as my own. No man can do that, for constituents disagree among themselves. Any time two people agree 100 percent of the time, one of them is not thinking.

Edmund Burke once said that the citizens are entitled not to an elected representative's vote but to his judgment. I have tried to exercise my best judgment to accomplish the most good for the greatest number in my district and in my country. I hope that a strong majority of my constituents agree.

There are many issues with which I have dealt this session that are of particular concern to my district or my State. Some involved legislation, some contact with executive departments, and some a combination. Not all efforts met with success, but in each instance I tried, and in many will try again and succeed another time.

Boxcars: For example, a great amount of time was spent seeking ways to obtain additional boxcars, particularly wide- and double-door cars, for Oregon's lumber industry. This involved work with the Interstate Commerce Commission, the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, contacts with the President and members of the White House staff, preparation and presentation of testimony to the House Interstate Commerce Committee, as well as extended discussions with railroad officials.

The result: There are now more boxcars available to Oregon shippers; emergency orders have been issued by the ICC for the return to the West of our own boxcars, and legislation that will encourage car ownership and efficient use has moved to near final stages in this Congress. I am hopeful that this can become law early in the next session.

Roseburg Veterans' Administration land: The city of Roseburg has wanted the Veterans' Administration to return some 47 acres of land, part of the more than 400 acres the city had years ago donated to the VA. The agency was willing to release this surplus land, but it took an act of Congress to accomplish it. I introduced a bill to accomplish this last year but was unable to obtain action on it. I tried again this year and, with considerable help from my colleagues in this House and the Senators from Oregon, the law was passed and signed by the President.

A $300-million atomic accelerator: Much time was spent in seeking full consideration for the proposal by the Willamette Valley Research Council to locate the $300 million atomic accelerator in the Willamette Valley and in helping the council in its contacts with the Atomic Energy Commission. Should we eventually be successful, and the competition is extremely intense, it will mean Oregon will share more fully in the mainstream of American science, and that the Oregon economy will reap great direct and related benefits. But this is only one scientific installation.

Research and development contracts and grants: With the Federal Government now spending more than $15 billion a year on scientific research and development contracts and grants, much of it going to a few large institutions, I have sought a more equitable policy for the distribution of such Federal funds and have testified for such a policy before a Senate committee calling for this.

I am happy to note that recently the President has instructed all agencies and departments handling Federal research and development funds to seek a more equitable distribution and greater recognition of the need for the entire Nation to share in the forward thrust of our science and technology. It is precisely this policy that I, and others in the Congress, have been urging and it is one that I believe will have great benefits not only for my district but for the Nation as a whole.

Funding of existing navigation, flood control, and reclamation projects: In addition, I have worked on funding of existing navigation, flood control, and reclamation projects. During the 3 years I have been privileged to serve in the Congress, annual appropriations for the Fourth District have increased from approximately $25 million to over $40 million. And yet, much more remains to be done if we are to harness for man's protection and productive use the rivers and streams of Oregon.

Improvements authorized: Major harbor improvements were authorized for the mouth of the Chetco River at Brookings-Harbor and at Port Orford, and Congress provided first year funding for the Port Orford project. It is very unusual for a project to be authorized and funded in the same year and with both projects in a single county the task was even more difficult. Although Brookings was equally deserving, the conferees on the public works appropriation bill did not approve funds to begin work this fiscal year because the fourth district already has more than its share. Brookings is not behind schedule; Port Orford is just ahead of schedule.

Obtaining financing for the Chetca River project to the full Army Corps of Engineers capability the first year will be a high priority goal in the coming session. Both projects are fully justified and should be pushed to completion at the earliest possible time.

Other district concerns: Attempting to settle the controversy concerning an Oregon Dunes National Seashore, still unresolved; working with industry and the affected departments to assure the maintenance of an equitable bidding system on Government timber; helping communities with their problems ranging from continued air service to financing water systems and waste treatment facilities; seeking many millions of dollars of flood relief following the tragic floods of last winter; fighting for maintenance of the 35-to-65 ratio in private and Navy ship repair work in order to protect both Oregon employment and the national ship repair capacity; attempting to secure an adequate suppy of agricultural labor, improve harbors for the State, increase Oregon's business share in Government contracts, and the like, have occupied many hours, days, and weeks.

In addition, the receipt of an average of 50 first-class letters a day, each requiring research or contract with departments of governments and the furnishing of accurate information and assistance to residents of the Fourth District has absorbed much time and effort. I hope this effort has served a useful purpose in proving that government is not a huge, impersonal bureaucracy but does, in fact, have a heart and a conscience. Many letters involve problems of social security benefits, military or civil service pensions, post office personnel, requests for service academy appointments, and the like.

The list is really endless. It ranges from helping a high school student obtain material for a debate to working to obtain the release from a Communist country of the daughter of a constituent.

It has been a good year, a satisfying and a busy one. I hope now, as do all of my colleagues, for the chance to spend some time in the district, primarily to listen and not to talk. And for some time to rest, to fish, to ride my horse, and for some solitude in which to think and gain refreshment for the efforts ahead. Much remains to be done.

My thanks to the people of the Fourth District for permitting me to serve in this Congress of opportunity, in this most demanding and exhilarating office.

Tenth Anniversary of Kaiser Aluminum in West Virginia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. KEN HECHLER
OF WEST VIRGINIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HECHLER. Mr. Speaker, West Virginia is fortunate to have a great and civic-minded industry, the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., with a plant in our rapidly expanding Ohio Valley. Recently, we celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Kaiser plant in Ravenswood, W. Va., with an appreciation dinner. The dinner came on a weekday night when the House of Representatives was in session, and thus it was unfortunate I could not attend in person, but I did send the following telegram to the editor of the Ravenswood News, who was master of ceremonies for the appreciation dinner:

Mr. PHILIP FOURNEY,
Ravenswood News,
Ravenswood, W. Va.:

Jackson County and the entire State of West Virginia are proud of the outstanding leadership which Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp. has demonstrated in the development of the Ohio Valley and our State.

As a member of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, I was personally gratified while witnessing the successful test firing of the 260-inch solid fueled rocket recently to be able to point out Kaiser's role in providing the aluminum for this rocket. This is but one evidence of the importance of Kaiser in the space age.

Even more important, however, is the tremendous contribution which Kaiser has made in furthering human relationships and community development. The list would be too long to detail, but whether it be building schools, the hospital in Ripley, recreation facilities, and just being a good neighbor, Kaiser is always ready to help and all of us join in expressing our sincere appreciation.

Your servant in Congress,

KEN HECHLER.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I also include the texts of addresses at the appreciation dinner by the Governor of West Virginia, the Honorable Hulett C. Smith, and the president of the Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., T. J. Ready, Jr. Also included with my remarks is an article by Phil Fourney entitled, "Jackson County's Years of Change, 1955–65," which appeared in the magazine West Virginia Progress:

REMARKS OF GOVERNOR SMITH AT THE INDUSTRIAL APPRECIATION DINNER, RAVENSWOOD HIGH SCHOOL, RAVENSWOOD, W. VA., OCTOBER 14, 1965

This industrial appreciation dinner tonight is noteworthy and important in many respects.

It is noteworthy, because it is being held under the joint sponsorship of the Ravenswood and Ripley Chambers of Commerce. I hope this is just a beginning for you. Both organizations have men and women of great talent, who can devote those combined talents to building a stronger Jackson County.

It is important, because what we are marking is not the success of a company nor the success of a community, but the spirit of a people. This dinner tonight is taking place because over several years, thousands of people have been interested in the progress of their business, their community and their State.

Indeed, West Virginia as a whole could learn a great deal from Jackson County. You should be proud of what you have accomplished.

We all know this story—the decade of change that has transformed this county from a quiet rural area to a bustling industrial complex.

Ten years ago, Ravenswood's population was 1,200. Today, it is over 5,000.

Ten years ago there were 759 students in school. Today, there are over 2,000.

Ten years ago there were 15,000 in this county. Today, that figure has jumped to 20,000.

The reason, of course—an important American aluminum company chose to build and produce in West Virginia. And today, our State is bursting at the seams with pride at the fact that the Kaiser Aluminum plant in Jackson County is the world's largest, most modern fully integrated aluminum plant and that the leaders of Kaiser had enough faith in the future of West Virginia to locate here.

In short, the cooperative spirit of the people of West Virginia and the management of Kaiser Aluminium has answered the hopes of Henry J. Kaiser, who said, 10 years ago in Ravenswood, "we sincerely hope that, in the future, men may look back with pleasure to the day we transformed a part of the landscape into a huge aluminum mill, and say that you and we together built much more than just a new industry."

Now, today, we in West Virginia must ask ourselves the question: Where do we stand today? What are we doing to merit the trust others have placed in our State? And—most importantly, are we doing enough?

There are three yardsticks with which we can measure our growth—jobs, education, and roads.

West Virginia has had to change from primarily a one-industry State to a State of many industries, and this has required a period of adjustment. But we have made progress in providing more jobs—through the location of new industries, through job retraining programs, through vocational education—and we are going to do more.

Every year for the past 4 years, this State has set new economic records, and this is due, in large part, to our growing work force.

In the last 12 months, for example more than 25,000 persons who were previously out of work were put on the job.

This is progress. This is what we are doing in this field. This is the answer when people ask how we've been combatting unemployment. And Kaiser Aluminum has been a big part of that progress.

Our highway system, which is so important to a State with such geographic factors as West Virginia, will grow into ribbons of modern, first-class highways cutting across our State, so that by 1972, every West Virginian will be within 35 minutes driving time of a major, first-class highway. We're talking here about a billion-dollar road program, really, because plans have already been laid for the post-1972 era of construction. We're going to town on roads and highways, and we intend to meet our commitments here.

Finally, let's look at education. This is a very important matter to the people of West Virginia and to the people of Jackson County.

I hope that I'm not misinterpreted when I point out to the people fo this county "what needs to be done in education."

But there are a few things that should be emphasized.

First, your State legislature approved the administration's bill on education last January which will mean an annual pay raise for teachers over the next 3-year period—and a richer curriculum for your boys and girls in school. This is of interest to every parent and this monumental achievement brought me the greatest satisfaction I have had since being in office. It meant a change—and a change for the better.

Project Head Start was an innovation in West Virginia education this year—and every one of us here should take pride in the fact that we led the Nation by having every one of our school districts participating in Head Start.

These are some of the things the State has done.

But the State can only do so much when it comes to education. This is not a matter of choice. It is a matter of law.

The responsibility of operating the schools in this county rest with the people of this county.

I am quite aware of the splendid way in which Kaiser Aluminum has joined with you as a partner to build a stronger educational system through your education foundation in Jackson County. Not just the people of Jackson County, but all the people of this State bow in your direction for the vigor with which Kaiser stepped in and said, "Here we are. Let's go to work on the problem. We want to help out."

This system is working well. But we must be realistic. This, of necessity, must be considered a temporary program. What the people of this county need to do is take a long-range view of educational needs and make long-range plans to solve your educational problems.

The educational foundation is a temporary answer. It has been a good answer, but it is not the answer.

In taking a long-range view, we'd better begin asking ourselves some questions:

Should there come a lull in the aluminum business within the next decade, would Kaiser or any aluminum industry be able to continue its contribution to your school system—or indeed, should it be expected to?

Are we asking industry to do something we should be doing ourselves?

In the past, have we done as much as we could, as well as we could, to see that our county school boards have the adequate finances to strengthen our school system?

Is the present system of school financing going to result in more industries being attracted to Jackson County or fewer industries?

These are questions that need to be asked.

The real answer lies in leadership. If new industries are to come into this part of West Virginia, the leaders of those industries will look first to see if the local people have provided the necessary leadership at that level to meet the problems of this area.

In short, if it is feasible—and this is something only you alone can decide; no State office can decide it for you—a new, equitable means of financing your school system should be worked on, so you could point to your schools, and mean it when you say, "There are our schools for our children, built with our money."

The matter of our children's education is nobody's responsibility but our own. And we must grasp it. Educational excellence in West Virginia today is ours alone to develop. And no one will deny that the quality of West Virginia's educational system is our key to opportunity, and the key to this State's brightest days.

So the leaders of all of our communities—not just Ravenswood, not just Ripley—must ask ourselves, "Are we doing enough?"

And only we can answer that.

What we need is insight and foresight. This means the ability to stand up and say things that may not be popular with 100 percent of the people. It means speaking the hard truth, although it may warp the

delicately woven threads of political ideas and prejudices.

It boils down to a pure and simple interest in politics, government, and public affairs, and I use the terms synonymously.

All too often, when someone mentions politics, everyone runs for cover into his own little corner, as if a plague had hit the countryside.

The truth of the matter is, the political system is one of the best ways we have of getting things accomplished. It has been in existence since this country came into existence. It produced Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt, and Kennedy. And today, more and more people are becoming more interested in the affairs of political life because this is the outlet for new ideas and the vehicle for placing these ideas before the public.

President Kennedy was fond of pointing out that mothers may still want their sons to grow up to be President, but according to a famous Gallup poll of some years ago, some 73 percent do not want them to become politicians in the process.

I would remind you all that we have pledged excellence in State government, and that we want to attract men and women of highest standards to conduct our generation's most important business, the public business.

And if you have an interest in our generation's most important business—and I'm sure you do—we will welcome you and your ideas to build a stronger State.

Let me say in closing that Kaiser Aluminum has proven its dedication to our State over the past decade, and enriched the cultural economical and educational stance of the entire Ohio Valley by its presence.

Now, we have to work together to improve our State and to reach its goals.

In so doing, we must recognize that leadership on the community level is our greatest strength. We must accept the challenge to provide that leadership, whether it be in Ravenswood or Harper's Ferry; in Chester or Bluefield.

And in so doing, we can work together for a better road system. And I, as Governor, will devote myself to that goal.

We can work together for more job opportunities. And I, as Governor, will aim for the day when no man is without a job.

We can work together to continue our pursuit of educational excellence. And I remain committed to that goal.

And the same spirit that brought Kaiser Aluminum to Ravenswood and national recognition to Ripley's Fourth of July can build the best employment, road, and educational system in the entire State of West Virginia right here in Jackson County.

REMARKS BY T. J. READY, JR., PRESIDENT, KAISER ALUMINUM & CHEMICAL CORP., AT KAISER APPRECIATION DINNER, RAVENSWOOD, W. VA., OCTOBER 14, 1965

Governor Smith, Mayor Moore, Mayor Jordan, members of the county court, distinguished guests, ladies and gentleman, it is a real pleasure for me to acknowledge, on behalf of Kaiser Aluminum, the demonstrations of appreciation and goodwill expressed today by officials representing the State, the county, the cities of Ravenswood and Ripley, and the business community. It is gratifying, to say the least, to hear one's organization accorded this kind of testimonial. Speaking for the some 3,000 men and women who operate the Ravenswood Works and for the thousands of other Kaiser Aluminum employees located around the country and throughout the free world, we thank you all for this recognition.

Kaiser Aluminum has always had great faith in the future of this State and of its people. We have continuously invested in expansion and improvement of the Ravenswood Works since we originally announced its construction here 10 years ago. In so investing, we have demonstrated our continuing belief that West Virginia is a reliable and economic location for major industrial production facilities.

We are confident that you will continue to protect your favorable business climate, and that under the able guidance of your Governor, congressional delegation, legislature, and other dedicated public officials, you will seek further means of encouraging the fruitful partnership of business, industry, and the citizens of West Virginia.

Together, we can look with real satisfaction on the many physical changes that have taken place here during the past 10 years. The extent of this progress struck me today as I toured the county. The evidence is all around us. I'm told that the population has increased by more than a third.

Per capita income in 1954 was $1,106, one of the lowest in West Virginia. It now stands at $2,482, the second highest of West Virginia's 55 counties.

These changes have created greater opportunities for all of the people of Jackson County.

I wish there was some way that I could describe to you in the short time we are together here the great changes that are also taking place in our business and in industry as a whole in the United States and in the free world. Some of these changes have a direct bearing on our operations here at Ravenswood and upon the welfare and the prospects of our employees.

The outstanding new factor with which we all must deal today is the serious impact of increasing competition upon our business—competition from other producers and fabricators in the United States; competition from similar organizations in other parts of the free world, and competition for the established aluminum markets which comes increasingly from other materials.

Competition is expressed in terms of price, quality and range of product and service, including promptness of shipment and reliability in the meeting of customer schedules. The ability to compete in any of these categories is determined largely by the quality of plant operations—high efficiency and low production costs to yield an adequate profit at competitive prices; careful handling and processing to insure highest product quality, and topnotch delivery performance to meet the schedules of our customers.

The most skilled management group and the most modern and efficient equipment cannot accomplish these objectives. The important ingredient is people. The contribution of employees in this chain of factors determines the quality of the product, the cost of production, and the kind of service we can give our customers. Only through a joining together of management, equipment and employees will the Ravenswood works be able to maintain its place in an increasingly competitive business picture as one of the world's largest aluminum production and fabricating establishments.

Speaking for management, I can say that we have every intention of making Ravenswood works the top plant in our whole system of 50 domestic and 28 ovearsea facilities. Our overall objective is for Ravenswood to become known as the industry's most reliable source of aluminum sheet and plate products of the highest quality. We have here all the makings to accomplish this goal—modern plant buildings, the latest in equipment, and capable workers. In short, biggest and best is the image we have for Ravenswood works.

But leadership does not happen all by itself. We will all have to contribute. The truth is that in the final analysis, it is not the company that is in competition with other companies, but the employee—the individual employee who is in direct competition with the employees of other plants in other parts of the country. The aluminum market will accept fabricated aluminum products from any reliable and economic source. We must make sure that we qualify as such a source, so that we can maintain and expand our share of the market and continue to grow.

For there is room for growth. The aluminum industry is one of the most phenomenal growth industries of all time. Since the turn of the century it has doubled, on the average, every 10 years, which represents an annual increase of from 7 to 8 percent. The industry's current growth is at that rate, or better, and the outlook for the future—both short and long term—is for a continuation of this rapid growth.

At this point, I should like to say a few words about the very foundation of our American economy—the system known as the free enterprise or profit system. Like the sunlight and the good air we breathe, it is something many of us accept without much thought, often without really understanding the great importance of the profit incentive in our lives. Certainly, as businessmen, government leaders, and citizens, we should all be doing more about furthering such understanding.

In a very real sense, profits are what make our tomorrows.

Tomorrow's jobs are dependent on today's profits. We all know that more job opportunities have to be created if we are to continue to prosper as a country and as a State. In Kaiser Aluminum, for example, it takes a substantial investment of many thousands of dollars—enough money to start a sizable business—for every single name on our payroll. Furthermore, after the initial investment is made and a plant is operating, today's rapid rate of obsolescence—the result of great technological progress—makes it necessary to continue to invest money in the plant to replace and upgrade equipment. It is necessary to do this to keep abreast of industry progress. We have already made a great deal of this kind of investment here at Ravenswood, and we expect to continue to do a great deal more over the years ahead. Industry needs adequate profit, therefore, not only to provide the original investment, but also to keep its facilities at peak production efficiency.

Where does the money come from to create and maintain new jobs? There is only one place it can come from—that is from the profits of successful business enterprise. We must always be in a position to persuade investors and financial institutions to place their funds in our securities. There is only one way to persuade them to do this, and that is to offer the expectation of greater profit by investing in our securities rather than in other investments of equal safety.

And while we are mentioning the need for utmost industrial efficiency to meet competitive pressures, let us remember that not only business is competitive. States, counties, and cities are in competition too. West Virginia's State Department of Commerce and the various industrial development groups in the State know just how serious that competition is. While the department of commerce and the industrial dveelopment groups are trying to sell the advantages of West Virginia to industry, 15,000 other groups are trying to do the same thing for other cities and areas of the United States.

To the extent that West Virginia and Jackson County succeed in such effort, the result will be more payrolls, more businesses, more people, better homes, better schools, and improved cultural opportunities—all supported by a broader tax base. There will be jobs to keep West Virginia's children in West Virginia, and something left over to grow on. It's that "something left over to grow on" that may very well be said to be West Virginia's profit.

As a final note, I would like to talk for a moment about young people and education. In 1920, H. G. Wells, in his "Outline of History," wrote that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Unless we educate our children, we will lose the peace by default through lack of technological skill or ignorance of political philosophy. In these times, there are other things that require education and understanding, too. And they include the competitive free enterprise system of our country.

This system is eminently worth preserving, if only because none other has worked so well, so long, for so many.

The danger of losing this system, through erosion, if you please, is another race, as Wells wrote, "between education and catastrophe." We can do our part here in Jackson County and in all of West Virginia to protect our way of life by giving our children the education that is theirs as a right.

Kaiser Aluminum stands ready to support any effort that will help further the education and training of all young people. We go on record pledging our cooperation to the partnership that started here 10 years ago. We are steadfast in our desire to assist in the continued improvement of the social and economic climate of this county and its people—remembering at all times that a business can only meet its social responsibility if it is in business—and that it can only stay in business by meeting its profit responsibility.

I have said that "profits make our tomorrows"—but it is up to each of us to maintain and improve the economic and social climate of Jackson County and West Virginia for those tomorrows. Let us continue our partnership in this objective.

Again, I want to thank you, the citizens of Jackson County and West Virginia, for this testimonial of good will and for your always gracious hospitality.

I have had a wonderful day in Jackson County today.

JACKSON COUNTY'S YEARS OF CHANGE, 1955–65: ONE MAN'S PERSONAL REPORT ON WHAT HAPPENS WHEN HEAVY INDUSTRY MOVES INTO A RURAL WEST VIRGINIA COUNTY

(By Phil Fourney)

(NOTE.—Mr. Fourney is editor-manager of the Ravenswood News and is the current president of the West Virginia Press Association. He moved to Jackson County in June 1955 just as Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp.'s giant facility was being built. For this story he was asked to describe the area as he first knew it, and to note changes which have taken place in Jackson County during the past decade. Because he is more intimate with the circumstances in Ravenswood itself, much of his article deals with that community—although the facts presented can be extended across the county to a large degree.)

I arrived in Ravenswood in June 1955, to run the town's weekly newspaper—which had closed its doors and ceased publication a month before.

Two blocks of red brick and painted metal buildings stretched down either side of Route 2, which was just about to be paved for the first time above and below Ravenswood. A single movie house and a few taverns offered the town's night life. There were no intersection traffic lights, few intact sidewalks or curbs, and parking meters had just been added to the town's business district.

The residential section of the town was characterized by old homes, some of them graceful reminders of a more prosperous past. Stately trees lined both sides of the streets.

The town's native population consisted largely of older people, since the youngsters had to leave to find job opportunities.

Ravenswood proper covered about 40 square blocks. Nearly half a mile of open field separated Ravenswood from the small residential community of North Ravenswood.

Except for rural routes, there were no postal carriers in Ravenswood in 1955. The town owned and operated its own electric and water systems.

And this was the way Ravenswood had been for the past 50 years. While a portion of its support came from the railway and a pottery, the larger portion was derived from the agricultural districts.

Then came Kaiser Aluminum. About the time I arrived on the scene, the first of some 9,000 construction workers began to appear. Housing was at a premium. There were no motels.

Life in Jackson County in 1955 was truly a rural life.

But today, Jackson County's economy is based primarily on industry. Some 3,500 people are employed at the aluminum plant. The annual payroll is in the neighborhood of $23 million. The county boasts a new 41-bed hospital (in Ripley), a remodeled courthouse which gives the appearance and space of a new structure, a vastly expanded youth center at Cedar Lakes, a modern shopping center, and many enlarged and remodeled business houses. New homes are everywhere. Where once there were farms, today there are housing developments.

The transformation from the rural life to the industrial life—while not yet complete—has been an intense experience. There have been problems, of course; but in balance the picture is extremely rosy.

While statistics are quite dull, they sometimes tell a story more effectively than any other means. Let's keep them to the bare essentials, but consider the change in the past decade:

In the summer of 1955, the population of Ravenswood was nearly 1,200; this year that figure stands at 5,000.

Ravenswood's school enrollment was 759 in 1954; last year it reached 2,185.

In effect, the presence of Kaiser has meant to Ravenswood the superimposition, on a community of less than 1,200 people, of the populations of three more towns of the same size. Your imagination doesn't have to stretch very far to enable you to see what this kind of growth in such a short span means in terms of utilities, government services, retail trade and all the rest.

In fact, school facilities became so overtaxed that Kaiser Aluminum in 1957 built a modern 20-classroom elementary school in Ravenswood and has since leased it to the county board of education for $1 per year. When a converted apartment building had to be purchased for school use, Kaiser again put up the money and now leases this facility for $1 per year to the county.

But Kaiser's influence has not been limited to Ravenswood alone. Less than one-third of their employees live in Ravenswood. Nearly half commute to work from outside the county.

Yet, with just 1,800 of their employees living in Jackson County, look at the economic impact Kaiser has had upon the county in the past 10 years:

Total population has climbed from about 15,400 in 1954 to approximately 20,000 this year.

Assessed valuation of property has risen from $27 million to more than $62 million last year.

The school population has gone from 3,600 in 1954 to 5,700 in 1965.

Per capita income in 1954 was $1,106, one of the lowest in West Virginia. It now stands at $2,482, second highest of West Virginia's 55 counties.

Retail sales in Jackson County amounted to $8.2 million in 1954; in 1963, they stood at $14.4 million.

In Ravenswood today, that half-mile of field that used to separate the old town from North Ravenswood has been filled in with houses, apartments, and a shopping center. For half a mile, virtually every structure standing has been built since 1956.

The town that 10 years ago was a little river town of 1,200 is now a bustling community of 5,000 * * * with more church socials, PTA meetings, teas, Little League baseball games, dances, and you name it, than the average married couple can keep up with.

With all these impressive figures, what could possibly be wrong in Jackson County? Let's explore some of our problems.

We're a one-industry county. If things go slack in the aluminum business and the plant has to lay off people, there's no steel mill, no chemical plant, no auto factory to take up the slack.

Because of this, groups in both Ripley and Ravenswood have become active in the past 12 months to attract new, small industries. Leaders in both communiites have learned they must go out and sell their sites, must offer local financial help in order to attract companies which will boost the economy. Even Kaiser realizes the necessity of diversified industry, and is currently conducting a campaign to attract another major industry. It has distributed a brochure offering for sale some of its prime Ohio River acreage to a major industrial concern. This has resulted in negotiations for property with at least two major manufacturers.

Development of Interstate 77 from Kanawha County is opening up housing sites—particularly in the southern portion of Jackson County—for workers in Kanawha Valley factories who prefer rural living. The movement of such people to Jackson County has the economic impact of adding another industry here.

Our school program isn't what it should be. For that matter, this is one of West Virginia's major handicaps in attracting new industry. In order for the county—or the State—to effect a transition to a new and broader economic base, our schools must help the potential labor force to acquire new skills.

The rapid growth of Jackson County's school population has strained every resource of our educational program. Our school buildings have become too small for the large classes they must house despite a $2.5 million building program in 1959; our transportation system has become overburdened; our teaching load has increased. But our per capita pupil expenditure has not kept pace. And the registered voters of our county have been unwilling to provide additional taxes to meet the need of an expanded instructional program.

The school situation has deteriorated so badly that, in desperation, the people of Ravenswood have formed an educational foundation to supplement their local school program. While county taxpayers continue to vote down excess school levies, patrons of Ravenswood schools, including Kaiser Aluminum, voluntarily contribute $115,000 annually to upgrade the local system.

Ravenswood's approach is not a permanent solution to a pressing problem * * * it simply is a measure to insure that its students receive a topflight education while people of the county wrestle with the problem of financing its school system adequately.

We're too sectional. Since the Civil War, the people of Ravenswood have opposed those things the people of Ripley wanted * * * and vice versa. Or, when the leaders of the two towns could get together (as they did on the most recent school issue), the people of the county have been opposed.

This sectionalism has deterred the growth and well-being of the county's two towns and of the county itself. Instead of cooperating to attract new industry, one town has thwarted the other's changes. Instead of working together for capable Government leaders, one area has opposed the other. In

instance after instance, sectionalism has deterred progress.

Again, as with the problem of schools, Jackson County is not alone with this problem. This matter of sectionalism and undue rivalry is common to most sections of the State, and has been one of the greatest handicaps of progress.

But here the problem is being exposed for what it is, and leaders in the county now are working vigorously to bring unity and progress. Last spring the people of Ravenswood and Ripley got together on the proposed school improvement program and genuinely worked together. This month, the chambers of commerce of the two towns are cosponsoring an appreciation dinner for Kaiser Aluminum—simply to say they're happy to have such a fine industry and would like to work together as a team for a brighter tomorrow.

Jackson County has been the most looked at, written about, surveyed, and studied place in the State this past decade. While our achievements these past 10 years have fallen far short of the fabulous publicity we've received, our growth has indeed exceeded most every area of the Mountain State.

Jackson County today is a nice place to live and work. There is opportunity. There is a future—a bright one.

We still have but one movie house and only a few more taverns in Revenswood. There still isn't the night life you picture when you think of Pittsburgh, Washington, or Charleston. A majority of the stately trees remain. Modern housing dots the landscape. There are more and more jobs for the young folks, but not enough even yet.

Planning has been good and most Government services and utilities are adequate and can be expanded as the need increases. Our crime rate is low. We have little water pollution and even less air pollution.

Resolution Supporting U.S. Position in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. Speaker, in the wave of irrational behavior hitting many college campuses, it is refreshing to note an item of calm, patriotic reasoning.

The University of Mississippi campus senate on October 19 unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the Government's effort to halt the spread of communism in southeast Asia.

I congratulate senate members on their expressed judgment and am pleased to make this resolution available to my colleagues.

It follows:

RESOLUTION SUPPORTING U.S. POSITION IN VIETNAM

Whereas our Nation is currently engaged in a war in Vietnam against Communist aggression that threatens the freedom of the people of southeast Asia and the security of the free world; and

Whereas we, the University of Mississippi senate, are shocked by the behavior of certain groups of students in this country who are currently engaged in anti-Vietnam war demonstrations and who are urging that eligible persons evade the draft in every way possible; and

Whereas we are cognizant of the responsibilities and commitments of our Nation to resist Communist aggression throughout the world, and are aware of the responsibilities of all patriotic Americans to support our Government in this effort; and

Whereas we are fully aware of our personal responsibilities, our draft status, and the realization that many of us will be called upon to give of our time and perhaps even our lives in the service of our country in Vietnam: Therefore, be it

Resolved by the University of Mississippi campus senate:

1. We condemn the actions of those organizations and persons currently urging that qualified persons evade the draft and urge the President, the Justice Department, and the Congress to deal with them accordingly.

2. We support the President of the United States and the policy of our Government in resisting Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

3. We urge the President of the United States to continue the policy of the United States in Vietnam and to take whatever steps that are necessary to achieve total victory over the Communist aggressors and to secure freedom for all of the people of Vietnam and southeast Asia.

4. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Mississippi congressional delegation, and to the press.

Passed by acclamation: October 19, 1965.

MARY ANN HANCOCK,
Senate Clerk.

BO ROBERTS,
Senate President.

Report on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, if quantity and quality were one and the same thing, there would be little difficulty in rating the accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Certainly, the 454 public and private bills enacted into law, the 16,882 measures introduced, the 460 rollcall votes and the 27,816 pages of House and Senate proceedings in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD are impressive statistics by themselves.

But we well realize that legislative accomplishments are not properly measured by the page or the pound, and that the number of words in an act of Congress is not necessarily an accurate measure of its importance or its impact on our lives.

What we need are more significant yardsticks to give us a better picture of what happened during the 177 days that Congress was in session.

One of these meaningful measurements, to be sure, is the $119.3 billion to be spent by the Federal Government during the fiscal year ending next July—the largest amount ever appropriated by any government anywhere for any purpose in either peace or war.

We realize the meaning of this total, because as taxpayers we realize we are going to have to pay this bill one way or another sooner or later.

But there is another form of payment we will have to make for some of these programs so recently passed into law, and the date due for collection is unfortunately not very far away.

Payment will be made in freedom as well as in dollars. To some extent, each of us will be forced to give up a part of our right to make decisions for ourselves as individuals and for our community as members of it. We will turn that freedom, that authority over to the Federal Government.

Whether the benefits from these new programs are worth the price we must pay is something which each of us must decide and determine for ourselves.

But there is little doubt that in some cases, the price is going to be high and that some Federal agencies have been given massive doses of power and authority in areas they have never had such power before.

Already, there are serious doubts about the wisdom of some of the programs enacted into law. For instance, Congress refused to appropriated funds for a rent subsidy program which it had authorized only a few weeks earlier.

The reason for the cutoff of funds was that Federal regulations to administer the new program appeared to go far beyond anything Congress had intended and would have amounted to virtual dictation by the Federal Government on some aspects of housing in our local communities.

Families with assets to up to $25,000 would be eligible for Federal subsidies of up to 70 percent of their rent under these new guidelines. This certainly would be outside the category of assistance to needy families envisioned by the proponents of this plan.

REGRETS

Also, it is worth noting that the administration has not offered to amend its regulations to make them more palatable. Instead, it has simply regretted that the regulations were made public before funds for the program were appropriated and when it would have been too late for Congress to do anything about them.

The latest warning has come from the chairman of the House Education Subcommittee who has urged Congress to "stop, look, and listen" after the flood of education programs urged by the administration were enacted into law by Congress, in some cases with little committee consideration and very limited congressional debate.

Many fear that control of the funds and the administration of these programs gives the Office of Education of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare entirely too much power over local school districts.

They fear that the Office of Education will become the virtual dictator of what will be taught, how it will be taught, and who will teach in our schools.

WITHHOLD FUNDS

Already, the Office of Education has been charged with attempting to withhold $30 million in Federal school funds from the Chicago school district, and has tried to exert similar pressures on

school districts in Boston and San Francisco even though such efforts were directly contrary to the intent of the law.

They further point out that the Office of Education has grown 800 percent in personnel in the past 20 years, while funds administered by the agency have increased 7,000 percent in the same period of time.

Certainly not all programs passed by Congress this past year have been automatic raids on our freedom or our wallets. Some few of them, such as the voting rights bill and the removal of Federal excise taxes, have had just the opposite effect. They have enhanced and extended both political and economic freedom for many Americans who previously had been deprived of their fair share in years past.

PRICE OF PROGRAMS

It will be up to each of us to determine whether the price paid in freedom and in dollars for these programs was worth it in benefits received.

To comprehend all that has gone on in Congress in the past few months is a difficult task. A great deal will depend upon how programs are administered, the competence of those responsible for them and whether or not they are responsible public servants.

But it is important that the basics of what was done in Congress are understood by our citizens, because they will pay the bills for these far-reaching programs.

MAJOR PROGRAMS

Therefore, I would like to outline the major provisions of the programs considered by Congress since last January and give those I represent my vote on these issues and my reason for voting as I did.

After they have read this report, I would invite them to write me at Room 2435, House Office Building, Washington, D.C., if they have further questions or views on these programs or my position on these issues. I assure them that their letters will receive prompt consideration and attention.

Following are the issues, how I voted on them, and why:

VOTING RIGHTS

Voted "yes." Implements 15th amendment to the Constitution which provides that no one shall be deprived of the right to vote in either national or local elections because of race or religion. Provides for Federal examiners where there are indications that right to vote has been denied by local units of government or where less than 50 percent of voting age population voted in last presidential election.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Voted "yes." For those over age 65, provides hospital care program including inpatient hospital service, post-hospital and outpatient diagnostic services. For extra $3 a month, provides doctor and surgeon services, home health services, ambulance, X-ray. Benefits start July 1, 1966.

Also provides 7-percent average increase in social security benefits, plus increased benefits for child care, blind, disabled, needy children. Extends benefits to sons or daughters of recipients to age 22 if full-time students, lowers benefit age to 60 for widows or workers at reduced monthly amount. Provides social security coverage for physicians and interns.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Voted "no" on final passage after supporting more equitable distribution formula. Provides more than $1 billion annually in Federal grants to elementary and secondary schools. Opposed because distribution formula gives more money to richest counties rather than to poor who need it, because State educational agencies would be bypassed in many instances and Office of Education would have arbitrary control over distribution of funds. Because of complaints, House Education Subcommittee has already scheduled hearings next year on the question of possible Federal control of local school districts under this program.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

Voted "yes." Provides for ultimate repeal of all Federal excise taxes except for special purposes such as highway trust fund, alcoholic beverages and 1 percent excise tax on autos. Provides $4 billion in cuts on such items as autos, telephones, furs, jewelry, appliances, general admissions. Most items reduced on sliding scale before outright repeal of tax.

HIGHER EDUCATION

Voted "yes." Provides community service program, college library and library training assistance, assistance to developing institutions, student scholarships and loans, work-study program extensions. Proposal to create a National Teachers Corps was killed in conference committee after being added in Senate.

APPALACHIA

Voted "no." Authorizes $1.1 billion for 360 counties in 11 States. Opposed because emphasis wrongly placed. Eighty cents out of every dollar provided would go for highway construction, while only 2 cents would go for vocational training and the teaching of new skills to the unemployed. Roads without job skills for unemployed would be meaningless.

OMNIBUS HOUSING ACT

Voted "yes" on House passage. Voted "no" when Senate version containing rent subsidies came back to House. Authorizes $8.2 billion. Establishes rent supplement program for Federal Government to pay portion of rent to low- and middle-income families. Provides for 60,000 additional units a year of low-rent public housing for 4 years, including rent certificate feature to be used in connection with single-family housing.

Provides $2.9 billion for additional urban renewal. Increases college housing authorization by $300 million a year. Authorizes matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. Provides grants for health, recreational and community centers under poverty program.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS

Voted "no." Doubled authorization of funds for poverty program, removed right of State Governors to veto programs considered undesirable. Opposed because of program maladministration, political patronage of appointments, and because 1 in 7 OEO staff employees have salaries of $19,000 a year or better—the highest ratio of any Federal agency. Programs in big cities too often serve politics rather than poor. What is needed is an impartial investigation rather than more Federal money.

RIGHT-TO-WORK REPEAL

Voted "no." Would invalidate State laws guaranteeing right to work and banning union shop, some of which were adopted by votes of the people of the States. Passed by House but died in Senate. Opposed repeal because it would have given worker no place to go if he were blackballed by union. Supported amendments to prohibit union dues from being used for political purposes, end to racial and religious discrimination in labor unions, end to punishment of union members for exercising constitutional rights of free speech but which were rejected in the House.

ARMED SERVICE PAY

Voted "yes." Provides 11-percent pay increase for soldiers, sailors, airmen and marines to meet cost-of-living hikes and to move them closer to comparable pay with industry and civil service. Provides bonds on first reenlistment to Armed Forces member who is designated as having critical military skill.

IMMIGRATION ACT

Voted "yes." Abolished country quota system for immigrants and replaced it with a new system based on the reuniting of families and the individual merit of each applicant. Sets a limit of 170,000 on the number to be admitted to the United States each year, exclusive of Western Hemisphere, and sets a limit of 120,000 on Western Hemisphere immigration. Provided safeguards from unfair competition and lowering of wages and working standards to American workingman.

HEALTH PROFESSIONS

Voted "yes." Extend to 3 years program of matching grants for teaching facilities for training of physicians, dentists, public health personnel, optometrists, pharmacists and podiatrists. Also extends medical student loan program.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Voted "yes." Limits signs on interstate and primary highway systems within 660 feet of road right-of-way to directional and official signs and which conform to national standards, except for signs listing real estate on property for sale. If States do not conform, face loss of 10-percent of highway construction funds.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA HOME RULE

Voted "yes." Provided for establishment of locally elected government for District of Columbia. House version called for Charter Commission to draft city charter. Senate called for Mayor-Commission form of government. Conference committee will attempt to reconcile differences for further action by Congress next year.

WATER RESOURCES PLANNING ACT

Voted "yes." Provides for establishment of regional water basin organizations to assure adequate water supply in future. Provides financial assistance to States on a matching basis for resources planning. Authorizes $11.5 million a year for 10 years.

WATER QUALITY ACT

Voted "yes." Provides for cooperative action between local, State, and Federal governments in attacking water pollution.

Authorizes $20 million a year for 4 years for grants to develop demonstration projects of new methods of controlling waste discharges from storm drains or combined storm and sanitary sewers. Increases dollar limit on grants for sewer plant construction. Requires States to file letter of intent on water quality control to receive funds.

ARTS AND HUMANITIES ACT

Voted "no." Provides grants to States, organizations, and individuals to further creative and performing arts and humanities. Opposed because it establishes art czar and leads to official art. As in France, grants would go to those who are more able politicians rather than the best and most creative artists. In France, every major painter and sculptor was banned from official exhibits. Such artists as Rodin, Renoir, Van Gogh were forced to hold own exhibits after being criticized by official art circles.

FARM BILL

Voted "no." Provided price supports and subsidies of more than $2.4 billion to farmers for feed grains, wheat, rice, et cetera. Opposed because surplus stocks now at $7 billion and program has failed in past years. Now 1 Department of Agriculture employee for every 32 farms in United States. Net income of farmers standing still while food and clothing prices for families rising because of artificially high prices and higher taxes because of subsidies.

SUGAR SUBSIDIES

Voted "no." Provides subsidies of $90 million to foreign and domestic sugar producers which in turn raise price of sugar to Americans to almost three times world market price. Testimony revealed that sugar lobbyists receiving as much as $50,000 a year in their efforts to obtain sugar quotas for foreign governments.

MANPOWER ACT AMENDMENTS

Voted "yes." Provides extension of Manpower Retraining Act for encouraging the teaching of new skills to those out of work or employed at unskilled labor. Provides assistance of $432 million to States to establish and administer programs and provides training allowances for those enrolled.

FOREIGN AID

Voted "yes." Provides $3.1 billion for continuance of overseas economic and military assistance programs, including aid to Vietnamese. Also amends Agriculture Trade Development Act by banning sale of surplus foods to United Arab Republic unless President determines such sales in national interest. Increases Latin American housing guaranties, continues limit of arms aid to Africa, directs use of foreign currencies rather than dollars wherever possible.

EMPLOYEE SALARY INCREASE

Voted "yes." Provides 3.6 percent salary increase for Federal employees, based upon comparability formula with private wage increases.

HEART, CANCER, STROKE

Voted "yes." Establishes 3-year program of regional cooperative research, training, education and demonstrations of patient care in fields of heart disease, cancer, stroke and related diseases. Authorizes grants for establishment and operation of regional medical programs. Authorizes $340 million to carry out programs.

MENTAL HEALTH

Voted "yes." Authorizes Federal grants for meeting the initial cost of professional and techincal personnel for community mental health cnters.

PRESIDENTIAL INABILITY

Voted "yes." Proposed constitutional amendment provides for clear lines of authority in case President should be unable to exercise duties of office. Also provides for filling of vacancy of office of Vice President should one occur. Amendment must be ratified by States.

Mr. Speaker, Congress will reconvene in January for the second half of the 89th Congress.

Let us hope that the measure of its accomplishment will not merely be the number of taxpayer dollars spent on Federal programs. Spending money, even in the amounts expended by the Federal Government, is not a particularly difficult task.

What is difficult is solving national problems while still protecting the right of our citizens to self-determination. Let us hope that this will be constantly kept in mind.

Credit Union Development in Texas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the idea of credit unions was introduced in this country in 1900, credit unions have specialized in serving people by providing an institution in which a person can put savings and a place where loans can be made at low interest charges. The basis of credit unions is service to the public, not the blind obedience to profit.

It is always a pleasure for me to read of credit union successes, more so when it is my own State of Texas. I can remember a time when there was no such thing as a credit union in Texas, but today we have 1,282 credit unions, with membership of 15,700,000 in the United States with 982,000 in Texas alone. Over half a billion dollars worth of loans were made to Texans by credit unions in 1964.

Next to the church, credit unions have done more good than any other institution, helping the family keep respect and pride when financial difficulties arise. Low interest rated loans at easy terms for the little man, service to groups who otherwise could not afford expensive bank credit, and the providing of continuing prosperity to our growing economy are the results of a vigorous credit union system.

Mr. Speaker, I include an article by Sam Acheson, appearing in the October 21, 1965, Dallas Morning News, in the RECORD following my remarks:

CREDIT UNIONS THRIVE IN TEXAS: 902,881 MEMBERS

(By Sam Acheson)

The number of Texans belonging to Federal and State credit unions is approaching the million mark, with an actual count at the end of 1964 of 902,881. They hold membership in 1,282 unions to be found from the top of Texas in the upper Panhandle to the tip of Texas at Brownsville in the lower Rio Grande Valley.

According to figures released by the Texas Credit Union League in connection with International Credit Union Day observed in Dallas today, these same agencies for loans to individuals have total assets in excess of $\$\frac{1}{2}$ billion.

In numbers served and volume of loans and savings, these nonprofit, carefully supervised agencies occupy an increasingly important place in the financial picture. The 1,282 Texas unions reported total savings last year of $473,672,700, loans outstanding of $448,617,900, reserves of $26,008,870, and assets of $542,643,200.

Before 1929, there were no credit unions in Texas, although the credit union idea originated in southern Germany in the middle of the last century during a period of extreme famine and poverty.

As explained by James M. Barry, of Dallas, managing director of the Texas Credit Union League, such a financial institution is created by a group of people who agree to save their money together and make loans to each other at low interest charges.

Members are always people in a particular association or group, ranging from employees in a given company or business to those grouped in other ways such as the same fraternal order, church, labor union, or even residential neighborhood.

Dallas and its metropolitan area has 185 credit unions with total membership of 167,805. This makes it the largest district in the State in total membership, although Houston with 229 unions and total assets of $115,679,000 is larger in total transactions.

Viewed statewide, the largest number of unions, 124, is made up of people engaged in the field of transportation. But one of the largest memberships is found in education, with a total of 104,964 members.

Other large groups include petroleum (99,131), wholesale and retail trade (45,590), Federal, State, and local governments (166,706), and defense installations (105,284).

Credited with fathering the idea of credit unions is Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, mayor of a small town in Bavaria in 1849. It was transplanted to America in 1900 by Alphonse Desjardins, a legislative reporter in Montreal, and introduced from Canada into the United States by way of New England.

One of the biggest boosters of the idea was the late Edward A. Filene, Boston merchant and philanthropist. Massachusetts passed the first State law empowering this form of banking.

Basic Texas law was passed in 1929, in which year the first 11 credit unions were formed here. The late Senator Morris Sheppard and Representative WRIGHT PATMAN,

of Texarkana, got the first Federal credit union law through Congress in 1934.

The credit union movement has now become worldwide, with more than 25 million people belonging to it in 77 nations. It is strenuously attacked by Communists in the developing countries of the world because of its inculcation of habits of thrift, saving, and promotion of individual enterprise.

Texas has reason to be proud of its record of credit union growth, the State now being third in the Nation in the number of operating unions.

Salute to a Newspaperman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HAROLD D. COOLEY
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOLEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased at this time to salute Bruce O. Jolly, newspaperman.

I am compelled to do this by my conviction that there is no greater service to the stability and strength of our democracy and to the quality of our civilization than to carry the truth—the absolute truth—to our people. Moreover, in this salute I am aware that it is a personal privilege to draw attention to, and to commend, a newspaperman who has demonstrated outstanding devotion and performance in this purpose.

Bruce Jolly was a respected member of the Washington press corps for 15 years, serving as correspondent for the Greensboro, N.C., Daily News.

During this service he penetrated and reported faithfully the intricacies and the events of our Nation's Capital, and his work took him to far places. He has covered the national political conventions. He has made the "whistlestop" campaigns with presidential candidates. His pursuit of the news took him to the Arctic, the Antarctic, to London, to the continent of Europe, and to other lands.

Mr. Speaker, Bruce—as he is affectionately known to many Members of this body—has chosen now to use his exceptional talents in another field. He has left newspaper work to join the Southern Railway System in a public relations capacity. The Southern Railway is one of America's most progressive enterprises. I commend the wisdom of its executives in their recognition and use of Bruce's talents. All of our good wishes, and our confidence, follow Bruce in this new and challenging responsibility.

Many of those who know him miss his presence on Capitol Hill. But he will remain in Washington, and we shall continue to enjoy and to value his friendship.

Mr. Speaker, on occasions, as are other Members of the Congress, I am invited to attend and to participate in various functions of the National Press Club. I have been struck, as you have, by a bronze plaque in the club lobby, which sets forth "The Journalist's Creed," as stated by Walter Williams, dean of the School of Journalism, University of Missouri, 1908–35. I have had this creed copied down, and I include it at this point:

THE JOURNALIST'S CREED

I believe in the profession of journalism.

I believe that the public journal is a public trust; that all connected with it are, to the full measure of their responsibility, trustees for the public; that acceptance of a lesser service than the public service is betrayal of this trust.

I believe that clear thinking and clear statement, accuracy, and fairness, are fundamental to good journalism.

I believe that a journalist should write only what he holds in his heart to be true. I believe that suppression of the news, for any consideration other than the welfare of society, is indefensible.

I believe that no one should write as a journalist what he would not say as a gentleman; that bribery by one's own pocketbook is as much to be avoided as bribery by the pocketbook of another; that individual responsibility may not be escaped by pleading another's instructions or another's dividends.

I believe that advertising, news, and editorial columns should alike serve the best interests of readers; that a single standard of healthful truth and cleanness should prevail for all; that the supreme test of good journalism is the measure of its public service.

I believe that the journalism which succeeds best—and best deserves success—fears God and honors man; is stoutly independent; unmoved by pride of opinion or greed of power; constructive, tolerant, but never careless; self-controlled, patient, always respectful of its readers but always unafraid; is quickly indignant at injustice; is unswayed by the appeal of privilege or the clamor of the mob; seeks to give every man a chance, and, as far as law and honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so, an equal chance; is profoundly patriotic while sincerely promoting international good will and cementing world comradeship; is a journalism of humanity, of and for today's world.

Suffice it to say, Mr. Speaker, I have never known a newspaperman to live more closely to this creed than did Bruce O. Jolly during his years as Washington correspondent for the Greensboro Daily News.

The Eloquent Fuller Warren

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished former Governor of the State of Florida, the Honorable Fuller Warren, is well known for his eloquence as a speaker and a writer. Recently he commented in a letter to the Miami News on the meeting of Pope Paul and President Johnson in New York, and the text of that letter follows:

[From the Miami News, Oct. 7, 1965]

MANKIND STEPS AWAY FROM THREAT OF WAR

MIAMI.

To the EDITOR:

When the greatest political leader since Caeser clasped, in warm friendship, the outstretched hand of the consecrated spiritual leader of one-sixth of all mankind humanity's never-attained goal of permanent peace seemed not so far off as it once did.

It may be that these two men of God are His own chosen instruments for saving the human race from self-destruction. In mankind's long and tragic trek from savagery to civilization, no such combination of political and spiritual power has ever before been lined up so solidly on the side of peace and against war.

Let us hope, let us believe the meeting of these two men means that a mushroom cloud of nuclear destruction will not wipe out the world, as it did two Japanese cities 20 years ago.

FULLER WARREN.

On another occasion, former Governor Warren recalled the tragic death of one of the Nation's most colorful political leaders in a letter to the Orlando Sentinel. The text of that letter follows:

[From the Orlando Sentinel, Sept. 13, 1965]

HUEY LONG

MIAMI.

EDITOR: Thirty years ago, one of the two most progressive Governors ever to serve a Southern State fell mortally wounded by the bullet of a crazed assassin.

In 1928 Huey Long toppled an oppressive oligarchy that had made life miserable for most Louisianians throughout more than 50 years.

Huey Long built charity hospitals, roads, bridges, schools, colleges, and other institutions the people of Louisiana had needed for 100 years.

He waged relentless war on disease, hunger, poverty, and ignorance. He was the first southern Governor to provide free school books and buses, and he did it for all schoolchildren, Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Negro.

Unlike some southern demagogs, Huey Long never raised the racial issue to win votes. He never bellowed about the South's "way of life." He never lamented "the lost cause." He never made an appeal to sectionalism.

Huey Long made government amusing. He made most Louisianians laugh. He brought fun to the floor of the U.S. Senate. He was the merriest man in America and the loudest. He wiped away the tears of millions of Americans during the terrible depression and filled their hearts with hope.

He inspired the man who gave Florida "50 years of progress in 4."

FULLER WARREN.

Report by Comptroller's Office Indicates Public Hurt by Heavy Banking Concentration and Easy Merger Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the September 1965 issue of the National Banking Review, a journal published by the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, contains a very significant study by Franklin R. Edwards, a senior economist in the Department of Banking and Economic Research, Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency.

Mr. Edwards concludes on the basis of a careful examination of 36 banking

centers in all parts of the country that the more heavily concentrated in a few hands commercial banking is, the more likely that interest rates on loans will be higher, interest rates paid on savings and time deposits will be lower, the ratio of loans to deposits will be lower and bank earnings will be higher.

Thus, are see from this careful study that the public is the loser when banks are permitted freely to merge, causing heavy concentration of economic power in the hands of a few banks. This conclusion casts gave doubts on the wisdom of the policy followed by Mr. Saxon, the Comptroller of the Currency, in approving well over 90 percent of the merger applications he has acted upon over the last 5 years.

I am inserting in the RECORD at this point excerpts from Mr. Edwards' article:

[George] Kaufman's study, which investigates bank performance in several Iowa counties, concludes that "high market concentration * * * is associated with higher interest charged on loans, lower interest paid on time deposits, higher service charges on demand deposits, and lower ratios of loans to assets and time deposits to total deposits." My earlier study supports Kaufman's findings with evidence showing that structure significantly affects small-business loan rates.

Further, a recent study by Shull & Horvitz concludes that the presence of a branch office, or even the possibility of entry by branching, significantly affects both interest rates paid on time and saivngs deposits and interest charged on loans. They also find a relationship between rates on time and savings deposits and the number of banks in the market. Although their study focuses on one- and two-bank towns and is directed primarily toward evaluating the impact of branching, their results, broadly interpreted, favor the thesis that structure partially determines bank performance.

It is clear that previous studies are conflicting, and that considerable disagreement exists among observers who have made the effort to find answers. The present study, by focusing on metropolitan areas where the structural variation is greatest, provides additional evidence to support the hypothesis that structure does affect performance.

* * * * *

1. Bank prices—Testing the hypothesis: Two hypotheses are tested: (1) that highly concentrated markets have lower average rates on time and savings deposits; and, (2) that in such markets average loan rates are higher. Classifying metropolitan areas into three groups according to their degree of concentration, table 5 shows the effect of concentration on these rates is consistent with the above hypotheses: In concentrated markets loan rates are higher and rates on deposits are lower. This simple scheme, however, does not permit us to conclude that concentration significantly affects bank pricing. For example, loan rates could be high because of high demand.

* * * * *

A 10-percentage-point increase in concentration results, on the average, in a decrease of approximately 6 basis points in the average interest rate which banks pay on time and savings deposits, and an increase of 10 basis points in the average interest rate they charge on loans. Thus, an increase in concentration is harmful to bank customers in two ways: by lowering the return on their savings deposits, and by increasing the price they must pay for loans.

* * * * *

Thus, the evidence shows that concentration affects bank pricing in a manner compatible with the theory of monopolistic competition.

* * * * *

2. Bank output: Lower loan rates increase the amount demanded, which results in higher loan-deposit ratios, while higher rates result in lower ratios. Since less competition leads to higher loan rates, we would, therefore, also expect concentration to have an adverse effect on bank output.

* * * * *

3. Bank profitability: Table 8 shows that bank earnings rise as concentration increases. From the lowest to the highest concentration group there is a difference of 16 basic points, which amounts to a 13-percent rise in earnings. The evidence is far from conclusive, of course, since many factors may combine in a coincidental manner to bring about this result.

* * * * *

Thus, high concentration may result in high profits because it permits banks to charge high loan rates while paying low rates for time and savings deposits. Both fact and theory therefore combine to support the hypothesis that structure also affects bank profitability.

* * * * *

Market concentration, especially, was found to be significantly associated with the pricing, output, and profits of banks—high concentration being associated with high loan rates, low rates on time and savings deposits, and high profits.

Report on Midpoint Conference of the International Farm Youth Exchange (IFYE) Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHESTER L. MIZE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kansas is proud of its role in the international farm youth exchange—IFYE—program. Kansas was host again this year to the midpoint conference of IFYE, July 29 to August 4. During the course of this conference, 108 IFYE exchangees from 33 countries participated in the meeting.

Because of the importance of this program to improve relations between the United States and other nations around the globe, and because these improved relations promote better understanding between the peoples of the various countries and because this better understanding fosters a climate for peace and progress, I feel that it is important that Members of Congress and their constituents know more about this program and the part Kansas has played in the development of it.

To that end I asked R. B. Tomkinson, of Kansas State University, Manhattan, Kans., to prepare a summary of the midpoint conference. Mr. Tomkinson is the division of extension specialist in 4–H work at Kansas State University. He served as coordinator of the IFYE program in Kansas and deserves much of the credit for the success of this year's conference.

In his report, Mr. Tomkinson stated:

IFYE was started as a cultural exchange to create better understanding between people by living another way of life. One of the strong points has been the opportunity for young people to live with farm families in another country.

Each year a different land-grant college cosponsors the IFYE midpoint conference with the National 4–H Club Foundation. This was the second time Kansas has been host to the event.

This year, the IFYE midpoint conference was held from July 28 to August 4 on the campus of Kansas State University in Manhattan, Kans. We had 108 exchangees from 33 countries participating in the program. As each exchangee visits two States in their 6 months' stay in the United States, the midpoint conference is held between the two State visits.

The objectives of the midpoint conference are to provide opportunities for the exchangee to—

(a) Renew acquaintances with other exchangees from their country—to speak their native language, to share experiences with each other, and to relax and recreate;

(b) Meet and learn to know exchangees from other parts of the world and to learn something of the culture, economy, government, and geophysiology of their country;

(c) Review the objectives and discuss the operations of the IFYE program;

(d) Pursue their individual interests in educational rural youth work and/or agriculture and home economics;

(e) Review experiences in their first host States and needs yet to be fulfilled; and

(f) Look ahead to the second State visits and the opportunities to meet such needs.

In addition to the experience of young people living with farm families in another country, other countries are now indicating that they want their young people to pick up technical information that they can use in their home countries. This year, four special-interest workshops were included on the agenda of the conference: (1) Rural youth leadership; (2) home economics; (3) animal husbandry and poultry; and (4) field crops. Thus, by including this for the first time in the midpoint conference, we feel the exchangees were able to acquire some technical knowledge and information.

Kansas has the largest IFYE program of any State in the Nation. All 105 counties in Kansas have been active in the program. We have had 739 families host 238 exchangees from 64 different countries. At the same time, we have sent 141 Kansas delegates from 66 countries to 46 different countries. The following is a summary of the highlights of the Kansas IFYE program for 1965:

PARTICIPANTS FROM KANSAS IN 1965

Gloria Bartholomew, Alton (Osborne County) visited Japan.

Mary K. Munson, Junction City (Geary County) visited India.

Richard Hawkins, Colby (Rawlins County) visited India.

Gerald Schmidt, Kinsley (Edwards County) visited Tunisia.

Barbara Symns, Atchison (Doniphan County) visited Jamaica.

Tom O'Dell, Elk City (Elk County) visited Turkey.

Karen Chitwood, Wichita (Sedgwick County) visited Brazil.

Fourteen exchangees from 13 countries lived with 37 Kansas families in 26 counties. This year's IFYE's were:

Miss Ilma T. Arns, Brazil.
Mr. Matti Sipila, Finland.
Miss Annemarie Weber, Germany.
Miss Arati Sahana, India.
Mr. Shallendera Pathak, India.
Miss Gabrielle M. Gowing, Ireland.
Mr. Dante Losco, Italy.
Mr. Alvaro Aguirre C., Mexico.
Miss Marit Valstad, Norway.
Mr. Eladio Saldivar M., Paraguay.

Mr. Aziz A. Fouzai, Tunisia.
Miss Nedret Sener, Turkey.
Mr. Raul G. Bratschi H., Uruguay.
Mr. Eduardo J. Vasquez G., Venezuela.

The National 4–H Foundation said this was the best midpoint conference yet. Thanks goes to the Kansas IFYE alumni who assisted, Cooperative Extension Service personnel, and other Kansas State University faculty members who worked tirelessly to make it a success.

FRIEND OF IFYE

This was the third year that the Kansas IFYE Alumni Association presented this award.

(a) This year, 1965, Kansas Farm Bureau, the first organization to receive this award was made "Friend of IFYE" for their support and encouragement of the IFYE program.

(b) In 1963, J. Harold Johnson, executive director of the Kansas 4–H Foundation, and Roger E. Regnier, State 4–H leader were the recipients.

(c) In 1964, Dr. G. B. Marion, KSU faculty member and one of the originators of the IFYE program was the recipient.

Kansas IFYE alumni planned and conducted the 1965 delegate selection and orientation, Feast of Nations, and National IFYE Mid-Point Conference. The State 4–H advisory committee recommended that part of the additional money raised by the new district 4–H foundation committees be used to lower the county share to $700 from $900 per 1965 delegates.

Letters from Kansas delegates were printed in the major Kansas newspapers and through the cooperation of extension information department. Tapes were used by radio stations for the third year.

Fraternities and sororities hosted incoming IFYE exchangees which gave the exchangees an opportunity to become acquainted with college life, and KSU students to become acquainted with the IFYE program.

The Kansas IFYE Alumni Association sponsored, for the fifth year, a 4–H Club people-to-people project which provides 4–H Club members an opportunity through their 4–H Club experiences to promote world peace and understanding. The 1965 winners were: Kathy Rebecca Jackson, Greenwood County; Teresa Fauss, Sedgwick County; Bonnie Collins, Ford County; Mary Beth Chase, Thomas County; Florence Stein, Leavenworth County; Mustard Seed 4–H Club, Saline County.

The reason, I believe, Kansas has the largest IFYE program is not because of what we do at the State 4–H office, or State extension service but that the people of Kansas, even though landlocked in the middle of the United States, are truly interested in understanding the people of the world.

We felt the one thing that helped make this conference a huge success was that the total universiy was involved. No only was the State 4–H staff involved, but our IFYE alumni and other Kansas State University resource people. With the whole university contributing their talents, the conference was highly successful.

In addition to this report by Richard Tomkinson, I want to also include with my remarks an article on the conference which appeared in the August issue of Yield, the publication of the Farmers Union Cooperative Marketing Association. The article follows:

MIDPOINT CONFERENCE FOR 108 INTERNATIONAL FARM YOUTH EXCHANGEES

Kansas State University hosted a meeting of worldwide scope, July 28 to August 4, during the annual International Farm Youth Exchange Midpoint Conference.

The 108 IFYE exchangees from 33 countries now in the United States participated in the meeting, reported Dick Tomkinson, extension 4–H club specialist, KSU and coordinator of the IFYE program in Kansas. The National 4–H Foundation, Washington, D.C., conducts the IFYE program and the conference in cooperation with the State extension service of the host university.

Highlights of the program included workshops on rural leadership, home economics, animal husbandry, and field crops; discussion of the American way of life and world challenges. Dr. A. D. Weber, director of international activities at KSU, gave a major address on "World Challenges" followed by discussion groups and a question period with a panel of KSU faculty members.

For many sessions the exchangees are divided into three groups according to countries—Latin America, Asia, and Europe, Caribbean, Oceania.

The final day of the conference was IFYE day with Kansas IFYE alumni, host families, participants in the people-to-people program, and friends of IFYE as guests. The schedule included a luncheon, people-to-people program, reception, and international banquet and evening program.

The midpoint conference provides the exchangees an opportunity to compare experiences and evaluate the first half of their 6-month stay in the United States. They have lived with rural families in one State and will go from the conference to their second host State. In each State, the rural youth from other countries live with four to six host families.

Ten countries had four or more exchangees at the meeting. India had the largest number, 16, with Brazil, Republic of China, Germany, Israel, Japan, Nepal, Philippines, Turkey, and Venezuela each having at least 4 exchangees in the country this year.

IFYE IS WHEAT FARMER

One of the IFYE delegates was from the wheat growing area of New South Wales, Australia, Maldon B. Yelland, 25, a third generation wheat farmer. "I had hoped to see some of Kansas' famous wheatfields while I was here," he related, "and was disappointed to find harvest already completed."

Yelland explained some about their farming operation in Australia, "We have 200 acres of wheat. It is spring wheat, planted in May and harvested in December. We have three major damaging factors we fear each year: (1) A frost; (2) rust, and (3) root rot. This year we are experiencing one of the worst droughts ever, receiving only 2½ inches of moisture since December 15.

"All wheat is marketed through our Australian Wheat Board, an organization for the selling of wheat and storage of same. At the present time the board is constructing many silos, what you call elevators here. The board guarantees us a price on our grain and pays us when we deliver it to them. This usually runs about $1 to $1.12 per bushel. Then for the next 2 years, as the grain is sold domestically or for export, the proceeds over the original price are prorated back to us, so that we receive about $1.60 per bushel total payment over a 3-year period."

In addition to wheat, the Yelland farm has 150 acres of oats, which they graze and then harvest for feed grain for their 2,300 head of Merino sheep. The national average is one to four sheep per acre of pasture and Yellands have 1,100 acres of grazing land.

Primary exports of the country are (1) wool, (2) wheat, (3) meat, and (4) sugar.

Maldon spent the first 3 months of his exchange tour in Wyoming and was heading for North Carolina for the second half, planning on being home in time for harvest.

Preliminary Analysis of Report of the Interagency Maritime Task Force

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, 1965, the Interagency Maritime Task Force issued a report on "A Policy and a Program for the Merchant Marine in National Defense and Trade." Unfortunately no opportunity was actually afforded to persons actively engaged in maritime commerce to comment or make suggestions regarding the content of the interagency report.

Adm. W. J. McNeil, president of the Grace Line, has prepared a critique of the task force report. I am placing this critique in the RECORD inasmuch as I believe that Admiral McNeil's views will be of interest to those persons concerned with our maritime problems in both the private and public sectors:

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF REPORT OF THE INTERAGENCY MARITIME TASK FORCE ISSUED OCTOBER 4, 1965

This brief critique of the task force report has been prepared as a possible aid to persons interested in U.S. maritime policy and represents the general viewpoint of a U.S.-flag ship operator.

It is clear that a great deal of thought has gone into this report, but it obviously suffers the infirmity of having been authored by a group who apparently do not have the practical background, experience, or technical knowledge of the ocean shipping business. The recommendations, as a result, contain good, bad, and indifferent elements.

Perhaps the most serious shortcoming of the report is its obvious disregard of the large body of history that went before the passage of the 1936 act, the intent of Congress in adopting the 1936 act, and the reasons for passage of the other acts, such as the 1916 act, dedicated to the development of our foreign trade and our merchant marine.

In summary, the good points in the interagency report—or points which, with some modification, could be made acceptable—are the following:

1. The aim to minimize the extent of direct Government supervision and involvement in the payment of subsidy and operation of the merchant marine.

2. Permission for liner operators to engage in bulk trades.

3. The right to build or acquire ships abroad for U.S.-flag operation after shipyard subsidies are exhausted (but only if separation of shipyard and ship operator support could not be achieved, or, assuming direct subsidy to shipyards, if the operator could not attain a reasonably competitive price on ships in U.S. yards).

4. The payment of direct operating subsidies to new U.S.-flag bulk carriers in lieu of the present indirect support given through premium rates for cargo.

5. Granting the right to U.S.-flag operators to own foreign shipping operations as long as the two operations are kept separate and distinct (but only to the extent that the U.S. Government does not choose, as a policy, to support U.S.-flag operation on a full parity basis).

6. Government sharing in a one-time financial settlement as in effective means of bringing about progressive introduction of automation, rationalization of work practices, and the setting of manning scales at minimum levels consistent with safety and technology.

The bad points in this report appear to be the following:

1. The payment of operating subsidies based on gross revenue earned.

2. The continuation of the present system of administering shipbuilding subsidies. Rather than make the subsidy a direct grant to the shipyard, the proposal continues the requirement that the ship operator be responsible for initiating requests for construction subsidy, thus involving the operator in the administration of these subsidies and entangling him in Government control of design of his ship.

3. Destruction of the trade route concept and substitution of global trade areas.

4. Arbitrary elimination or elimination by virtual blackmail of passenger ships.

5. Proposed destruction of the conference system, apparently based on a lack of understanding that there is no international equivalent to an ICC to control and regulate ocean commerce.

6. The indiscriminate elimination of the cargo preference laws—not realizing there are two distinct forms of cargo preference: rate preference and routing preference.

7. The continuation of Marad's insistence on standardized construction without regard to the need for specialized design features for profitable operations in particular trades.

8. Permitting indiscriminate entry of more than one U.S.-flag liner company into one trade area. Most insidious, perhaps, is the proposed intention of using this vehicle to force operators into the new program regardless of existing contract rights.

9. The proposal omits altogether any mention of the possibility of creating a U.S.-flag fleet for the carriage of proprietary cargoes in bulk.

To give a better understanding of the good and bad points listed above, a paragraph or two on each, following the numbered sequence listed above, follows:

GOOD FEATURES OF PROGRAM

1. Reduction of Government interference: It is a stated purpose of the task force program to reduce the extent of interference of the Government in administering the merchant marine support program. This is an eminently desirable objective which would result in freeing up a great deal of top-management talent to concentrate on the productive side of operating a shipping business. As it is, a disproportionate share of top management's time, effort, and ingenuity is devoted to Government regulatory matters. Unfortunately, however, the stated intent of the task force's program is quite different than the probable result. If all the elements of the program which will require MARAD's determinations, permissions, and direction are added together, the only result will be greater interference and involvement with the operation of the U.S. merchant marine than before.

2. Liner operators to be permitted to operate bulk ships: The present system of restricting subsidized liner operators solely to the operation of ships in subsidized trade routes eliminates the possibility of the company using its administrative organization and talent to run more than one business. Essentially, the management of a subsidized liner company could very well take on other shipping activities without impairing its ability to carry on the liner operation and yet increase its profit picture by engaging in corollary activities such as the bulk trades. The financial strength and management knowhow of these companies could be invaluable in building a strong bulk carrier fleet to meet the needs of U.S. commerce.

3. Permit U.S.-flag operators to build abroad: The program contemplates allowing U.S.-flag operators to build or acquire ships abroad after the U.S. shipyards exhausted the shipbuilding subsidy funds granted by the Government in any given year. The basic idea has merit, but it should be modified to the extent of permitting operators to build abroad only if a separation of shipyard and ship operator support cannot be achieved, or, assuming direct subsidy to shipyards, if the operators could not attain a reasonably competitive price on ships in U.S. yards. There are also the practical problems of timely appropriations by Congress, fiscal year juggling of orders, and other such difficulties which would in fact make it unlikely that a time would ever be reached when permisison would be given to a U.S.-flag operator to build or acquire abroad. These problems could be solved by having the Government make subsidy payments for shipbuilding direct to the shipyard on a basis of continuing appropriations with no reference to the operator and no interference on the part of the Government in attempting to dictate to the ship operator the type of ship or characteristics to be included for commercial operation. Under such arrangement, the shipyards would have the assurance of a stated amount of funds to be allocated annually on a continuing basis and thus give them the ability to bid for work on a 12-month basis. It would be hoped that support would be provided for an adequate level of shipbuilding in U.S. yards because American-built ships are excellent ships and U.S.-flag operators are proud to buy and sail these ships and would naturally hope to continue to do so. Nevertheless, the principle of separation must be established and should be as distinct as it is between Boeing and United Airlines, General Motors and Greyhound Bus Lines, or any manufacturer of equipment and user

4. Payment of operating subsidies to bulk carriers: The proposal to pay direct operating subsidies to bulk carriers would assist greatly in bringing into being efficient and modern ships for the U.S. merchant marine to carry a large portion of the volume of U.S. foreign trade. Such direct support of bulk carriers would progressively reduce and ultimately eliminate payment of premium freight rates on farm surplus cargo now being paid as an indirect subsidy. The proposal has shortcomings, however, since it insists that these ships be constructed under the present system of Government interference with design through the shipyard subsidy and limiting the number of ships to be built with Government support to five ships a year. If the limitation of five ships a year is adhered to, for example, it would probably take 40 years to achieve, or possibly never achieve, the impact desired in carrying all or a major portion of the premium-rated overseas surplus shipments and imported raw materials. These ships, it should be recalled, are to be permitted to cross trade in order to obtain cargoes. It is possible, therefore, that some of the ships might only make one voyage a year carrying U.S. exports or imports and spend the rest of the year in trade between other countries. The number of ships actually required to have any substantive impact is more likely in the neighborhood of 20 vessels a year for a period of 10 years and perhaps 10 vessels a year thereafter in order to have an effective program in motion.

5. U.S. liner operators to be permitted to operate foreign flag tonnage: The proposal to permit U.S.-flag liner companies to operate foreign flag tonnage is basically sound on the same principle applying to the proposal to permit the U.S.-flag liners to operate bulk ships under the U.S. flag. The purpose of such a diversification would be to allow the liner company to utilize its administrative setup and capital resources to maximum advantage. Caution is necessary not to permit this type diversification to be completely unrestricted. It probably should be limited to the extent that the U.S. Government does not choose, as a policy, to support U.S.-flag operation on a full parity basis. Stated differently, no U.S.-flag operator should be permitted to operate foreign flag tonnage as long as funds are available and the U.S. Government is willing to provide the necessary financial support to operate the additional tonnage on a full parity basis under the U.S. flag.

6. Government to share in one-time financial settlement and arrangement with labor: This is a desirable recommendation. Their plan to have the Government recognize its role and responsibility to bring about labor stability, to permit free introduction of automation, to allow rationalization of work practices, and the setting of manning scales at minimum levels consistent with safety and technology has merit. The major shortcoming of the U.S. merchant marine industry has been its inability to cope with labor on a rational and comprehensive basis. Both management and labor in the maritime industry have been and are fragmented, making it almost impossible to reach the kind of settlement necessary to put the industry as a whole on a sound management-labor footing. This was amply demonstrated in the recent 78-day strike when the Government agreed to set up machinery to settle interunion problems and adjudicate disputes on manning of automated ships. The U.S. Government is the only entity which would be capable of coping with this problem at this stage, and a program such as that described in the task force report should be carried out regardless of implementation of any portion of the program. This, alone, would be a long step forward in making the U.S. merchant marine more viable and economically sound.

The undesirable features of the task force report are discussed below.

UNDESIRABLE FEATURES OF PROGRAM

1. Payment of subsidies based on gross revenue: While proposing to retain the parity concept, the task force outlines a system of making actual subsidy payments based on gross revenue earnings from commercial cargo. Parity would continue to be calculated on the basis of foreign wage costs, but the actual payment would be geared to gross revenue—the higher the gross revenue the greater the payment of subsidy and vice versa. Needless to say, the U.S.-flag operator would enjoy or possess parity only in theory since it would be based on an average gross earning over the preceding 3 years. In the following years, the operator would always be either less than on an equal footing or on a better footing depending on how much below or above the average earnings he attained in subsequent years. Upon recalculation in the next 3 years, the operator would no doubt receive a greater rate of subsidy per hundred dollars of revenue if his revenue performance fell below the previous average and would receive less in the way of subsidy payments if his performance had been better than the average. Thus, the so-called incentive would reward poor performance and would penalize the good performance—just the opposite of the stated objective.

In addition, the proposed system would probably have the following effects on ship operations:

(a) Encourage increases in freight rates.

(b) Encourage selectivity and concentration on high-rated cargoes and neglect of low- or medium-rated cargoes.

(c) By emphasizing gross revenue, it would automatically tend to deemphasize costs and could bring about a situation where operators would strive for gross earn-

ings no matter what the costs, such as overtime, etc.

(d) By encouraging an increase in revenue which is highly variable, and encouraging an increase in fixed costs, the program would result in an increase in the risk element of the operation and make it even more difficult to attract private capital to the shipping business.

(e) The complicated computations required both for computing what the foreign costs are, as is being done now, and added to that the determination of a subsidy rate for different companies and different ships within each company would tend to increase rather than decrease Government interference in subsidy administration and ship operations.

(f) While the incentive to increase gross revenues might be present for the initial 3 years, the fact that the subsidy rate would be decreased if gross revenues exceeded the previous 3-year average would tend to take all the starch out of the incentive aspect for companies who intend to stay in business beyond the first 3-year or contract period.

While the proposed system of subsidy geared to gross earnings is totally unacceptable, the task force report does contain a suggestion for a method of paying subsidies that has a certain amount of merit. This scheme is listed as "alternative 8" and factors the subsidy per voyage day in terms of the type of ship operated. Further consideration of this scheme might very well be justified.

2. Continuation of the present system of administering shipbuilding subsidies: The report goes on at great length to describe the importance of the shipbuilding industry and further describes how the Government should go about determining the amount of shipbuilding that should be subsidized for commercial purposes. (It should be noted that the subsidy for commercial purposes is only a small fraction of the total Government support given to U.S. shipyards through Navy and other Government agency work.) All of this discussion, it should be noted, relates, as it should, to shipbuilding as an industry apart from the U.S. merchant marine or ship operators. Unfortunately, the proposal does not take the logical next step which is to treat the shipbuilding-support program completely separate and apart from the program of support for ship operators. As a result, the shipyard subsidy is used as a device to entangle the ship operator in the bureaucratic desires of the Maritime Administration in terms of ship characteristics, ship equipment, and ship manning. The stated intention of freeing the operator from Government interference is again thwarted by this device, so no change should be expected in the amount and kind of dealing of the Government with the ship operator. If the logical next step had been taken in this proposal, and the shipyard subsidy had been considered as a direct-support payment to the shipyard industry, it would then have been possible to consider allowing the shipyards to conduct their business with as little interference from the Government as possible and, by having their costs equalized with foreign shipyards, could then compete for shipbuilding work on a worldwide basis rather than strictly on a domestic basis.

3. Destruction of the trade-route concept and substitution of global trade areas: The basic idea behind the existing trade-route concept for liner operations is to ensure that the principal geographic trading areas important to the commerce of the United States are adequately served by a strong and healthy U.S.-flag carrier for the purposes of reliability, adequacy and stability of rates and service, and encouragement and development of U.S. trade with all countries of the world. The substitution of a trade-area concept destroys the basic intent of the trade-route concept, as described above, by using the profit motive as the sole criterion to determine ports or countries to be served by U.S.-flag carriers, by permitting indiscriminate entry of U.S.-flag companies into trade areas, and permitting shifting from one trade area to another solely for the temporary purpose of maximizing profits. What is needed is a reaffirmation of the trade route concept for liner services but liberalized sufficiently to permit the operator within a trade route to maximize utilization of his ships by giving him greater freedom of choice of ports of call, frequency of sailings, and routing of his vessel. Bulk and tramp operations, however, can be and should be of a global nature and not restricted to trade routes.

4. Elimination of passenger ships: The final objective of the task force's recommendations regarding passenger ships is their total elimination from U.S.-flag operation. No distinction is made between pure passenger ships and combination-passenger ships. This proposal comes at a time when every other significant maritime nation is in the process of adding modern passenger ships to their fleets. It sweeps aside the arguments of national prestige, national defense for troop-carrying purposes, trade enhancement aspects, and other plus arguments for continuation of passenger ship operations. What is even more serious is the implicit blackmail contained in the task force report on the proposal to eliminate passenger ships. The report states that operators who propose early termination of their passenger ship operations can expect to receive favorable consideration for Government participation in new freight operation projects which could be viewed as using part of the passenger ship operating subsidy savings. Conversely, it can be concluded that those passenger ship operators who insist on continuing under their passenger ship contracts with the Government will undoubtedly be excluded from any other Government assistance for any new project. Such an indiscriminate and total commitment to an action that might have dire consequences of the future of this country is wrong in principle. The cost to the United States for supporting passenger ships is small in comparison to the danger inherent in the gamble that would be taken by their elimination.

5. Destruction of the conference system: Besides invading the province of the Federal Maritime Commission, the task force makes the sweeping conclusion that the conference system is inimical to the best interests of the United States and that the subsidy system should be used as a means of destroying the conference system. This sweeping conclusion disregards the repeated findings after exhaustive studies of Congress and the governments of other nations regarding the benefits of the conference system. It also discards a long history of abuses, malpractices, and trading chaos which existed throughout the maritime world before the formation of a strong conference system. The condemnation of this system rests on the erroneous premise that the existing freight-rate structures have an adverse effect on U.S. commerce. The fact that our Shipping Act of 1916, as amended, specifically exempts ocean carriers from the antitrust laws to permit them to engage in the conference system for good and valid reasons is cast aside as being immaterial. This drastic and immature recommendation, if implemented, could only do grave harm to the U.S. merchant marine and the foreign commerce of the United States by returning to the chaotic and intolerable conditions and discriminatory practices of nonconference operation.

6. Elimination of cargo preference: The task force report is obviously confused on the meaning of and the impact of cargo preference. It indiscriminately lumps together routing preference and rate preference under the single heading of cargo preference. In the case of rate preference—that is the payment by the U.S. Government of premium rates on Government or surplus commodities for shipment in U.S. bottoms—there is no argument regarding the desirability of its elimination, providing some method is developed to make U.S. bulk carriers competitive. It is the purpose of the proposed direct subsidy payment to bulk carriers to eliminate in due course the need for such extra payment, which is actually an indirect form of subsidy to now-unsubsidized U.S.-flag carriers.

Routing preference, on the other hand, by which is meant the control by the U.S. Government or reservation by the U.S. Government of government cargoes so that all or some definite portion must move in U.S.-flag bottoms, in this case, at the going world rate—there is no extra cost to the U.S. taxpayer since the price would be the same no matter who carried. The argument that routing preference creates problems with our allies and friends to whom we are bound by treaties of commerce can be answered by the fact that it is the common practice of all major maritime nations to reserve for their own ships the bulk of the cargo generated for their own account by the governments involved. In fact in many nations commercial cargoes are also controlled through ingenious import/export regulations and U.S. cargo preference laws and regulations are the only proven countermeasures to secure equal treatment for U.S.-flag carriers.

In the case of U.S. routing preference, only Government-generated cargo is presently involved. Moreover, in practice, routing preference is used by many ship operators not as a negative tool, that is to reserve to themselves all of the Government-generated cargoes, but as a lever by which to pry from the countries and areas in which the operator trades the right to equal access to the cargoes of those countries. It is often forgotten that United States is only one of the partners in foreign trade. In all cases there is the sovereignty of a second country that is involved and discrimination can and does go both ways. When routing preference is used as a means of forcing equal access, it is then a constructive tool. Its loss to the ship operators would be a serious setback in maintaining the position of the U.S.-flag ships in world trade.

7. Government control of ship design. The task force report proposes to continue the present system of Government control over ship design and vessel equipment, insisting principally on standardization. It is or should be obvious that it is impossible for a group not practically or financially involved to gain an appreciation or develop a knowledge of the ship requirements of the many trade areas in the world. The fact is that ship operators, from a purely self-interested point of view, already specify standardized components and features for their vessels wherever it is practicable, feasible, and economical to do so, but never at the expense of service to the trade.

For the task force to insist on continuing the present effort to dictate standardized hulls, certain types of equipment, and other impedimenta of ship operation flies in the face of their stated intention of freeing the operator from Government interference. If the intention of the task force is to permit the U.S.-flag operator to buy his ship at world prices both in domestic shipyards as well as foreign shipyards, the task force should take the logical next step in permitting the U.S.-flag operator to deal with the U.S. shipyard in precisely the same manner he would deal with a foreign shipyard if he were permitted to build or acquire ships abroad. This follows the point made earlier that the relationship should be as distinct and separate as Boeing is from United Airlines, Greyhound from General Motors, or any manufacturer from any user of transportation equipment.

8. Allowing indiscriminate entry of U.S.-flag subsidized carriers into any given trade

area: One of the concepts embodied in the 1936 act, and one which is still valid, is the limitation of use of subsidy money in any given trade area to one or as few companies as necessary to give a trade route adequate U.S.-flag tonnage. Unless the volume of cargo in any one trade route warranted it, it was not to be permitted to have two or more subsidized carriers competing among themselves. The wisdom of this is quite apparent, but obviously was not taken into consideration by the task force report. It is their proposal that liner operators be permitted to switch from trade area to trade area as they wish to achieve the single purpose of maximizing gross earnings. No consideration is given to any other aspect of foreign trade, whether it be service, regularity, or anything else. The proposal is largely self-defeating since the Government would theoretically be subsidizing a number of lines in competition with each other whose only effect would be to cut down the profitability of all companies and make the expenditure of subsidies largely ineffective and therefore wasted.

9. Report omits mention of proprietary carriers: The task force report makes no mention whatever of proprietary carriers as an element of the U.S. merchant marine. As matters now stand, a preponderance of U.S. industries that depend on imported raw materials operate foreign-flag shipping. While it is not being suggested that direct subsidy payment be made to operators of proprietary carriers, it is suggested that means are available for inducing U.S. companies to bring their ships under the U.S. flag by such means as accelerated depreciation allowances, minimum manning guarantees, and other similar incentives. In the case of the petroleum industry alone, for example, U.S. companies own one-fifth of the tanker tonnage registered under all other flags—a return of even a portion of this tonnage to U.S.-flag operation would be a significant boost to the status of the U.S. Merchant marine.

The Doctor Shortage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, one of the many problems confronting our Nation with its ever-increasing population is the training of enough doctors to properly care for those with illness or disease.

In Indiana this problem is expected to become particularly acute as the population approaches 5 million with only one State medical school to supply physicians.

The Indiana Legislature is now considering suggested sites for a new State medical school and one of those under consideration is at Ball State University in Muncie.

After an examination of the advantages in the Muncie site I have given my wholehearted support to locating the new medical school there.

Strong supporters of a new medical school at Ball State are the Muncie newspapers which have been lending editorial backing to the project.

In an excellent editorial, the Muncie Star presented a concise report on the problem confronting Indiana which will be of interest to all States which must soon reckon with this problem.

The Muncie Star editorial follows:

THE DOCTOR SHORTAGE

The proposal of a council of Indiana doctors that the State build new medical schools deserves the most serious consideration.

Indiana has a population fast approaching 5 million. Yet it has only one medical school. The Indiana University School of Medicine admits 200 freshmen a year. Many medical experts think its enrollment is too large. Its admissions are approximately double that of the average medical school.

The experts' concern is based upon the belief that medical education can suffer if the enrollment is too large for the faculty and plant. The idea seems to be that the more students that must be trained, the thinner the faculty must spread its talents and attention. This is a widespread weakness in undergraduate schools, as most postwar college graduates are well aware. Medical education is a field that should not take shortcuts or cut corners.

In spite of the fact that experts think Indiana University Medical School is already too large, its administration wants to expand it further. Care must be taken that this excellent school is not force-grown to the point where its administration becomes unwieldy and its teaching inferior.

But the most urgent need from the public's viewpoint is a need for more doctors. A recent study financed by Eli Lilly & Co. showed that the Nation's population is growing much faster than physicians are being trained to minister to its ills. Unless steps are taken to ward off the eventuality, it said, the Nation will experience a serious shortage of doctors within a few years.

The long lines of patients waiting sometimes for hours in so many doctors' offices and hospital corridors would seem to bear this out.

The council of the Indiana State Medical Association in proposing new medical schools for the State warned that Indiana University "cannot train the number of physicians who will be needed in our State in future years."

The time to meet the problem is soon—before it reaches the dangerous stage. Muncie is interested.

Conservation Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK CHURCH
OF IDAHO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the 1st session of the 89th Congress has been labeled by custodians of our natural wealth as the "conservation Congress." In this, I heartily concur. More important than what this Congress has accomplished in conservation and development of our natural resources is the manner in which we proposed the programs. I outlined the need for balanced development of our natural resources when I had the privilege of delivering the keynote speech to the 1965 Pacific Northwest Region Convention of the American Society of Agricultural Engineers, at the University of Idaho.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CHURCH

No other section of our country—and possibly no place on earth—has been endowed with a greater abundance of natural wealth than our own Pacific Northwest. We have been blessed with rich mineral deposits, with vast tracts of timber, and with a plentitude of fertile land. Best of all, we enjoy a generous supply of water.

The Pacific Northwest has every physical attribute for a bountiful future. Our responsibility, as the custodians of this rich endowment, is to care for and develop it in such a wisely balanced way as to best promote the general well-being of all the people—now and in the future.

The key word is "balance," for without the proper balance—to use a resource in one instance, to replenish or conserve it in another—we will not be utilizing our natural wealth; we will be exploiting it to depletion and eventual destruction.

It has been said that the difference between a politician and a statesman is that a politician thinks in terms of the next election, while a statesman thinks in terms of the next generation. The same could be applied to the difference between a developer and a conservationist.

At the turn of the present century, half the population of the United States was still engaged in the production of raw products—on the farms, in the mines and forests. Today, only a tenth of our working force is so engaged. This doesn't mean that our national resources have become less important. It indicates, rather, that production of raw materials has become so efficient that 90 percent of our work force can concentrate on the embellishments—manufacturing, processing, servicing, transporting, teaching, engaging in the arts and sciences, the medical or legal professions, or in engineering—the many facets of modern society which, nonetheless, rests upon the base of our natural resources.

The mounting pressure on these resources has been accentuated by the phenomenal growth in our population. By the end of this century, 35 years hence, the number of people living in the United States will double—350 million citizens will be hungrily consuming our natural wealth, and, at the same time, looking to it to furnish them with outdoor pleasure during their leisure time. Projections indicate that they will have more than twice as much disposable per capita income and paid vacation time as in 1960. Their average workweek will have decreased from 39 hours to 32 hours. Plainly, we face a challenging trusteeship, if we are to manage our endowment in such a way as to permit our grandchildren to eat their cake and have it too.

By the year 2000, farm production will have to rise from its 1960 level of $20.8 billion to $38 billion. In the same period, timber needs will grow from 11.5 billion cubic feet to 32.3 billion cubic feet. Where we were withdrawing 84.5 trillion gallons of water a day in 1960, we shall require a withdrawal of nearly 150 trillion gallons, 35 years hence.

If we assume—and I think we can—that the expert management of our forests will prove equal to the test—and that our farmers with the help of modern research, hybrid seeds, commercial fertilizers, advanced education in agricultural methods, excellent extension courses, and the contribution of the soil conservation service, will also manage—this leaves us with the unanswered question of how we are going to handle our water.

It is with this question—the care and development of the water resources of the great Northwest—that I propose to deal this morning.

The modern phase of river development in the Northwest began when President Frank-

lin Delano Roosevelt, in 1932, commenced the construction of the Bonneville Dam, followed shortly by the Grand Coulee on the Columbia River. This was the beginning of a comprehensive program, prepared by the Army Corps of Engineers, to harness the mighty Columbia-Snake River system. It was then no more than a dream—an excellent giant's dream, to be sure—but, in the years since it has been given much substance in both the United States and Canada.

Millions of acres of land have been reclaimed and put into production as the Columbia, and many of her major tributaries, have been harnessed to the plowshare and the turbine. Moving hand in hand with irrigation, the dams in the Northwest today generate larger quantities of electricity—to light our homes and turn our industrial plants—than in any other part of the continent.

The needs of commercial navigation have also been well served. By 1970, the great system of Federal dams on the Columbia and the lower Snake will be nearing completion. River barges will be bringing goods from Pacific ports up the river as far as Lewiston, to be reloaded with inland grain, ores, and quarry products for shipment to farflung places. The ocean highway will reach more than 500 miles inland to create a landlocked seaport in Lewiston, Idaho, 25 miles from where we meet today.

As each new dam and its companion generators has gone "on the line," the network of powerlines and irrigation ditches grows, the electricity benefiting not only the American and Canadian parts of the Northwest, but, through interties now abuilding, California and the intermountain West as well. Industry and agriculture expand to meet our burgeoning needs.

Fortunately, we have much water left in the Northwest to put to future use. In the Mountain States and in the Southwest, thirsty States are even now eyeing our unappropriated waters. We can hope that the next few years will see great strides in desalinization of ocean waters to help meet the needs of these water-short regions. But we can't be sure this will happen. As of now, we must assume that a major attempt will be made to divert water from the Northwest into other river basins.

There are now study proposals pending in Congress, introduced by Representatives of water-short States, which relate to possible diversions of water from the Northwest in the future. One such bill calls for a study on the feasibility of diverting 8½ million acre-feet of water into the Upper and Lower Colorado River Basins and to supply irrigation canals along the route of the diversion. This, I would point out to you, is in excess of the total annual flow of the Snake River at the site of the proposed Guffey Dam in southwestern Idaho.

What would this water be used for in Colorado, Arizona, or southern California? To fill the empty water glasses of thirsty people? To provide the necessary sanitation and sewage disposal in Phoenix or Los Angeles? To meet vital industrial demands? Not at all.

The water which would be siphoned away from the Pacific Northwest is mainly to be put to the very same irrigation uses we have pioneered. At fantastic expense, it is to be diverted a thousand miles to reclaim new land in the Southwest, while desert lands, lying next to the very source of the diversion in the Northwest, remain dry.

Incredible? Yes, but the proof can be found in the present use of water in the areas which now search for more. Southern California is now using 90 percent of its water, locally developed and imported, for irrigation. Throughout the arid Southwest, 75 percent of all the water is going into reclaiming new land or irrigating old.

So, if we are not to lose our unused water here in the great Northwest, we must put it to use. Balanced development will not permit the construction of new hydroelectric dams at the expense, or to the exclusion, of new reclamation projects.

The case for comprehensive use is exemplified in a proposal that Congressman COMPTON WHITE and I recently put forward for a unified southwest Idaho water development project. Briefly stated, this is a half-billion-dollar plan to put the unused water in southwest Idaho to work. When it takes final form, the project may pull together as many as five previous proposals for piecemeal development of the region. Two major dams, two diversion tunnels, and associated generator facilities, fully integrated with existing works, would be entailed. The project would irrigate some 500,000 acres of vacant desertland, putting supplemental water on other land, now irrigated but without adequate water supplies. In addition, the project would generate more than half a million kilowatts of salable Federal power to help repay its construction costs. Municipalities and industry would come in for their share of the water, while recreation, fish, and wildlife would also be served.

If a project of this dimension, and others like it, are to be built in the Northwest, then our vast river system must be made to pay for the full development of the land it drains. We must lift our sights in the Northwest, as other great river basins in the country have already done, and establish an overall basin account. This would enable us to lump together all of the revenues derived from the enormous Government investment in the waterworks of the Northwest, and then draw upon the surplus, as the projects pay themselves off, to help finance new development, wherever it may be located, upstream or downstream, within the drainage system. Until such a basin account is put fully into effect, optimum utilization of the water resources of the Northwest will never be achieved.

From what I have said thus far, it is obvious that I am a devoted advocate of dams, provided they are built to comply with the requirements for complete utilization of their sites. When first elected to the Senate, the proposed Heels Canyon Dam had been made into a scare word in southern Idaho. Nevertheless, I fought for its authorization—which passed the Senate but died in the House—because it seemed to me inexcusable to squander so monumental a site on an insufficient, single-purposed private development.

Whenever the evidence shows that a proposed dam will do more good than harm, I shall work for it. But, by the same token, whenever the evidence shows that a dam will do more harm than good, I shall work against it—with equal fervor.

This brings me back to what I tried to stress at the outset, the need for a properly balanced management of our water resources. Much of our unused water should be put to work irrigating land, generating power, and meeting municipal and industrial requirements.

But not all of it.

Part of it should be put to a different use—to the service of another vital public need, outdoor recreation. If we build a dam on every site, on each and every one of our rivers, we shall relinquish the entire river system to this one use. The rightful claim of outdoor recreation, in all of its different and diverse forms, will be sacrificed.

Yet this is where we are now headed. Since the licensing of dams is in the hands of public agencies which exist for this purpose, the direction in which we are moving is perfectly evident: Ultimately—indeed, within a relatively short time—in the absence of restraining legislation, every feasible site will be used for dam construction. Unless laws are enacted to save some of our few remaining free-flowing rivers in their natural untamed state, wild rivers shall soon vanish from our land.

It is for this reason that I have introduced a wild rivers bill in the Senate. This bill would establish a national wild rivers system, within which dams could not be built. Among those streams initially included would be a long stretch of Idaho's magnificent Salmon River, and a section of the Clearwater, including her wonderous tributaries, the Lochsa and the Selway, as well as a segment of Oregon's beautiful Rogue.

The objective of the bill is to keep these rivers, and certain others located in other parts of the country, in their natural condition unobstructed and free flowing. The system would be administered to promote maximum public use and enjoyment. Other uses of the banklands which are not incompatible, such as farming, grazing, and lumbering, would continue without interference. Even mining on the bankland within the system would not be prohibited, if the operations were conducted in a way that avoided the obstruction or pollution of the river.

I regard the wild rivers bill as an essential part of any program that seeks the balance management of our water resources. Legislation of this character may well prove indispensable to the preservation of our migratory fish runs in the years to come. Meanwhile, we have acres of damsites on obstructed rivers which no longer mother the salmon, on which we can meet our future power needs for as many years ahead as hydro-produced electricity is ever likely to remain competitive with power generated at nuclear plants, where efficiency of operation steadily improves and costs continue to decline.

The discovery of the scenic wonders of the Northwest by the rest of the continent—the fishing, the hunting, the summer vacationers trying to escape the stiffling confinement of megalopolis—the inevitable tide of tourists coming our way—this has already come to represent our fastest growing source of new income in the Pacific Northwest.

And the expansion has just begun. By the year 2000, taken altogether, there will be nearly 400 million American and Canadian citizens. Where will these people go to find relief from the clatter, cluster, and smells of the bulging cities? From the oppressiveness of asphalt and concrete? From the frustrating proximity of the crowd?

I think the answer is clear. The 11 Western States, having but 15 percent of the national population, hold 75 percent of the recreation acreage. And about half of this lies in the Pacific Northwest.

So we must prepare ourselves for the rush to come, for—much as we might like to isolate ourselves—there is no way to escape the facts of life.

In the Senate, I have tried to do my part. There, I have served as floor manager of both the wilderness bill and the land and water conservation fund, two measures which should prove of immense help in both conserving and developing our great potential for outdoor recreation.

You, in turn, as interested and responsible citizens of our beloved Northwest, can also play a vital role, if you will stand up for, and insist upon, a wisely balanced management of your inheritance. In the utilization of our water, let no single interest dominate to the exclusion of others, neither the farmer's spade, the angler's hook, or "Reddy-Kilowatt's" switch.

If you will do this, the challenge of the coming years will be fairly met, you will have discharged your custodial duties well—and long after you are gone, your grandchildren will remember you in their prayers.

Observations on the 1st Session of 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GERALD R. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress is spotty. Along with the enactment of some meritorious and needed legislation, the Congress often acted hastily, blindly, and indiscriminately.

The majority leader of the Senate, Mr. MANSFIELD, of Montana, has confessed serious deficiencies in the laws enacted by the Congress this year. He has announced that the 2d session of the 89th Congress should "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed." He has said that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and must eliminate from the laws of the session just ended "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

The Mansfield confession should be good for the soul of the American people. It should convince them that one-party government does not serve them well.

One conclusion to be drawn from the 1st session of the 89th Congress is that whenever the party that holds possession of the executive branch of the National Government also enjoys overwhelming dominance in the Congress, the Congress becomes a satellite of the President.

The failure of the Congress to act as a deliberative body, coequal with the Executive, is the most striking feature of this past session. Until the closing days of the session, it rubberstamped the proposals of the White House in far too many instances.

The members of the American Political Science Association who gathered in Washington in early September of this year felt that the legislative initiative has passed irretrievably to the executive branch. One of the experts at that convention, Lewis A. Dexter, said that the Congress will come to have the same importance in the American system of government as the House of Lords has in the British, particularly if several future Presidents resemble Lyndon Johnson.

Eric Sevaried wrote:

> We know of a number of Congressmen who would be very grateful to learn what they have really done this year.

He also found that the Congress has so often acted under "a curious kind of intimidation" that the "once-exalted title of Senator or Representative has lost much of its prestige."

One of the leading newspapers in the home State of the Vice President summed it up this way:

> Anyone following the daily deliberations of the House of Representatives must be struck by the ruthlessness with which the Democratic majority of so-called liberals is flexing its muscles. It is not, in fact, a deliberative body. Representative government is in a sad and critical state.

Columnist Ted Lewis said:

> The presidential image of a miracle producer of new laws makes the legislative branch of Government appear to be a creature of the executive branch.

The Chicago Tribune, in an editorial entitled "Legislating by Scoop Shovel," said:

> It would take a truck scale to weigh the legislation forwarded by the White House and automatically approved, most of it wasteful, much of it unnecessary, and all of it putting the individual in the grip of the Federal vise.
>
> He [the President] has been legislating everything and anything, and, with two-thirds majorities in either Chamber, he has a Congress of robots that is totally compliant.

The Knoxville Journal editorialized:

> Any Congress which voluntarily yields its right to perform as a coequal part of the Federal Establishment, as this one has, is a continuing threat to the Nation.

It is one thing for a Congress to adopt Presidential proposals after thorough deliberation and adequate discussion. It is quite another thing for a Congress to rush through such proposals without careful scrutiny and without reasonable debate. No Congress that performed its constitutional duty would do the slipshod job of which Senator MANSFIELD indicted the present Congress when he said that it must now devote most of its effort to tightening up "its hasty enactments."

EXAMPLES OF RUBBERSTAMPING BY THE CONGRESS

On many important bills the House of Representatives acted without adequate consideration, without full hearings in committee, and without sufficient debate on the floor.

The arts and humanities bill was railroaded through the Committee on Education and Labor after about 15 minutes of consideration. Even a motion by the minority that the bill be read was summarily rejected by the majority. When the committee met to act on the bill, the members were presented for the first time with a new committee print, dated the same day, containing a number of significant amendments which the minority members had never seen before. Thereafter, several additional amendments, which the Republican members had never seen, were quickly adopted in committee, and the bill was reported with great haste.

The Education and Labor Committee made virtually no change in the administration bill to provide assistance for elementary and secondary education, despite vigorous bipartisan complaints about the formula for distributing Federal funds contained in the bill. On the floor, at least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

As this far-reaching legislation was being considered by the House of Representatives, Democratic Congresswoman GREEN, of Oregon, took the floor to protest, "Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement."

So little was the elementary and secondary education bill studied before floor action that two of the best informed supporters of the measure, gave to the House contradictory explanations of its application to nonpublic schools.

The higher education bill was reported out of the Education and Labor Committee in great haste, apparently at the command of the White House. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House deliberated for all of 20 minutes." Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois, called the bill's handling "a mockery of the legislative process."

Hearings on the administration's original highway beautification proposals were held by the Committee on Public Works on July 20, 21, and 22. These hearings were adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. Without warning, the hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7, with the final vote being tallied well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on 5 separate amendments.

Regarding the very controversial bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the Democratic majority of the Committee on Education and Labor rejected all attempts by Republican members to amend the bill so as to provide some basic protections for rank-and-file employees compelled to join unions in order to hold their jobs. Because of the restrictive rule under which the bill was considered by the House, amendments which would permit compulsory union membership agreements only if the unions involved refrained from racial and religious discrimination, refrained from using union funds for political purposes, and refrained from denying employees rights guaranteed them by Federal law were rejected as not germane. Other amendments offered, on which the House was not permitted to vote, were designed to insure that unions securing compulsory membership agreements truly represented a majority as demonstrated by winning an NLRB election, to protect the religious liberty of employees whose religious beliefs clash with compulsory union membership, and to insure that employees would be protected from compulsion to join a Communist-controlled union.

The Washington Post commented:

> Several important questions were raised in the House debate and left unanswered.

The Democratic majority rammed through a bill repealing section 14(b) which the Post said "scarcely qualifies as well-rounded legislation in the national interest."

On the important bill to prohibit discrimination in employment and union membership, only the briefest of hearings were held by the Committee on Education and Labor. These hearings contained no testimony based on experience under the 1964 Civil Rights Act and were followed almost immediately by a subcommittee meeting which reported the bill favorably. An hour later the full committee met and reported the bill to the House. No amendments were offered because none of the minority members

had any opportunity to study the long and complex measure and analyze even its theoretical weaknesses. This bill was not acted on by the House.

The percentages allocated to the various categories of immigrants in the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 were not discussed either in the Judiciary Committee or on the floor.

On the voting rights bill, the administration forces on the Judiciary Committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the floor of the House the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

GAPS AND OVERLAPS

The defects in the legislation enacted during the session of Congress just ended will come to light as the bills are put into effect. Problems of duplication and overlap will be encountered.

The Appalachia bill overlaps several existing Federal-aid programs, notably in the fields of highway construction and public health.

The public works and redevelopment bill, providing aid to so-called depressed areas, overlaps the Appalachia bill.

The expanded poverty program overlaps the elementary and secondary school aid bill, which is ostensibly aimed at children from low-income families, as well as vocational education and public assistance programs.

The Manpower Development and Training Act overlaps the poverty program.

One unfortunate oversight in the laws of the session can be cited to illustrate the results of hasty and ill-considered congressional action. By increasing social security payments, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans. The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans.

WEAKENING OF CHECKS ON EXECUTIVE BRANCH

One-party domination of the legislative and executive branches weakens the constitutional system of checks and balances. The subservient Congress which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it produces fails to exercise the restraint which it should over the executive branch. The majority leader of the Senate recognizes that such is the case when he urges the Congress now to undertake its neglected function of legislative oversight over executive agencies.

The executive branch unchecked is prone to carelessness about legal restraints and about the public interest. This carelessness can descend to the level of arrogance in some instances.

Arrogance is a strong word, but there is no other word for the submission to the Senate of the nomination of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal judiciary nor for the efforts to bull that nomination through the Senate. The American Bar Association and the Massachusetts Bar Association pronounced this nominee unfit for the post. A representative of the American Bar Association testified on the Morrissey nomination:

From the standpoint of legal training, legal experience, and legal ability, we have not had any case where these factors were so lacking.

There is no word but arrogance for the withholding of Federal funds from the city of Chicago in defiance of the procedures established by Congress.

There is no word but arrogance for procedures in the Congress that silence dissent and preclude careful consideration of legislation.

There is no word but arrogance for opposition to freedom of information legislation which would permit the public to know what is going on in the Government which it pays for. The Freedom of Information Committee of Sigma Delta Chi, the national society of journalists, in its annual report, accused the administration of seeking to "warp the proposed Federal public records legislation into an almost unlimited authority for the President to establish broader secrecy practices." The committee also indicted the administration for "increased centralization of information releases at the White House, and increasing sensitivity over leaks of information having no connection with national security problems; secrecy on the names of young persons hired by the Post Office Department during the summer in the President's youth opportunity campaign; the Defense Department's continued use of a directive that requires military and civilian personnel to report all contacts with newsmen; and failing to balance national security interests and freedom for the press in connection with Vietnam and the Dominican Republic."

There is no word but arrogance for the behavior of administration spokesmen, including the President and the Vice President, when they pointedly imply that the consideration which the problems of a locality receives in Washington will depend on whether its local officials are Republicans or Democrats. It is shocking to learn that responsible national officials would stoop to threaten any community with reprisals if its citizens choose officials who are not of the administration's party.

The New York Times reacted with indignation to the threat when it was made in New York City. Its editorial commented:

This is a remarkable indictment of the Johnson administration. It suggests, for example, that Sargent Shriver, the head of the antipoverty program and a Democrat, would be less sympathetic and helpful to New York if its mayor were a Republican. It makes the same inuendo about the officials who run the housing, education, mass transit, antipollution, and other programs in which New York has a vital interest. It suggests that President Johnson, Vice President HUMPHREY, and Senator KENNEDY himself would not be so helpful to the mayor of the Nation's largest city if he were of a political faith different from theirs.

FISCAL EXCESSES

The carelessness of a Congress overwhelmingly controlled by the President's party is particularly manifested in big spending. This session of Congress has set a new record in appropriations not approached since the Second World War. The appropriation of $119.3 billion this year is $36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress during the Eisenhower administration. This staggering figure of almost $120 billion does ont include additional backdoor spending of $7 billion made possible by the Congress this year. Nor does it include perhaps $5 to $7 billion needed for the war in Vietnam, a request which the administration is holding back until next January.

The Congress failed to exercise any restraint on reckless spending. The reduction of administration requests for appropriations by $2.4 billion is more apparent than real. The funds denied have only been deferred until 1966.

The following table shows the amount appropriated by Congress in each session since 1960. It reflects an increase of $36 billion, or 43 percent, since 1960. Of this $36 billion increase, only $8.3 billion is for defense:

[In billions]

Session	Appropriations	Change from preceding year
86th Cong.: 2d (1960)	$83.8	
87th Cong.:		
1st (1961)	95.8	+$12.0
2d (1962)	102.3	+6.5
88th Cong.:		
1st (1963)	102.6	+.3
2d (1964)	106.0	+3.4
89th Cong.: 1st (1965)	119.3	+13.3

CONSTRUCTIVE REPUBLICAN RECORD

On February 3, 1965, the Republican leadership of the House of Representatives said:

House Republicans have a major responsibility as the representatives of approximately 43 percent of the electorate who voted for a Republican House of Representatives in 1964. That duty, as we conceive it, is to exert whatever influence we can to guide the Nation toward the goals of freedom, security, peace, and well-being with fiscal responsibility.

We cannot accept the statement, "The duty of the opposition party is to oppose." This is too narrow and too negative a formulation of our responsibility.

We must do more than respond to the initiatives of the administration. We must take the initiative ourselves in two ways.

First, we must offer alternative measures to cope with national problems when the administration's proposals are unwise. This we are doing, for example, in the matter of lightening the burden of the costs of health care for older people.

Second, we must press for action to deal with the problems to which the administration is blind or indifferent.

In this spirit the Republican Members of the House of Representatives have discharged their responsibility this year. Their record is impressive.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights—H.R. 6400—as originally introduced, provided a remedy for discrimination only in six Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each

in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House Members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill—H.R. 7896—lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin—H.R. 7057.

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly—first, covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization; second, offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage; and third, financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools—H.R. 2362—presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and secondary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, $2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only $745,000 for the education of an equal number of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do. aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted $3 to $5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided $300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill—S. 3—which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida—H.R. 4466—would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs—H.R. 6927—was defective in many respects. It did not more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new Department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by Mrs. DWYER, of New Jersey—H.R. 5173—and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

HOUSING

The administration's housing bill—H.R. 5840—as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants. Under this plan, some families with an income of more than $11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey—H.R. 9501—sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First, by giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority;

Second, by stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing;

Third, by utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants;

Fourth, by lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly; and

Fifth, by providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished in this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to long-standing Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly people become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people

over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to $150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First, low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second, veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no downpayments for homes costing up to $15,000, with as little as $500 down on a $20,000 home.

Third, low interest rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide $1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth, low interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth, compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth, rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners, and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a $400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser, voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTIVE ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional $700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by the minority floor leader at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler, announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

OTHER NOTEWORTHY REPUBLICAN INITIATIVES

Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, of Wisconsin, and Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, performed important service in bringing to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of $100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

Representative H. R. GROSS, of Iowa, served as the public conscience, along with Senator JOHN WILLIAMS, of Delaware, in endeavoring to raise the ethical standards of the administration with special attention to the treatment given Otto Otepka and the inadequately explored aspects of the Bobby Baker case.

Representative PAUL FINDLEY and his task force on NATO and the Atlantic Community issued a thoughtful report on means of strengthening the Atlantic Alliance and improving the strained relations of the United States with France after a study trip to Paris.

Representative FINDLEY, along with Representative RALPH HARVEY, of Indiana, also took the lead in an unsuccessful fight against the administration on the sugar bill in an effort to recapture for the taxpayers of the United States a part of the excess profit which foreign sugar producers derive from sales in this country because Government action maintains a domestic price more than double the price in the world market.

Representative ROBERT J. CORBETT, of Pennsylvania, fought unsuccessfully to bring about an adjustment of the pay of Federal employees to provide full comparability with pay scales in private industry. Though full comparability is given lip service by the administration, it is opposed to putting this principle in practice.

Representative ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota, continued his efforts to protect Federal employees from illegal political pressures imposed by the administration, particularly in the matter of forced contributions to Democratic fund raising events.

Representative ROSS ADAIR, of Indiana, sought vainly to secure for the servicemen fighting in Vietnam educational benefits similar to those granted to the veterans of the Second World War and Korea.

Representative WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, of California, sought with limited success to secure legislative action to reinvigorate the merchant shipping of the United States.

REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 rollcall votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican policy committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES, of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were in agreement with the majority of their party. These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program;

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than $8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as $25,000;

A foreign aid program of $3.2 billion which all agree needs drastic overhauling;

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem;

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act; and

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged. For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects;

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism;

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature;

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teacher Corps;

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of transferring this authority to the Federal Government;

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways; and

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the planning and research committee was established as an organ of the Republican conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The planning and research committee issued in August a report entitled, "Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is "loyal opposition" at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction. Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture: ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing: JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity: PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education: ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service: ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America: Cochairmen F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, and DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community: PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs: CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation: JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system: JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin.

United Nations: JOHN B. ANDERSON, of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs: CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights: WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill, vocational training loan bill, the immigration bill, the Export Control Act, constitutional amendment on Presidential succession, the Older Americans Act of 1965, various bills in the field of health, excise tax cuts, manpower development and training bill, expansion of veterans' benefits, various anticrime bills, pay raises for military and civilian personnel, legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning, and the voting rights bill.

A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which comprise a comprehensive, broad-gaged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Republican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representative THOMAS B. CURTIS—H.R. 3728; Representative FRANK T. BOW—H.R. 21; and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES—H.R. 7057.

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials

to withhold information in order to make available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of $325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have joined with Representative THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, in offering the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative not exhaustive.

CONCLUSION

Looking back on the session just concluded, the Republican Members of the House of Representatives can take pride in the role that they have played. They tried to make the Congress what it should be—a deliberative body, independent of and coequal with the Executive, judging legislation by the sole standard of the national interest. Their success cannot be measured in terms of the votes on which they prevailed—which were few. The verdict on their work will not be known until the people speak in the elections of 1966.

A Report on the 1st Session of the 89th Congress by Congressman Tom Curtis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, this is a report on the legislation passed by the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which adjourned October 23, 1965. The other work of the Congress; namely, conducting oversight over the actions of the executive branch of the Government and conducting studies on which to base future legislation will be the subject of future reports. The point needs to be made that the legislative work of this session, as of any session, is largely the result of committee studies and deliberations which have occurred in the preceding Congresses.

Unfortunately, with the public's attention directed to the legislation passed by the Congress, too little attention has been paid to Congress' overseeing the manner in which the executive branch of the Government has been faithfully executing the laws already on the books. The President has stated that in his opinion this session of the Congress was the most productive in history. I disagree. It followed pretty closely the rate of activity of its immediate predecessors. Its studying for future legislation was negligible and its oversight of the executive was pampering rather than disciplinary.

Seldom have we seen a period in our history where so many laws already on the books lie unenforced, so many laws inadequately enforced, and so many laws actually violated. New laws have been piled one upon another without proper adjustments to the old laws.

The Congress failed not only in its oversight duties, but it failed to consider and to pass recission bills, bills to rescind the authority granted to the President which the President was not using or was abusing.

The most important test of the legislative activities of any session of the Congress lies in toting up of the cost of the new legislation and the cost of administering the old programs. Almost every bill the Congress passes has a dollar cost that goes with it. This is not to say that we must not also evaluate the legislative activity of a session of Congress in other ways as well. It is to say, however, that a session of Congress which appropriates over $100 billion new authority for the President to spend from the administrative budget is far from a do-nothing Congress. The 1st session of the 89th Congress is not the first, but the fourth, Congress in a row to vote over $100 billion in new power to spend.

This points up the "great lie" technique employed in public discussions of the Congress. The previous sessions of the Congress were not "do-nothing" Congresses. They were by any proper standards very active Congresses; the question really is, were these "do-entirely too much Congresses without adequate study and deliberation?" which, in my judgment, they were.

It also points up the further inaccuracy in referring to this session just finished as somewhat miraculous. The $100 billion sessions immediately preceding this session performed the same kind of miracles, voting to spend more money than the Federal Government was taking in and making up the difference by printing and selling more Government bonds. The administration has stated that this session of the Congress voted $119 billion new authority to spend. Happily, this is an overstatement. Spending power in this context relates to the "administrative budget"—this is the budget over which Congress has direct control through the appropriation process and which relies for financing on the tax revenues and selling more Government bonds. However, there are two other Federal budgets with which the administrative budget is frequently confused. A second budget relates to the administrative budget plus the so-called trust fund revenues and expenditures. The trust funds such as social security, civil service retirement, the Federal highway program are not included in the administrative budget because the yare set up on the assumption that the revenues and the expenditures in each trust fund are in balance and that any surplus of revenue over expenditures goes into a reserve fund earmarked for the purposes of each trust fund alone. The funds do not go to general revenue, the administrative budget fund. If the authority to spend trust fund revenues for their statutory purposes was to be included in the administrative budget, the figure for new spending authority granted in the previous congressional sessions would be around $140 billion and, in this session, close to $150 billion, not $119 billion. Actually the administrative budget figures for new appropriations for the present and ensuing fiscal years is about $110 billion, not $119 billion. It would correspond to about a $105 billion figure voted by the previous session of the Congress, one of the so-called do-nothing Congresses.

The third Federal budget is one in which the economists are particularly interested—the total cash budget. It consists of the administrative budget, the trust fund budgets, plus other expenditures of the Federal Government. These other expenditures are made by the many varied Federal governmental agencies and somewhat autonomous Federal governmental corporations. These expenditures and revenues require no new or yearly authorities from the Congress. They operate under permanent laws and only become a drain on the administrative budget when they run out of money, which some of them do from time to time. Add another $20 billion to the administrative budget, plus trust funds, and we get roughly the total impact of actual Government spending—not power to spend—on the economy, around $150 billion for this present fiscal year—$100 billion from the administrative budget, $30 billion from the trust funds, $20 billion from other Federal governmental operations.

There is one other deceit contained in the manner in which the figure $119 billion was announced by the administration. The administration press releases refer to the $119 billion power to spend as if it related to this and future fiscal years. However, one of the first actions taken by this session of Congress in January was to vote a deficiency appropriation of $4.5 billion for the administrative budget of fiscal year 1965, which ended this past June 30—not fiscal year 1966, which began July 1. So, in addition to deducting certain trust funds which the President included in his figure of $119 billion, we must also deduct this $4.5 billion for the last fiscal year to get a figure which is properly comparative with the previous $100 billion "do-nothing" Congresses.

If anyone is getting the impression that the Federal Government's accounting system—or systems—leaves something to be desired, he is entirely correct. I have not attempted to mention all of the more flagrant examples of bad accounting practices. Suffice it to say that if a certified public accountant were to advise a client to follow the Govern-

ment's system he would lose his license to practice and probably be convicted of fraud and put in jail. I want to make it clear that this criticism I am registering should not be directed solely against the Johnson administration. Regrettably, these archaic accounting methods have been with us for decades. The Federal Government just has not kept pace with modern developments in accounting practices. We are trying to deal with a $150 billion a year Federal Government in the latter part of the 20th century with accounting practices which were probably outmoded even in 1910, when we were dealing with a $700 million a year Federal Government.

Nonetheless, this is no excuse for those in high authority to deliberately deceive the people by juggling the various figures and budgets, by mixing oranges with apples as it were. It certainly behooves us to be wary about putting further strain on this jerry rig system until we do a thorough job of overhauling it. Much of this overhauling is within the powers of a good Executive to do without congressional reference.

EXPENDITURES

All of these budgets I am talking about are separate and apart from the kind of budget the householders or businesses are concerned about, namely, the actual revenues to be collected and money to be spent in a current fiscal year. These budgets I was discussing deal with power to spend granted to the Executive in various ways by the Congresses. Whether the President uses the power to spend he has been granted in the administrative budget is another matter.

At the beginning of fiscal year 1960—July 1, 1959—President Eisenhower had $149.6 billion power to spend—$76.8 billion the first session of the 86th Congress was asked to grant him, plus $72.8 billion balance left over from actions of previous congressional sessions.

At the beginning of fiscal year 1961, President Eisenhower had $151.2 billion power to spend—$79.4 billion new obligated authority asked from the 2d session of the 86th Congress and $71.8 billion carryover.

For fiscal year 1962 the comparable figures for President Kennedy asked in Eisenhower prepared budget from 1st session, 87th Congress were $154.9 billion, $80.9 billion new obligational authority, and $74 billion carryover.

In 1963, $181 billion for President Kennedy—$99.3 billion new obligational authority from 2d session, 87th Congress—actually exceeded $100 billion—$81.7 billion carryover.

The new obligational authority are the figures the Executive estimated he would ask Congress for as set out in his January budget message to the Congress for the fiscal year which would begin in July. The actual figures Congress did grant to the President varied upward, inasmuch as the Presidents asked Congress to enact new programs not included in the administrative budget requests without rescinding old programs. Furthermore, the Presidents from time to time underestimated in the budget requests the amounts that certain programs set by law, like veterans benefits, would of necessity have to spend. These are the type of items which appear in the deficit appropriation bills which almost all of the Congresses have been asked to enact early in their sessions.

In 1964, $195.1 billion for President Kennedy—$107.9 billion new obligational authority from 1st session, 88th Congress; $87.2 billion carryover.

In 1965, $194.2 billion for President Johnson—$103.8 billion new obligational authority from 2d session, 88th Congress; $90.4 billion carryover.

In 1966, $203.1 billion for President Johnson—$106.4 billion new obligational authority from 1st session, 89th Congress; $96.7 billion carryover.

In 1967, the anticipated carryover is $101.5 billion.

An important figure to note is the carryover unspent authorizations enacted in prior years. The figure has grown in 7 years from $72.8 billion in fiscal 1960 to $101.5 billion in fiscal 1967 projected in the President's budget message of January 1965, to this Congress. This increase indicates a failure of both the Congress and the Executive to review, for rescinding, programs already on the books which may be obsolete, ill-advised, poorly administered, or duplicating. It also demonstrates the extent to which the Congress has defaulted to the President in its most important fiscal function; namely, to exercise its judgment on the need for a balanced cash budget in the current fiscal year, and the failure of the Presidents to achieve this balance.

So, the most important piece of legislation enacted in this session of the Congress was increasing the debt ceiling to $328 billion. The President had requested a $329 billion ceiling based upon an expenditure rate for administrative budget items for fiscal 1966 of $99.7 billion from his total power to spend of $203.1 billion. This figure for the debt ceiling was based upon anticipated revenues from taxes revised upward in May to $96.5 billion. In other words, the Congress in its judgment said the expenditure rate should be $98.7 billion, not $99.7, and yet it rescinded none of the excess $203.1 billion the President still had the power to spend. Incidentally, the President stated firmly in respect to both the debt ceiling limitation and the big Federal excise tax cuts that his expenditure and revenue figures were updated to May 1965, and contemplated no increase in expenditures because of either the stepped up Vietnam war nor the Dominican incident.

Our current fiscal status is as follows: Revenues are holding up as anticipated. Expenditures for the first 2 months of fiscal 1966, July and August 1965, were quite gratifying—$7,240 billion and $8,900 billion. This indicated an expenditure level for the full year—averaging $8.1 billion a month—of $97.2 billion, below the $99.7 billion—averaging $8.3 billion a month—estimate in the January budget message.

However, the expenditures for September 1965 are very alarming. Instead of going down seasonably a bit as they usually do, they rose to $9.452 billion, putting us at a yearly rate of well over $100 billion expenditure level for the administrative budget for the first time in our history.

If this continues, and I am afraid it will, the cost of living will rise even more rapidly than it has been. Creeping inflation which already has caused us serious problems in international affairs in our imbalance of payments and loss of gold, and in our domestic affairs in having to take the silver content out of our coins—debasing our currency—and in removing some of the gold backing for our paper currency, will start moving at double or triple its 6-year pace. At the rate it presently is moving, the cost-of-living increase—consumer price index—will be over 2 percent this year, compared to 1.4 percent last year. To the Nation this means a loss of purchasing power of over $11 billion and to the wage earners over $8 billion, in 1 year. This will further damage our balance-of-payments situation and weaken us internationally because inflation tends to encourage further imports of goods and services from abroad and lessens our ability to export and sell our own goods and services abroad. This is entirely apart from the damage it does to us domestically and to the individual person, particularly those in the lower income brackets. Interest rates, too, will continue to go up.

This Congress took more unfortunate steps to curtail our trade and private relations abroad by extending the interest equalization tax, and further hampering our tourists abroad. The President went beyond the authority the Congress had granted to him by imposing what he called voluntary agreements to restrict private investment abroad. All of this was done as a reaction to the serious imbalance of international payments and our continued loss of gold. But these actions only deepen the hole we are in, over the long run. Nothing was done by the President to use his powers to curtail Federal governmental expenditures abroad or to balance our own Federal budget. Quite the contrary—he asked from the Congress, and received, the power to spend $4 billion more in foreign economic and military assistance as well as to add $750 million more to the Inter-American Development Bank, a Federal agency designed to lend money abroad. I emphasize the word "lend" because the terms of the loans are even more liberal than the 2-percent interest loans the Federal Government makes to the Rural Electrification Administration. The Congress also voted to increase the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund by $1.035 billion, the Development Loan Fund by $1.5 billion a year for 2 years, a total of $3 billion. What is incomprehensible to me is the restricting of private investment abroad which is carefully and profitably invested and helps both us and the countries abroad and, at the same time, expanding governmental giveaway programs which the record shows are putting the underdeveloped nations further in the hole.

LEGISLATIVE RECORD

The House had 182 quorum calls and 201 yea-and-nay votes this session. The

yea-and-nay votes are what the public knows as the record votes, the votes where the Congressmen answer to the call of their names by responding "aye" or "nay." It is the record votes that become the basis for the various voting record guides put out by different lobbying groups and political organizations and are used—properly so—in the election campaigns of the Congressmen. They also become the base for evaluating the records of the two political parties by these same groups—so many Republicans voted for the amendment to prohibit agricultural surplus being sent to Egypt, so many Democrats vote against, for example.

However, the yea-and-nay votes are by no means an indication of what legislation was passed by the Congress because most measures are passed by voice vote. Furthermore, there may be many record votes on different aspects of the same measure. There may be a record vote on whether the measure will be considered under a closed—gag—rule or open rule. There may be record votes on some of the important amendments added to the original bill—if the rule has been open to amendment and not closed. There may be a record vote on the motion to recommit the bill "with instructions" and to have it reported back forthwith with an amendment. Or there may be a vote on what is called a straight recommital, back to the committee reporting the bill for further study. Then there can be a record vote on final passage of the bill as amended, whether the recommital motion with instructions passes or fails. Finally, there can be record votes on the conference reports wherein the House version of the legislation is considered by the conferees along with the Senate version and modified so that a common version of the bill is up for passage before both bodies. A vote can be had on the conference report in final form as well as on specific changes made to the original House version. Or votes can be had on sending the bill back to conference with instructions to the House conferees to hold fast to the House version on a specific issue. I recall a few years ago one bill had over 14 record votes taken on various amendments in the bill and at various procedural points on its way to passage.

Inasmuch as most groups putting out voting guides will list about 10 to 12 recorded votes as "key" votes, out of the average 100 recorded issue votes taken in a session, it becomes important for the voter to know what were the 90-odd recorded votes which the group did not select as "key" votes. Furthermore, the groups putting out voting guides may select only one of the several different record votes taken on the same piece of controversial legislation, to make it appear as if this was the real or sole crucial test.

Equally important for the voter to know is what laws were enacted without record votes.

Here are the vital statistics on all legislation passed in the last session of the Congress.

Out of 16,882 total measures introduced in the Congress, 3,084 in the Senate and 13,798 in the House, 295 public bills and 149 private bills became law. With a total of 295 public bills becoming law only 88 had recorded votes and, of these 88, 44 were recorded as unanimous or nearly unanimous. Of the remaining 44 measures on which there was controversy, 40 had sufficient controversy so that the two political parties, or sizable segments in both parties, made a partisan issue out of the measure.

In other words, over 85 percent of the measures passing the Congress met with the accord of the entire Congress and probably would have become law whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. This is probably average for most Congresses.

An example of measures receiving a unanimous or almost unanimous approval by record vote in this last Congress are the following: Amending the Food and Cosmetic Drug Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulative drugs. A bill to provide assistance in the development of new and improved programs to help older people, through grants to the States, for community planning and services for training.

Amending the Manpower Training Act—which was a Republican measure in its inception—passed in 1962. The Natural Resources Act, control over mailing obscene matters, the Foreign Services Building Act, the presidential succession resolution—amending the Constitution. Amending the Water Pollution Act, amending the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services, the Community Mental Health Centers Act, Defense Appropriation Act, authorization to Defense Department for procurement of aircraft, missiles, et cetera, extending the space program, extending the atomic energy program, amending the Railroad Retirement Act, loan insurance for Vocational Trade and Technical Training Act, the excise tax reduction, amending the Interstate Highway System Act, assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers, an act to prohibit the destruction or mutilation of draft cards, the Military Construction Act, the Water Quality Act, and the Clean Air Act.

Of course, in addition there were the measures which were not put to record vote because no one was seriously opposed to them.

It is important to have this context in light of the false propaganda which has been spread that the Congress is "fighting" or is unresponsive to the President or that Republicans are negative and always vote against measures. Even in respect to the controversial measures, controversial between the President and the Congress or between Republicans and Democrats, a large part of the law finally enacted has been the result of congressional and Republican help, even though the Republicans might still end up voting against the measure. A good example of this is the very controversial medicare issue. Medicare was placed in a package which included many measures to improve social security, including an increase in benefits by 7 percent to keep up with the past inflation of over 8 percent. These changes were worked out with Republican cooperation. Indeed, many of the changes were originally suggested by Republicans. Even in the medicare part, which Republicans by and large thought was not the right way to assist older people meet their health costs, the inclusion of nursing home care and home health services was the result of Republican suggestions to the original Forand bill which they also had opposed.

Once the matter is placed in this context of areas of agreement then an evaluation of the two political parties or of Congress vis-a-vis the President by considering the areas of disagreement is in order.

THE AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT

In fiscal policy the areas of disagreement between the two parties were three. One, the Republicans by and large sought to cut back appropriation bills; the Democrats sought to increase them even beyond the President's request in a number of instances.

Second, on increasing the debt ceiling. The Republicans sponsored the amendment in committee which cut back the proposed $329 billion to a $328 billion ceiling. Even then they voted against the $328 billion as still too high when the matter was put to a record vote in the House.

Third, on monetary policy. Most House Republicans voted against first, lowering the gold reserves behind our currency, and second, devaluing our silver coinage.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Republicans opposed the extensions of Federal governmental lending abroad, $750 million additional to the Inter-American Bank, $3 billion additional to the Development Loan Fund. Most Republicans also voted against the $1 billion additional to the International Monetary Fund. Their reasons were, first, the President's failure to balance our own domestic budget resulting in continued loss of gold and devaluing our currency and further inflation; second, the restriction placed on private investment abroad; third, the backward steps being taken in our international trade policies; and fourth, the failure to reevaluate our total foreign aid program including Public Law 480, the disposal of agricultural surpluses. To put this in context, it must be realized that Republicans have supported these basic programs in the past and, indeed, were the innovators of the Development Loan Fund and food for peace as preferable to outright grants to underdeveloped countries.

The Republicans opposed agricultural surpluses going to Egypt and other Communist-dominated countries, the International Coffee Agreement, the Sugar Act, and some of the basic aspects of the United States-Canadian Auto Treaty. They also opposed the extension of and broadening of the interest equalization tax designed to restrict private investment abroad. The Republican broad affirmative policy covering these areas is trade, not Government subsidies or aid, and where trade is inappropriate, loans, not grants, and when loans are inappropriate, grants under well-defined guidelines and sound programing.

DOMESTIC WELFARE PROGRAMS

The Republicans opposed the Appalachia road-building program, the ex-

tension of the area redevelopment program, the extension of the so-called Economic Opportunities Act—the poverty program, the so-called Economic Development Act—accelerated Public Works Act—for several reasons: First, all are poorly drafted; second, they are duplicating; third, they are heavily involved in spoils politics and logrolling; fourth, they badly weaken instead of encourage local and State governments and private and church welfare programs; fifth, they miss their mark by keeping people on welfare or putting them in "make work" issues instead of putting them on their own feet; and sixth, their cost-benefit ratios are excessive. Note, however, the Republicans supported the further development of the Manpower Training Act which they originally conceived, and vocational and technical training and most features of the extension of the Federal education and research programs. The Republicans, joined by some congressional Democrats, proposed tax credit programs in lieu of direct Federal spending programs to accomplish these desired goals. However, the administration has taken a negative position on these proposals.

MEDICARE

The Republicans opposed the medicare part of the Social Security Amendment Act while strongly supporting most of its other features. The Republicans had helped to develop and pass the Kerr-Mills Act and stood ready to improve it as a sounder method of meeting the problems of the aged.

HOUSING

The Republicans opposed the moderate income housing subsidy bill for obvious reasons—moderate income people can do a better job of getting good housing for themselves than can the Federal Government. The Republicans point out the mess that has been made in the administration of public housing for low income people. It is regrettable that the urban renewal program which they developed has been perverted through unbelievably poor administration into a program which itself is now subject to much legitimate criticism.

The Republicans opposed the creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Affairs. The title is a misnomer because it does not bring together under one department all Federal activities in housing or in urban affairs which was the primary justification advanced by its promoters. Furthermore, if the President was doing an adequate administrative job, much of the inefficiencies, redtape, and duplications could be eliminated without congressional action. Congress, indeed, has been remiss in its lack of oversight and not calling the President to task for the inefficiencies that exist. Finally, the creation of this Department was designed by some to deliberately bypass the State governments. Municipalities are creatures of the States. Where a metropolitan area covers several States, bistate or tristate agencies can be created—by Act of Congress under the constitutional powers specifically granted for this purpose. This power has been exercised in the past for the benefit of metropolitan areas, such as the Missouri-Illinois bistate authority for the St. Louis metropolis but only with the involvement of the State governments.

EDUCATION

Most education measures were developed and passed with bipartisan support. The Republicans did seek to substitute their tax credit education programs for the administration's direct expenditure programs, but when their efforts were unsuccessful they supported the modified administration bill. However, they opposed and sought to eliminate the creation of a National Teacher Corps. Most of the education measures passed by this Congress were not innovations, but extensions and developments of existing programs.

THE VOTING RIGHTS BILL

This measure was developed with bipartisan support and would have been proposed and passed whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. However, the Republicans did seek to have their proposal adopted. I think it was a stronger measure than that of the administration. Certainly it was a much fairer measure and, therefore, one which would have received much more cooperation from the southern communities which were primarily affected. A Republican sponsored measure to extend the bill to include vote frauds was adopted in spite of opposition from many big city Democrats in the north.

IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY BILL

Again, here was a measure which would have been proposed and passed whoever was President and whichever party controlled the Congress. Like the voting rights bill, it had been under congressional study for sometime and was ripe for legislative action. The primary matter reaching an issue on a recorded vote was the so-called McGregor amendment, which applied quotas to the Western Hemisphere in a manner comparable to the quotas set up for the rest of the world. In my judgment, this act has been much overstated and misrepresent. It is not the liberalizing bill that has been advertised. If anything, the control of immigration has been turned over to our national labor leaders as the administration is presently set up. However, something had to be done to correct the erroneous impressions held abroad about our immigration laws, and the new law is a workable one.

ELIMINATING SECTION 14(b) FROM THE TAFT-HARTLEY ACT

This passed the House by a very close vote, 221 ayes to 203 nays. As a result of the House studies and debate, the matter has been held up in the Senate. I have written extensively on the issues involved here, so I will not discuss it further. Obviously many congressional Democrats had to join the Republicans to have such a high negative vote.

AGRICULTURE

The Republicans opposed the omnibus agriculture bill for many reasons, the inclusion of the bread tax being one of the most publicized. Very few people fail to agree that our agricultural programs need major overhauling. This major overhaul still awaits action and, regrettably, Congress has not been studying the issues with assiduity.

Republicans opposed the Tobacco Price Support Extension Act. Tobacco agriculture is probably more controlled by Government than any segment of agriculture. For many years it was pointed to as the ideal of farm programs. Now the long range ill effects of the political decisionmaking process being substituted for the marketplace process is being spelled out for all of us to see, even the tobacco grower.

There was a mixed vote by parties on the Federal Cigarette Advertising and Labeling Act. I think a very poor job was done in this matter by both the Congress and the President.

MISCELLANEOUS

An interesting issue developed in the extension of the Atomic Energy Act in respect to the rights of a small community government dealing with a big powerful agency of the Federal Government. This, although becoming an issue of record vote, was not developed along party lines.

The Republicans largely opposed both th National Arts and Cultural Development Act as well as the act creating the National Foundation on Arts and Humanities. We are well aware of the fact that those who differ with us would have the people believe we are against art and culture. From our standpoint we opposed these two pieces of legislation because we are for art and culture. We do not believe the intervention of the Federal political mechanism into these areas benefit art and culture in the long run.

HOME RULE FOR DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

This bill serves as a good example of the Congress in opposition to the President, rather than Republicans against Democrats. Of course, the proponents of the President's bill sought to have the people believe this was a case of Republicans and southern Democrats alining to defeat the President's proposals. However, as in most of the cases where this allegation is made, the record vote serves to point up the inaccuracy. In addition, in this instance Congressman SISK, of California, a well established liberal, offered the congressional substitute which passed the House in lieu of the President's proposal.

Congressional reapportionment. and the Highway Beautification Act are other measures which did not have the disagreement centered on differences between the two parties, but, rather, differences between segments of both parties, although, because of what was felt to be improper pressures interfering with proper study and deliberation by the President, most Republicans opposed his version of how to get our highways beautified. The Federal pay raise was another example of disagreement between the President and the Congress, rather than disagreement between the two parties. In this instance I supported the President. I thought it important to hold to the President's wage-price guidelines, although I have been very critical over the years of the failure to get Federal

wages increased, particularly in a high-cost area like St. Louis. We still do not have a good system of Federal job reclassification and increased remuneration for Federal employees who work in high-cost areas. We are way behind the employment practices of many of our private companies.

Four procedural points came to a record vote which require some comment.

First. To increase the salaries of the Federal court judges. I thought the House behaved badly in making an issue here because of its disapproval—which I share, to a large degree—of some of the recent controversial Supreme Court decisions.

The Congress waived two statutory requirements which Republicans opposed, I thought, with very good reason.

Second. To permit General McKee to maintain his military position and yet be head of the Federal Aviation Authority. The law requires the FAA be headed by a civilian.

Third. To permit a film prepared by the U.S. Information Service for foreign propaganda to be shown in the United States. The law governing the USIS specifically states that no films or other materials prepared for foreign propaganda be released for domestic propaganda.

Fourth. Whether the Post Office Department should be required to give to the Congress the names of the temporary postal employees supposedly to be selected from the lower income groups to assist in fighting the war on poverty. This was a matter I was amazed to find the administration opposing, including Democratic leaders of Congress. Quite clearly Congress, as well as the public, should have this information and all information like it. To do otherwise invites corruption and other improper action on the part of the executive. This is an example of what I meant when I referred to the Congress failing in its oversight function, and actually pampering, instead of disciplining, the executive branch of Government.

Finally, there was the procedural problem involved in the issue of unseating the Mississippi Congressmen. The House looked very bad taking up a matter in September which should have been decided in February. Whatever one might feel about the issue itself, the failure to grant a timely and thorough hearing to those who felt they had a grievance hits at the heart of representative government. If the Congress does not maintain itself as a forum for people with grievances to be heard, then indeed it is difficult to complain if the people take to the street with these grievances. However, such action means that law and order itself have broken down, and this spells the failure of government itself, that is, governmnt by laws, not government by men.

Now I would conclude with this observation. If you will look over the legislation which has become law this year, you will note that in spite of the propaganda to the contrary, most laws are extensions of existing programs or modifications of them. The only real innovations were the culmination of years of study; namely, medicare, the Immigration Act, and the Voting Rights Act. The debasing of our currency and coinage and the restriction of private investment abroad are innovations all right but the result of temporizing, rather than of deliberation. The drift toward further inflation and international economic difficulties will continue as the trend to increase and extend Federal programs, not so much from introducing new ones, continues. Medicare, it is true, will sorely test the payroll tax on which all social security, unemployment insurance, and workmen's compensation are based.

The differences between the two political parties and between the President and the Congress are primarily differences of degree. All are interested in advancing peace, prosperity, freedom, and justice. The arguments lie over how we best do this for the long pull. No one is surely all right or all wrong. Through study and debate we can best give us the right decisions over the long pull. This is what representative government can provide, but to provide it the people as well as their representatives must take part in the study and debate and not be diverted from this difficult task by either arm twisting or demogoguery.

I hope this little summary will assist to some degree in furthering the study and deliberative process.

Louisiana State University Medical Center

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HALE BOGGS
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to pay tribute to the great work being done by the Louisiana State University Medical Center in its successful collaborative scientific programs, particularly in Latin America, for many years.

I am indebted to Dr. William W. Frye, chancellor of the medical center, for furnishing me detailed reports of the progress in these programs. He has also summarized the work and I would like to include that summary in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

SUMMARY OF PROGRAM

The first program which was initiated is a training program in tropical medicine, infectious diseases, and public health. This is financed by a training grant from the National Institutes of Health. It is designed for the staff members and for advanced students of medical schools throughout the country, and for advanced graduate students. This program has been in progress for more than 10 years. Remarkable collaboration has been received in this endeavor from Latin American medical scientists. Out of the program have evolved two other inter-American collaborative projects.

Since 1959, the LSU School of Medicine has been assisting the University of Costa Rica School of Medicine, through an AID grant, in the development of a school of medicine. Most of their staff members have come to our school of medicine for training. Conversely, a large number of the LSU staff have gone to Costa Rica to assist them in the development of the teaching program at their new medical school. The first class of the new medical school will be graduated in January 1966. President Hunter and several members of the board of supervisors have been invited to attend.

Our third, and major collaborative undertaking, is the LSU International Center for Medical Research and Training in Costa Rica, Central America (LSU–ICMRT). This center is supported largely by funds awarded to LSU by the Public Health Service through the Office of International Research of the National Institutes of Health.

One remarkable finding of the research programs of the LSU–ICMRT has been the demonstration of a significant association between certain viruses and diarrhea. Thus, a group of viruses in association with diarrhea has emerged from these studies which may well assume a major role in the causation of endemic diarrhea and thus lead to its control. In many areas of the world, diarrheal diseases represent the major cause of death in the young age groups. You will also remember that diarrheal diseases are extremely important to the military. These findings have not been published yet and thus are not subject to general release.

Studies of a wide range, e.g., cancer of the stomach, infectious hepatitis, parasitic diseases and others, are included in the scope of the research and training activities of the LSU–ICMRT. These centers offer remarkable opportunities for collaborative research and research training in diseases of mutual importance to the United States and the host countries.

Anti-American Sentiment in the Dominican Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAUDE PEPPER
OF FLORIDA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter which I received recently from a close friend and constituent regarding the political sentiment in the Dominican Republic:

MIAMI, FLA.,
October 6, 1965.

Hon. CLAUDE PEPPER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CLAUDE: For several years I have kept in close touch with the political situation in the Dominican Republic through responsible American and Dominican citizens who live and have their businesses there.

When the Johnson administration sent American troops into San Domingo to quell the Communist revolution I received nothing but words of gratitude to the United States for having quickly stepped in and saved the Dominicans from the slavery of communism. They had rejoiced when they threw off the yoke of Trujillo and now they were rejoicing once again that President Johnson had saved them from the tyranny of communism.

But today—only a few months later—I hear nothing but scorn and contempt for the OAS and our bungling State Department who have turned victory into defeat by handing over the Dominican Republic to the Communist revolutionists.

The State Department put a gun in Gen. Weissin y Weissin's back and hijacked him.

He was the hope and symbol of anticommunism around whom the anti-Communists could rally but thanks to our State Department they forced him to leave, turned the Dominican Government over to the Communists, ousted the true patriots, and probably will comply with the revolutionists demands for loss of pay suffered as a result of their unemployment brought on by the revolution they started.

Is it any wonder that now most American and Dominican citizens—anti-Communists and Communists alike—now say, "Yankees go home."

Neither I, nor my friends in the Dominican Republic, can be classified as alarmists, but this is one time that we are alarmed.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely,

WILLIAM C. MARTIN.

The United Nations After 20 Years

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, I recently had the honor of addressing the convocation of the College of Idaho at Caldwell, Idaho. This gathering of concerned faculty members and students shared our interest in international cooperation expressed in congressional support for the International Cooperation Year and the continued development of the United Nations.

In my remarks, I attempted to review the silent strengths of the United Nations in its 20 years of existence, and our hopes for the future role of the U.N.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of my address.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE UNITED NATIONS AFTER 20 YEARS

(Address by Senator CHURCH)

This year marks the 20th anniversary of the birth of the United Nations. As if in celebration, the U.N. has presented the world with a very special birthday gift—a truce in the dangerous war between Pakistan and India.

Such accomplishments account for the continuing respect which most Americans hold for the United Nations. We thought it wholly appropriate, for example, that so eminent a citizen as Adlai Stevenson, twice a candidate for President of the United States, should serve as our Ambassador at the U.N. And we found ourselves in general agreement with Arthur Goldberg, when he gave up a coveted seat on the Supreme Court, in order to become Stevenson's successor.

Fortunately, this esteem for the United Nations is widely shared by the foremost figures of the world. The recent visit to the U.N. by Pope Paul VI is indicative. As the first Catholic Pope ever to journey to the New World, Paul's mission was the cause of peace, but his commitment was to the United Nations.

I was privileged to be present at the General Assembly when Pope Paul delivered his historic message. I was struck by the fervor of his plea for peace, and by the strength of his endorsement of the United Nations. Not only did he call it the "last hope of concord and peace," but he described it as "a bridge between peoples" helping "to hasten their economic and social progress."

The dream of an international organization that would function as global guardian of the peace, was first envisioned by a great American President. Surveying the senseless carnage of the First World War, Woodrow Wilson recognized how desperately mankind needed to put an end to the anarchy among nations. For this purpose, he proposed that the victors should establish a League of Nations, to which the vanquished might also repair, where all sovereign states would act in concert to keep the peace.

But the victors of the First World War fell apart almost as soon as the guns fell silent. Wilson's dream was subverted, not so much by the Allied Governments with whom we fought, as by our own, when the U.S. Senate refused to sanction American participation in the League.

It was left to another generation of Americans, under the leadership of another great President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to fashion from the wreckage of the Second World War a successor to the League that was finally to secure the participation and support of our own Government.

Originally, at San Francisco in 1945, we constructed the United Nations upon the great alliance which was winning the Second World War. In the mistaken belief that the victors, united in war by a common enemy, would remain united afterward, we entrusted the peacekeeping power, not to the General Assembly where all countries were to be equally represented, but to the Security Council, where the Big Five would have permanent seats, each equipped with a built-in veto. Our vision was of a Pax Victorum, where peace would be maintained by the United States, acting in concert with her allies, the United Kingdom, France, China, and the Soviet Union. The veto was to guarantee that no policeman's club would be raised to enforce the peace, except by the common consent of the Big Five.

Looking back on those euphoric days, one wonders how so infirm an infant as the United Nations could ever have received so auspicious a christening. We supporters of the U.N., then and now, bear a responsibility for having oversold it to the American people. From the outset, we should have stressed that the U.N. itself lacked the power to preserve world peace, having neither the means to finance its own operation nor to impose its will; that the Security Council could only act with the unanimous consent of its permanent members, the Big Five; that the General Assembly could pass resolutions, but could not enforce them; that the U.N. was not, in any sense, a world government, and could not possibly be described as the "Parliament of Man." Consequently, we should have emphasized that, in keeping the peace and protecting our national interests, the U.N. could be no substitute for our own Armed Forces, our nuclear deterrent, our regional alliances, or our mutual assistance programs abroad.

Having said all this, we could then have endorsed the United Nations for realistic reasons—as a useful instrument through which the sovereign nations of the world might strive to build better procedures for achieving the peaceful settlement of international disputes; as the one forum that could hold out the promise, as it grew in strength and stature, of ultimately replacing today's rule of violence with tomorrow's rule of law.

If, following the San Francisco conference, we had made this kind of factual case for our entry into the United Nations, I believe the American people would not have been left to nurse the exaggerated expectation that the U.N. would prove a panacea for peace. Then, perhaps, the failures of the U.N., which were bound to come, would not have loomed so large. Much disillusionment could have been avoided. And fewer today would be the voices attracted to that mindless chant: "Get the United States out of the U.N., and the U.N. out of the United States." For once the United Nations is seen in its proper light, the wonder is not that it has accomplished so little, but that it has accomplished so much.

First of all, it somehow managed to survive the precipitous breakup of the wartime alliance which had pasted it together. As cold war enmity divided the victors into two camps, the Security Council was quickly manacled by the use of the veto. But most of the member countries were determined that the U.N. should not be rendered impotent so quickly, and they found a way, within the charter, to upgrade the role of the General Assembly. The U.N. remained relevant after all, as a sentinel for peace.

Nevertheless, it seemed, for a time, that the cold war might limit the United Nations to the function of a sounding board for the smaller countries, and a convenient meeting place where the channels of communication could be kept open for the use of the major powers in periods of crisis. Indeed, the U.N. has played a most useful role in this respect. I recall, in 1949, while we were airlifting supplies into blockaded Berlin, how informal talks began between our U.N. representative, Philip Jessup, and the Soviet's Jacob Malik, in the U.N. diplomats' lounge. In this casual setting, Malik first hinted that Moscow might be willing to end the blockade, and here the talks were pursued which eventually led to that result.

Even more dramatic was the mediating role of the U.N. during the dread Cuban missile showdown of 1962. The Russian veto could not prevent the Security Council from serving as a stage on which the United States could tellingly present, before the assembled nations of the world, indisputable evidence of Soviet mendacity, thus helping to galvanize world opinion behind the audacious action President Kennedy had announced. The good offices of the U.N. then served to bring our former Ambassador, the late Adlai Stevenson, and John J. McCloy, into continuing contact with Soviet envoy Kuznetzov, for negotiations in which the Secretary General of the United Nations, U Thant, played a vital part. Ambassador Stevenson once summed it up this way:

"At a critical moment, when the nuclear powers seemed to be set on a collision course, the Secretary General's intervention led to the diversion of the Soviet ships headed for Cuba and interception by our Navy. This was an indispensable first step in the peaceful resolution of the Cuban crisis. The mere existence of an impartial office which could perform such a service in the middle of the night at such a time, is no small asset to the human race."

So it has happened that the United Nations, while not performing its intended role as policeman for the victors, has served as their mediator instead, helping in this way to keep the cold war from turning hot.

Though nuclear suicide has thus far been averted, the brushfire wars have not, and these peripheral struggles will continue to endanger the uncertain stability which tenuously rests upon the present nuclear stalemate. In dealing with these flareups, the U.N. has developed a role, not confined to mediation, but extending to active involvement as a kind of fire brigade.

It started in Korea in 1950, where force was invoked under the U.N. flag to defend a member state against invasion from without. To be sure, most of the troops were American and South Korean, and all were under U.S. command, but the fact that the operation was carried out in the name of the United Nations, and did entail token forces from a host of other countries, undoubtedly helped to keep the Soviet Union away from a direct confrontation with the United States.

Moreover, the U.N. auspices did much to mobilize world opinion against the aggression, to a degree that American unilateral action never could have accomplished.

The limited participation of the U.N. in the Korean war led it to become centrally involved as the principal fireman in snuffing out the fighting at Suez in 1956. This time a way was found to set up a U.N. command, with troops furnished by the smaller member nations, whose mission it was to restore peace and order along the Gaza strip. The presence of these impartial sentinels to patrol the seething boundary between Egypt and Israel proved acceptable to both countries, and enabled the French and British to disengage without disgrace. U.N. forces still remain in Gaza, where they have been successful, thus far, in preventing any new eruption along this uneasy border.

The biggest fire brigade operation yet undertaken by the United Nations occurred in the Congo. Here again, the intervention of the U.N., at the request of the Congolese Government, was indispensable to restoring order out of a chaos which threatened to engulf all of central Africa. Had we gone in alone to do this job, as some of our shrill U.N. critics advocated, I daresay we would find ourselves today in the same bottomless quagmire, faced with the same dreary prospects, with which we are in truth confronted in South Vietnam.

Since the Congo, the U.N. has played a vital part in arranging a cease-fire in both Cyprus, and as mentioned earlier, in the India-Pakistan war over Kashmir. In neither of these situations, do we now have a guaranteed peace, but the chances for avoiding further bloodshed have been brightened by the persistence of the United Nations.

Wherever the U.N. has acted as a world policeman, we have found our own national interests well served. Several months ago, on the floor of the Senate, I advocated that we enlist the help of the U.N. in the search for a peaceful solution in Vietnam, and I have been encouraged by the moves President Johnson has since made in this direction.

The notable peacemaking successes of the U.N., in Africa and Asia, contain a lesson that we should not overlook. The U.N. has no race, creed, or color; it is as varied in its composition as the 117 countries that now make up its membership. The U.N. bears no onus for ever having engaged in colonialism or imperialism; it lacks the intrinsic power to menace even little countries, and so it is neither feared nor distrusted by them. Finally, the U.N. is a genuine international organization which does not separate the "have" countries from the "have nots," the big from the small, the strong from the weak, the developed from the undeveloped, the capitalist from the Socialist, or even the Communist. It has refused to become the handmaiden of any particular alinement or ideology.

If experience proves anything at all, it is that upheaval among the black, brown, and yellow peoples, now emerging in their own right throughout Africa and Asia, is not likely to be assuaged for long through the unilateral intervention of any white nation. The empires which Western power could not hold, that power cannot now pacify. But because the United Nations has proved itself to be theirs, as well as ours, it can often play the role of "honest broker" and even that of the welcome policeman on the beat, when violence breaks out within, or between, countries which were so recently the restive possessions of the Western World.

One cannot appreciate the full scope or significance of the United Nations without a look at its work to improve living standards. The widening gap between the rich nations and the poor, which, in the main, separates those countries of predominantly white population from the colored, lies like a time bomb beneath our superficial efforts to preserve stability and peace. Unless this gap can be held in check and then narrowed in the years ahead, the time may come when the ideological differences dividing the Western World will be swept aside, as the affluent white nations join common cause against the looming specter of racial war.

To avoid this catastrophe, the United Nations is at work, helping to channel both know-how and capital from the rich industrial countries to the poor undeveloped. Of every 20 U.N. employees, 17 are engaged in these programs of social progress and economic growth. Through the U.N.'s World Health Organization, tropical diseases are under relentless attack—malaria is about to be eradicated from the face of the earth.

Various U.N. agencies are making loans and technical guidance available to promote monetary stability and long-range economic development—the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, the International Development Association, the International Monetary Fund, the technical assistance program, and the Special Fund.

As for our own foreign aid program, nothing gives us greater trouble than trying to reconcile our belief that imrpoving living standards abroad is a goal in itself, which ultimately serves our national interest, with the awkwardness of extending American grants and loans to countries engaging in policies that we regard as unfriendly. This is not only hard for the American people to understand; it is equally incomprehensible to the recipient governments. Our own people conclude that we are embarked upon the folly of trying to buy friends, while the foreign governments concerned suspect that we are offering them money to make them subservient, and so either demand the money without strings attached, or engage in that now-familiar game of diplomatic blackmail, obtaining their own terms by playing us off against the Russians or the Chinese.

This experience, coupled with the fact that other rich nations should bear their share of the cost, has caused the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to recommend that the United States shift its emphasis—from a bilateral basis to a multilateral basis—in the making of long-term loans for economic development. This would mean expanding the role of the U.N. agencies, an objective I strongly favor, not only for diplomatic reasons, but for sound business reasons as well. Eugene Black, who so ably managed the affairs of the World Bank, has explained the success of investments made through the U.N. lending agencies, in these words:

"Because they are known to have no ulterior motive, they can exert more influence over the use of a loan than is possible for a bilaterial lender; they can insist that the projects for which they lend are established on a sound basis, and—most important—they can make their lending conditional upon commensurate efforts being made by the recipient country itself."

In your home community, a loan extended on hard terms by a self-styled friend is usually resented by the person receiving it, although that same person would expect such terms from the local bank. It is no different in the community of nations.

In its role of nation building, the work of the U.N. has barely begun. Nowhere is this more evident than in the compelling need to vastly expand the world's supply of food.

We Americans find it hard to realize that hunger stalks the world. Most of us have more than enough to eat; our most common problem is overeating, so the doctors may. But more than half the world's people suffer from chronic malnutrition. And the hunger problem is getting worse, not better. If drastic measures are not taken soon, it is estimated that the diet of two out of every three people in the world will deteriorate, rather than improve, in the years ahead.

The reason is not hard to guess. It has taken 100,000 years for the world's population to reach its present level of 3 billion people. In 35 years, between now and the end of this century, 3 billion more will be added.

India exemplifies the incredible population explosion the world must face. Within a scant 15 years, India's population will grow by another 200 million people, which is more than the present population of the United States.

Already, in Latin America, we see the drain on food supply occasioned by the burgeoning population. In the thirties, Latin America was the greatest grain-exporting region of the world. Today, Latin America imports more grain than it exports. By the year 2000, 600 million Latin Americans will compete for a food supply which now scarcely feeds 250 million.

Obviously, the problem is much too big for any one nation to solve, even one with such food surpluses as our own. Only by banding together to achieve more efficient distribution of food, to irrigate vast stretches of now unproductive, arid land, to learn methods for harvesting the untapped bounty of the oceans, and to greatly increase the agricultural yield in the underdeveloped countries, can we hope to meet the challenge of the astounding population growth, and escape the brutal upheaval that the scourge of famine will spread across a stricken world.

Can anyone doubt that the United Nations must become the operational center of this great, global enterprise? Can anyone really believe that its importance to the human race will not grow larger with each passing year?

Yes, there are those who do not believe it. Even in this enlightened country, a militant minority of U.N. haters are zealously at work. Disdaining all things foreign, they see the world through Red glasses. To them, the U.N. is some kind of Communist trick. If you tell them that, on its own voting record, the U.N. has shown itself a friend of freedom—that no Soviet resolution actively opposed by the United States has ever been approved by the General Assembly, they respond that this is but a clever ploy to disguise the true Communist character of the organization. If you remind them that the Soviet Union has had to exercise her veto more than a hundred times in the Security Council, to prevent it from taking action against Russian interests, while the United States has yet to cast her first veto vote, they respond, with straight faces, that this proves U.N. procedures were set up to serve the Russians best. These anguished people can never be persuaded.

But fortunately, the great bulk of our people are better balanced and better informed. Commonsense tells them that, despite the diversity among nations, or the conflicts in ideology, we all share a common interest in survival. As Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, has observed: "In the world of today any breach of the peace could lead to the destruction of civilization. In the thermonucler age, any instrumentality with the potential for deterring war can hardly be described as less than indispensable to mankind."

In June of this year, I introduced a resolution in the Senate, quickly approved in both Houses, vigorously reaffirming congressional support of the United Nations. A few days later, it was my privilege to accompany President Johnson to San Francisco, where he addressed the 20th anniversary celebration. There, I heard him renew our pledge to uphold the Charter of the United Nations, with these memorable words:

"I do know this: Whether we look for judgment to God, or to history, or to mankind, this is the age, and we are the men,

and this is the place for us to give reality to our commitments under the charter. For what was for other generations a hope is for us a simple necessity."

This is the age, and we are the men—and the hour is late.

The Stupidity of Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday October 21, I read in the New York Times an editorial advertisement entitled "The Stupidity of Intelligence," which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues.

The advertisement reproduced a column by the distinguished associate editor of the New York Times, Mr. James Reston. It was presented as a public service by the International Latex Corp.

I consider this article of the utmost importance for all Americans and indeed for the entire free world because, better than any other single item I have come across, it sets the protest demonstrations against the Vietnam war, which took place last week, in proper perspective.

Mr. Reston makes the point that:

The demonstrators are inadvertently working against all the things they want, and creating all the things they fear the most. They are not promoting peace but postponing it. They are not persuading the President or the Congress to end the war, but deceiving Ho Chi Minh and General Giap into prolonging it.

In an introduction appearing above Mr. Reston's column, Mr. A. N. Spanel, the founder of the International Latex Corp., stresses the mischievous exploitation of these demonstrations by the Communist propaganda apparatus—in Peiping, in Moscow, and in Hanoi.

I believe that Mr. Spanel and his company deserve a world of credit for the courage and public spirit they have displayed over the past quarter of a century in devoting so much of their advertising funds to the publication of vital statements on national and international affairs. I include the editorial-advertisement which appeared in the New York Times on October 21, 1965, in the appendix of the RECORD:

THE STUPIDITY OF INTELLIGENCE

(An advertisement presented as a public service by International Latex Corp.)

Lurid headlines blazoned in the Moscow Izvestia in its report on the noisy demonstrations in the United States during the weekend of October 16, demanding that we abandon South Vietnam. We have ample reason to be ashamed of those Americans whose bizarre conduct gives the Communists added gall to write such grossly exaggerated and misleading stories.

What Moscow, Peiping, and Hanoi do not tell their captive peoples is that their own agents organized and manipulated most, if not all of the ragtag gangs of beatniks and so-called pacifists including students and a relatively small percentage of sincere conscientious objectors. Anti-American demonstrations that weekend took place not only in the United States but in many countries, from Uruguay to Belgium. Only the Communists have the worldwide apparatus for staging such an organized, coordinated international action.

In releasing a detailed study made by the Senate Internal Security Committee, Senator THOMAS J. DODD asserted bluntly: "The control of the anti-Vietnam movement has clearly passed from the hands of the moderate elements who may have controlled it at one time, into the hands of Communists and extremist elements who are openly sympathetic to the Vietcong and openly hostile to the United States."

It is good news that President Johnson is determined to deal with those who violate laws through activities bordering on treason. We are reminded that there was once a professor at Yale who opened his courses by advising his students to keep an open mind—"but not so open that the brains drop out."

The effect of the teach-ins and other agitations, professedly for peace, actually is to prolong the war. This total reality has been set forth brilliantly by James Reston in the New York Times of October 17, in the article reprinted below. We recommend that it be read and pondered especially by the honest, well-meaning Americans drawn into the swamp of confusion staged by the familiar Communist conspiracy.

A. N. SPANEL,
Founders, Chairman,
International Latex Corp.

ARTICLE BY MR. RESTON

WASHINGTON.—It is not easy, but let us assume that all the student demonstrators against the war in Vietnam are everything they say they are: sincerely for an honorable peace; troubled by the bombing of the civil population of both North and South Vietnam; genuinely afraid that we may be trapped into a hopeless war with China; and worried about the power of the President and the Pentagon and the pugnacious bawling patriotism of many influential men in the Congress.

A case can be made for it. In a world of accidents and nuclear weapons and damn fools, even a dreaming pacifist has to be answered. And men who want peace, defy the Government, and demonstrate for the support of the Congress, are not only within their rights but must be heard.

THE PARADOX

The trouble is that they are inadvertently working against all the things they want, and creating all the things they fear the most. They are not promoting peace but postponing it. They are not persuading the President or the Congress to end the war, but deceiving Ho Chi Minh and General Giap into prolonging it. They are not proving the superior wisdom of the university community but unfortunately bringing it into serious question.

When President Johnson was refusing to define his war aims in Vietnam the student objectors had a point, and many of us here in the Washington press corps and the Washington political community supported them, but they are now out of date. They are making news, but they are not making sense.

HEART OF THE PROBLEM

The problem of peace now lies not in Washington but in Hanoi, and probably the most reliable source of information in the Western World about what is going on there is the Canadian representative on the Vietnam International Control Commission, Blair Seaborn.

He flies regularly to the North Vietnamese capital with the Polish and Indian members of that commission, and he is personally in favor of an honorable negotiated peace in Vietnam. He is a cultivated man and a professional diplomat. He knows all the mistakes we have made, probably in more detail than all the professors in all the teach-ins in all the universities of this country. What he finds in Hanoi, however, is a total misconception of American policy, and, particularly, a powerful conviction among Communist officials there that the antiwar demonstrations and editorials in the United States will force the American Government to give up the fight.

Not even the conscientious objectors on the picket lines in this country really believe that they have the power or the support to bring about any such result, but Hanoi apparently believes it and for an interesting reason.

Ho Chi Minh and the other Communist leaders in Hanoi remember that they defeated the French in Vietnam between 1950 and 1953 at least partly because of opposition to the Vietnam war inside France. The Communists won the propaganda battle in Paris before they won the military battle at Dienbienphu.

COUNTING ON PROTEST

Now they think they see the same surge of protest working against the Government in Washington, no matter what Mr. Seaborn says to the contrary. They have not been able to challenge American air, naval, or even ground power effectively since midsummer in South Vietnam, but they apparently still have the hope that the demonstrations against the Johnson administration in the United States will in the end give them the victory they cannot achieve on the battlefield.

So the Communists reject the negotiations the demonstrators in the United States want. They reject the negotiations the American Government has offered, and the demonstrators are protesting, not against the nation that is continuing the war but against their own country that is offering to make peace.

WRONG OBJECTIVES

Honest conscientious objectors are being confused with unconscientious objectors, hangers-on, intellectual graduate school draft-dodgers and rent-a-crown boobs who will demonstrate for or against anything. And the universities and the Government's policy are being hurt in the process.

So there are now all kinds of investigations going on or being planned to find out who and what are behind all these demonstrations on the campuses. It is a paradoxical situation, for it is working not for intelligent objective analysis of the problem, which the university community of the Nation is supposed to represent, not for peace, which the demonstrators are demanding, but in both cases for precisely the opposite.

The Problem of Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN C. MACKIE
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACKIE. Mr. Speaker, all of us received a copy of the September issue of Limestone, a quarterly magazine published by the National Limestone Institute, Inc., of Washington.

This issue features a special section on the No. 1 problem for the world in the years ahead—hunger. This issue of Limestone is indeed an outstanding

example of corporate responsibility and vision in the social area. Limestone Institute President Robert M. Koch and the members of this organization are to be commended for bringing this important issue to our attention.

Authors of articles in the special hunger issue include Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, of South Dakota; B. R. Sen, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; Bishop Reuben Mueller, of the National Council of Churches; and Mr. Koch.

With a great deal of foresight, Senator MCGOVERN has introduced a bill in the Senate that is designed to give America a leading role in an international effort to end malnutrition and human want.

After Senator MCGOVERN introduced his legislation, I did a considerable amount of research on the problem of world hunger and decided to introduce similar legislation in the House of Representatives. Recently, Representative LYNN E. STALBAUM, of Wisconsin, joined me by sponsoring the same bill.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues who have not yet done so to review the current issue of Limestone. Because I feel Dr. Sen's message is worth repeating, I include it as part of my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD:

ARTICLE BY MR. B. R. SEN

Today, not less than half of the world's population suffers from varying degrees of undernutrition and malnutrition. Undernutrition means plain hunger. Malnutrition has been called "hidden hunger," an expression which implies that people who have enough to eat may nevertheless be unhealthy and even become seriously ill and die because their diet does not provide all the elements needed for satisfactory growth and health. The causes of undernutrition and malnutrition are numerous, but the major causes are poverty and ignorance.

This is the biggest human problem of the century. I say this advisedly, because even if there were an end to the cold war and arms race today, there would still remain the problem of providing food, clothing, shelter, and education to nearly half the world's population who live in poverty and constitute a perennial threat to peace and security.

Before I proceed to define the problem of hunger as I see it, let me briefly refer to two fairly recent and continuing developments which make the problem so much of a peril and so much of an opportunity. The first development is to be seen in its most dramatic aspect in the new states that have come into being in Asia and Africa. The peoples of these new states number nearly 1,000 million—or almost one-third of the entire human race. They have come to their freedom not as an end in itself, but as a beginning—the beginning of a dynamic and demanding new life. They have come to their freedom not blindly and mechanically but in an alert and informed understanding of the many ways in which they can make their needs and aspirations felt at home and in the world.

When you add to these mobilized millions the many more millions elsewhere in the world who are equally underprivileged and equally aware of their condition and the posibility of changing it, you have a ground swell of aspiration that has the potential power to sweep institutions, administrations, national barriers pell-mell out of its giant path. This ground swell has been well-named "the revolution of rising expectations."

Many are pessimistic about the capacity of the underdeveloped countries to climb out of primary poverty. It may be pertinent to inquire what the outlook was in Europe 200 years ago when she started pulling herself up by her bootstraps. Could it not be said then that her peoples were too poor to save on any massive scale, that her agriculture could not be made more fruitful, and her peoples would not adapt to factory tasks and the urban way of life? And yet the revolution took place. Is the plight of the underdeveloped countries today any worse than that of Europe in 1750?

It is true that the world food position is a little more satisfactory than it has been in past times, but today we are confronted by a new challenge in human history which, if it is not faced, could easily sweep away the little progress we have so far made—this is the upward surge of world population at a rate which has never been approached before. Through most of man's history, high death rates, due to disease and lack of control over natural surroundings, prevented his numbers from increasing very considerably. Then with the development of medical science, the new triumphs in death control began to remove the influence of this brake on population growth, and numbers began to soar.

In 1600 the population of the earth is believed to have been 300 to 400 million people, and it was not until about 1800—two centuries later—that this figure had doubled. By 1900—just 100 years this time—the population had risen to about 1,500 million. In only 60 years since then, our numbers have almost doubled again—to about 3,000 million people. With world population rising by more than 50 million people a year, it will not take 60, but only 35 years to double our numbers once more, and all the indications are that 6,000 to 7,000 million people will enter the year 2000. If today we are having trouble in producing adequate supplies of food for 3,000 million people, what a problem lies only 35 years ahead in feeding twice that number.

The essence of the world food problem is not what is happening in the world as a whole or on average. It is the differences that exist between countries and regions, and the growing disparities between various population groups that give the greatest cause for concern.

A particularly disturbing feature of the situation is the slow tempo of economic development in those regions where food deficiencies are most pronounced. For instance, in North America the total food production today is about 50 percent higher than before the war, while the population during the same period has increased by 33 percent. In the Far East region, including most of the densely populated countries of south and southeast Asia but excluding China, food production has increased by about 25 percent since before the war, while the population has gone up 30 percent. Today, per capita production in Asia and the Far East, where prewar consumption levels were among the lowest in the world, is about 8 percent lower than it was 20 years ago. On the other hand, agricultural production in the United States, Canada, and Australia has so outstripped national requirements that vast surpluses have accumulated in these countries.

With the world's present trade and economic arrangements, it has been found difficult to move these surpluses into consumption. This dilemma of hunger and surpluses is one of the most baffling paradoxes of our time.

The statistics of hunger and malnutrition are neither complete nor wholly accurate. But we know enough to formulate a fairly reliable estimate. From the statistics of agricultural production and food consumption surveys which are available, it is clear that up to half of the world's population suffer from dietary deficiencies. The food they eat somehow keeps them alive, but lacks those nutritive elements which are essential for growth, vitality, and resistance to disease. The incidence of endemic deficiency diseases, such as kwashiorkor, pellagra, beriberi, and goiter in various parts of the world, supports this estimate more eloquently than any impressive array of statistics.

In Africa, for instance, one child in four is affected between the ages of 1 and 4 by a more or less severe form of kwashiorkor. Pellagra, usually rife in areas where maize is the staple food, is endemic in north Egypt, Basutoland, and Yugoslavia, and occurs sporadically in Latin America. Beriberi, although the first known vitamin deficiency disease, still takes a heavy toll in the rice-growing areas of Asia. A wider use of polished rice has only increased its incidence in recent years. In a survey in Burma, 40 percent of the 2,000 expectant and nursing mothers examined had symptoms of beriberi. In northern Thailand in 1956, 24 percent of the adult population was suffering from polyneuritis which is attributable to this disease. It is endemic in the Indian States of Assam and Bengal.

Rickets, rare in tropical countries, is nevertheless found in South Africa and north India. It is frequent in north Africa and the Near East. Fifteen percent of the children in Cairo and Damascus hospitals show clear signs of rickets. Endemic goiter is common in the Andes and the Himalayas. In eight States of Mexico comprising 11 million inhabitants, an estimated 2 million have goiter. In Basutoland, 40 percent of the population is affected and in East Cameroon, 25 percent.

Available data reveal enormous differences in infant mortality rates in different parts of the world. They range from over 200 per 1,000 live births in some African countries, and over 100 per 1,000 live births in the major countries of Asia, to below 30 in countries with efficient health and social services. Undernutrition and malnutrition are among the important causes of infant mortality.

Even more suggestive is the death rate in children aged 1 to 4, the age group in which malnutrition is most common and severe. In the developed countries this is nowadays one of the safest periods in life. Figures from Sweden will illustrate this point. In that country the infant mortality rate—the number of deaths per 1,000 live births in the first year—is about 16. In the age group 1 to 4 the death rate per 1,000 population is about 1; that is, only about 6 percent of the infant mortality rate. The Swedish figures are exceptionally good but other highly developed countries can produce figures of approximately the same kind.

In the underdeveloped countries the picture is altogether different. The infant mortality rate will, of course, be higher: 100 per 1,000 live births can be taken as a typical figure. The death rate in the age group 1 to 4 per 1,000 population may be of the order of 20 to 60, or even higher. Suppose 40 is taken as a typical figure. This means that for 1 child dying every year in Sweden in the age group 1 to 4 years, 40 die in the underdeveloped countries.

Such figures, however approximate, bring out a fact which is still insufficiently recognized, namely, that children in the underdeveloped countries survive the first year of life only to enter into another dangerous period. Malnutrition is one of the most serious dangers which they encounter. The incidence of malnutrition in the less developed countries may be placed at well over 50 percent. In other words, well over 1,000 million people in the world today suffer from various degrees of malnutrition.

Basically, hunger and malnutrition are the result of poverty—of underproduction, underemployment, and underconsumption which form a vicious circle. Balanced economic and social development is obviously the long-term answer. Neither explosive population increases nor the limits to the use of nonrenewable resources should stand in the way of achieving a rate of economic growth which can correct the present imbalances and shortages.

We must not forget that man is not simply a consumer, but also a producer. If his productive potential can be harnessed and fully employed in a development-oriented economy, there is no reason why the normal increment in world population should prove to be a crippling burden.

In fact, the problem of feeding a rising population can be best tackled in the economically underdeveloped countries where food and agricultural production per head is alarmingly low. In these countries there exists a vast scope for both horizontal and vertical expansion of food production—that is, for bringing new lands under cultivation and for increasing the yield on lands already cultivated. The former would, of course, require heavy capital investment, and the latter would require the application of scientific techniques and modern cultural practices, improvement in infrastructure and institutional arrangements, and the adoption of such economic and fiscal policies as would provide incentive to the farmer for increased production.

Viewing the hunger problem in these perspectives, it is my firm conviction that it will be solved with finality and in the time remaining to us only through international cooperation. Many of the developing countries have formulated national development plans and are seeking to work out these plans with vigor and enthusiasm. Many of the developed countries have come forward with economic aid and technical assistance, both through bilateral and multilateral channels. The United Nations system as a whole is showing much enterprise in making available technical and other assistance to the developing countries. This is the ground plan for progress. But a realistic appraisal of actual progress in the last decade toward the elimination of hunger reveals that, while steady, it has been slow.

Young at 94

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to the following article from the New Buffalo, Mich., Times of October 15, 1965:

A bright and alert lady of 94 seems to have set a precedent among senior citizens. While most people in this age bracket are giving up their own homes and the rigors of housekeeping to take up residence in the multitude of nursing and convalescent homes, Mrs. Irma R. Frankenstein, of Chicago, has just done the reverse.

With the assistant of her daughter, Mrs. Emily F. Chapman, of Grand Beach, Mrs. Frankenstein packed her bags and moved out this past weekend from the South Shore Pavillion, one of Chicago's fine nursing homes. While the lady did not dispute the merits of the home, she did not feel she belonged there with its large numbers of really sick and senile elderly persons and convalescents. Mrs. Frankenstein is one of these.

Taking up residence with a companion in the Mayfair Hotel, Mrs. Frankenstein in her advanced years, enjoys reading, writing, and dressing up to go out to dinner.

Private Investment in the Alliance for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLAUDE PEPPER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEPPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following outstanding statement by Mr. H. W. Balgooyen, executive vice president of American & Foreign Power Co., Inc. Speaking earlier this year on behalf of my bill H.R. 30 to provide for U.S. Government participation in the Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center in Miami, Fla., Mr. Balgooyen also provided a splendid example of one American company's use of its resources to stimulate a large amount of local private investment in Latin America. I commend his statement to my colleagues:

STATEMENT BY MR. H. W. BALGOOYEN

I am Henry W. Balgooyen, executive vice president of American & Foreign Power Co., Inc., an American enterprise with a history of over 40 years in the Latin American investment field. In representing a company which has made, and is making, a major contribution to Latin America's economic development and social progress, I am very happy to support the legislation now before this committee.

My company, for many years, has been one of the largest investors of U.S. private capital in Latin America. Prior to the Castro-Communist takeover in Cuba, our subsidiaries provided public utility services in 11 Latin American countries. Our Cuban properties, in which we had an investment of some $150 million, were expropriated by Castro's Communist government in 1960 without compensation, as were all major U.S. private investments, totaling well over $1 billion, in that unfortunate country.

Following the loss of our Cuban properties, and because of the extreme difficulty in maintaining profitable private utility operations in the inflation-ridden economies of some of the major Latin American countries, we sold our utility properties in Argentina, Mexico, Colombia, and Brazil to the respective governments; and early this year, we reached an agreement with the Government of Chile for the sale of our electric properties in that country, subject to the necessary congressional ratification.

In selling these utility properties to the various governments, we have been influenced, also, by the broad trend toward public ownership which, of course, is not limited to Latin America. I want to make it clear, however, that the economic and political pressures which have resulted in government ownership of many of the utilities in Latin America have not borne as heavily on industry, in general, as on the public utility business which, because of certain unique characteristics, is particularly vulnerable. The public utility industry, of course, is both price fixed and government regulated. Unlike other businesses, it cannot compensate for rising costs of operation by automatically increasing the price of the product which it sells and delivers to the consumer, but must first apply for and obtain authorization from the regulatory authorities.

I want to emphasize that, while my company has sold many of its utility properties, we are not withdrawing from Latin America, but actually are broadening our participation in Latin American economic development. We continue to operate utilities in a number of countries where the pressures to which I referred have not been so evident. Furthermore, under our sale agreements with the Governments of Argentina, Mexico, and Chile—which call for payment in dollars over a period of years—we are committed to reinvest a large part of the total compensation, as it is received, in enterprises outside the public utility field which will make a definite contribution to the economic development of the countries concerned.

Up to now, out of a total reinvestment obligation of $137 million, we have made specific investments or commitments of $28 million in Mexico and Argentina in the automotive, business machine, metals, building materials, ranching, and petrochemical fields. This program, which has attracted $75 million of additional capital to these countries—a ratio of $3 of outside capital to every dollar we invest—is having an important and favorable impact on their economies.

In making these investments, our company has adhered to a policy of associating itself with Latin American enterprises and industrialists as well as with leading United States and European investors. For example, our $5.8 million equity capital commitment in Argentina's first petrochemical fertilizer production facility, known as Petrosur, has been the basis for bringing together other equity funds from Europe and Latin America and an Inter-American Development Bank loan which, together, amount to about three times the foreign-power commitment.

I might say, in passing, that foreign powers' investment in Petrosur, and investigations we are making concerning possible future investments in fertilizer production in other Latin American countries, tie in very well with U.S. objectives under the Alliance for Progress as stated by President Johnson in his statement of August 17, when he said that the United States is especially interested in promoting an increase in agricultural output in Latin America and promised U.S. help in efforts to establish continental arrangements for production and trade in fertilizers and pesticides.

It can be seen, in the light of the foregoing, that my company has a deep and continuing interest in Latin American trade and development and in the preservation and strengthening of the private enterprise system throughout the Americas. This, of course, accounts for my interest and the interest of my company in Interama and all that it stands for.

I sincerely believe that Interama, located, as it is, at one of the principal gateways from Latin America into the United States, and designed to provide industrial, cultural, recreational and trade facilities of interest to visitors from Latin America as well as to our own citizens who are interested in what Latin America has to offer, can make a major contribution to inter-American understanding and play an important role in promoting the objectives of the Alliance for Progress.

I believe that the theme of Interama, "Progress With Freedom," is an excellent

statement of the aspirations of the Latin American people and of the objectives of U.S. policy toward Latin America. The progress which our Latin American neighbors and business partners are struggling to achieve is, of course, a compound of economic, social, and cultural elements, all of which will be ideally represented in the Interama exhibits.

I have had many discussions with Dr. Muskat, the very able and energetic chairman of Interama, and I know that he shares my belief in the fundamental importance of education and educational interchange in promoting economic and social progress and, hence, in achieving the aims of the Alliance for Progress. Interama will place great emphasis on education; and the cultural, industrial, and commercial exhibits will, in themselves, be educational to our own tourists and Miami visitors as well as to Latin American travelers and exhibitors.

North Americans who visit Interama will have a matchless opportunity to learn about the geography, history, culture, and economic background of our sister republics in Latin America and, thus, to achieve that broader understanding which is the only sound basis for inter-American cooperation and good will. Latin American visitors, on their part, will obtain a new understanding of our economic system, our political institutions, and of our foreign policy objectives. From the industrial exhibits, they will become familiar with American goods and the excellent qualities of our industrial products. This should lead not only to an expansion of our trade with Latin America—already a customer for almost $4 billion of our exports annually—but to a broader interchange of methods, ideas, and people to the great benefit of all the American people, North and South.

It seems to me that it is essential for the achievement of these aims that the U.S. Government, itself, be represented by an exhibit which exemplifies its interest in Interama, in the promotion of American foreign trade, and in the progress and development of our Latin American neighbors. It should be an exhibit worthy of the great Nation which it represents and portrays, and it should support and carry out the theme of Interama, "Progress With Freedom."

The fact that the U.S. Government, through the Community Facilities Administration, already has authorized a loan of over $20 million to Interama, and that a prominent Wall Street firm has entered into a commitment to underwrite a similar amount of bonds for financing the Interama project, is indicative of the support which this highly worthy project has obtained, both from our Government and from American business. It is not only logical but, in my opinion, essential, that the present bill to provide for participation of the U.S. Government in Interama be approved by Congress and that the funds be made available to Interama at the earliest possible date so that there will be no unnecessary delay in startup time. I know that several of the Latin American governments have made known their deep interest in Interama, and I was present at the executive committee meeting of the Inter-American Council of Commerce and Production, which was held in Buenos Aires in March of this year, when that important hemispheric organization of business and industrial leaders of the Americas voted unanimously to support and sponsor the Interama project.

Approval of H.R. 30 would provide a convincing demonstration of active U.S. Government support for Interama and will provide the needed impetus for the efforts now being made by the Interama authority to obtain the broadly based industrial support and participation that are essential to its success.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, the "do-it-all" Congress, the "fabulous" Congress, the Congress that compiled the greatest record in the history of the country—these are some of the terms used by newspaper observers and other commentators to describe the constructive record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, which was elected just a year ago with President Johnson.

The passage of a bill setting up a single major new program is generally considered enough to entitle a congressional session to place in history. Thus in the middle years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's Presidency, the Wagner Labor Relations Act was passed in 1935, the Social Security Act in 1936, and the first Fair Labor Standards Act in 1938.

In 1965 Congress produced a great mass of programs—some of them expansions from the past, some of them brand new—that are certain to change the quality of American life across the next several decades.

The President has estimated that about 85 percent of the Democratic platform pledges of 1964 have been enacted into law.

A word must be said about the relationship between the President and the congressional leaders. He has been pictured, by those who write fiction in the pretense that it is news, as an "arm-twister," a ruthless driver who horsewhips and threatens Members of the House and Senate to procure the passage of bills.

Nothing could be further from the realities of life on Capitol Hill. Members of the House and Senate, many of them with 15 or 20 years or more of experience, would be totally resentful of arm twisting and totally resentful of White House pressure to vote for or against pending legislation against their honest convictions.

The President can lead through formal messages, either general or special, that make legislative recommendations and set priorities. His departmental experts can send up draft bills for Congress to consider in committee. But Mr. Johnson spent 12 years in the House and 12 years in the Senate, and it is nonsensical to suggest that he does not deeply comprehend the relationships between the Presidency and Congress, each with its own part to play as a coordinate branch in the framing of legislation.

A specific example is the medicare program, adopted this year, to establish federally sustained health benefits for every citizen 65 years of age and older—partly through the social security system, partly through a supplemental plan to meet the needs of those not on the social security rolls. President Johnson signed the bill with a very proper sense of triumph—but the fact is that the bill Congress approved was sharply modified from the original proposals sent to the House Ways and Means Committee by four Democratic Presidents in succession.

The Ways and Means Committee, with vast experience in the tax and financing fields of old-age care, wrote its own bill in committee, the Senate amended it, the two Houses agreed on a single version—and that was the medicare program the President was invited to sign.

The School Aid Act of 1965 would be rated by most observers as ranking with medicare in importance. Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools has been on the calendar of every Congress with which this Member has been acquainted, since 1945. Suddenly it is an accomplished fact.

Here Mr. Johnson's personal contributions must be rated high. He had courage enough to ask for more money than any President had urged before—$1.25 billion in a single year—and his technical advisers came up with an extraordinary new program of concentrating Federal funds to aid the children of the poor, the city slum schools, rather than clinging to archaic measures of traditional grants-in-aid. The 89th Congress, where more than 70 Members of the House were freshmen and were not involved in stale controversies, welcomed the approach and endorsed it.

Congress also voted a heavy increase in Federal funds for higher education, both at the college levels and beyond, thus becoming the third successive session in a row to place major emphasis on Federal assistance to the upgrading of educational opportunity at these levels.

A major action of the 89th Congress was approval of an immigration-reform measure, killing the 40-year-old national origins quota system that invited migrants from northern Europe who did not wish to come and prohibited or severely limited the immigration of families from the nations of southern and eastern Europe who did want to be a part of America.

Every President since Mr. Truman's day has asked for major revisions in this law, particularly in the national origins provisions that implied some groups were more worthy than others of citizenship in this country. Five years ago it would have been the general judgment that revision and reform of the immigration laws were simply impossible. But with the addition of 70 new Members of the House and the backing of the White House the quota laws came tumbling in 1965.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was another major achievement of the 1st session of the 89th. It became apparent late last year that the Civil Rights Act of 1964, despite its sweep and scope, did not give adequate protection to minority groups, such as Negroes in some Southern States, in performing the simple acts of registering and voting. The situation

in Selma, Ala., this year underscored the fact.

Now we have the new Voting Rights Act, authorizing the appointment of Federal registrars in State areas where there is a pattern of discrimination. Expedited procedures are set up for court tests of the rights of individual citizens claiming a violation of their constitutional guarantees.

It is a credit to the 89th Congress that the Voting Rights Act was approved by heavy bipartisan majorities, just as the Civil Rights Act last year had strong bipartisan support from both Democrats and Republicans.

A program for regional medical programs was cleared by Congress in the last month of its session, together with a parallel bill authorizing Federal funds for medical libraries.

Early in the session the first step was taken toward developing a multi-State economic redevelopment approach in the Appalachia region—a program formulated with the assistance of State governments and designed to provide a wide variety of services to economically depressed and bypassed areas. Most of the Federal money will be devoted to highway development, simply to provide easier communication between the communities of the 10-State region.

Later, Congress passed a bill providing for a more broadly conceived program for regional development, including the financing of local public works, that expanded the original area redevelopment program of 1961.

The 89th Congress took the first step since 1953 to increase the size of the President's Cabinet, authorizing a new Department of Housing and Urban Development headed by a Secretary with Cabinet rank. In addition a new omnibus housing program, maintaining the Government's loan, insurance, and guarantee activities and revising urban renewal was approved.

The water pollution plan gives the States a first right to set up controls to check the pollution of interstate streams and authorizes the Federal Government to impose its own standards if the States fail to act. New funds are provided, as well, for the construction of municipal sewage plants.

The air pollution control program includes two major sections: First, a plan to reduce the smog and pollution that infest the air from the exhaust systems of automobiles; second, a research project designed to develop ways and means of disposal of solid wastes such as demolition debris, abandoned auto hulks, rubbish, garbage, and the wastes from canneries, manufacturing plants, and slaughterhouses.

Two measures were approved that make a direct attack on the root problems of poverty for a few million alongside with affluence, or relative affluence, for 20 or 30 times as many other Americans. The manpower training and development program, designed to teach workers new skills to meet the needs of the job market, was updated and expanded. The antipoverty program President Johnson successfully proposed in 1964 was given an overwhelming endorsement by Congress this year, even to the extent of doubling the Federal funds the administration recommended.

A major bill was passed to reduce, on a selective basis, excise taxes that had been imposed during the Korean war and kept in effect all these years. Reports from Government agencies indicate that these reductions in levies are being substantially passed on to consumers, thus giving lower prices and increased purchasing power and throwing a further strengthening factor under the extraordinary economic surge that for nearly 5 years has maintained high levels of employment, wages, and corporation profits.

The foreign aid program was carried forward but a foundation was laid for a full-scale review of all our economic and military programs abroad with the objective of making them more practical and effective under changing conditions in the world.

The complicated and long lasting farm program was also substantially revised to emphasize a direct attack on the removal of surplus acreage from cultivation. The cotton crop was placed on the same basis as wheat and feed grains, with lower price supports and the substitution of direct cash subsidies where they are needed to undergird farm income.

A military pay increase was approved and a 3.6-percent raise in pay for postal and civil service workers to restore them to levels of parity with income paid workers in private industry.

There was a whole series of bills that can be mentioned only in summary but that stake out new ground:

A National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was created, with a $60 million, 3-year authorization to promote culture and scholarship.

A gold reserves program was approved to reduce the problem of balance-of-payments deficits.

A new drug control law was approved to strengthen Federal safeguards against the traffic in harmful drugs.

A major achievement of the session, I believe, was passage of a proposed constitutional amendment clarifying and defining the roles of the Vice President, the Cabinet, and Congress itself in the event of Presidential disability. The proposed amendment also provides for the appointment of a Vice President, with the consent of Congress, whenever there should be a vacancy in that Office.

The amendment is subject to ratification by the States, of course, and will take effect only when three-quarters of the States have given their approval. Thus far 10 of the necessary 38 State ratifications have been received. It is of the utmost importance that other States also take action, so that the great gap presently existing in regard to Presidential disability and possible Vice-Presidential vacancy can at last be effectively met in orderly legislation.

As many know, much of the real work of Congress is done in committee, where there is an opportunity for executive department officials to appear and to answer questions of congressional Members who have spent many years working in special fields. This year, as for some years in the past, I have had the privilege of membership on the Committee on Armed Services which deals with our defense structure and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy—a Senate-House committee that reviews the Nation's situation and progress in the whole field of nuclear activity.

There are other matters to mention that may seem relatively small but in fact affect a great many Americans. One of the standards by which a nation is judged is the care it provides for veterans of past wars and members of the armed services.

The 89th Congress was able to reach agreement on a new insurance program under which each member is given the right to purchase $5,000 or $10,000 in insurance at group-insurance rates, with the Government paying any additional costs. The coverage is automatic, with the servicemen having to take affirmative action to remove himself from coverage. Administrative costs are borne by the Veterans' Administration.

Two bills affecting veterans otherwise are on their way through the legislative procedures. The Senate passed a bill to extend to present members of the Armed Forces many of the advantages that in the past were included in the GI bill of rights during World War II and the Korean war. The House Veterans' Affairs Committee has completed hearings. The House, on the other hand, has passed a bill to increase benefits to those with service-connected disabilities, and a comparable bill has been reported favorably by the Senate Finance Committee. Indications are that final action will be completed this session on the bill increasing service-connected disability benefits. Action on the other measure should be completed in 1966 during the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

It is a special pleasure to report that funds were voted by the 89th Congress for initial construction work on the $73 million Kaskaskia navigation project and that these additional funds were voted for other flood control and navigation projects in our district: $1,371,000 in East St. Louis and vicinity, $391,000 for the Chain of Rocks canal and locks, $600,000 for the New Athens levee.

In addition Congress voted $6.1 million in authorization for the Hillside drainage project, that in the long run will cost $9.34 million and $179,000 in authority for a modified Wood River drainage and levee district project.

It occurred to me that voters in our district might be interested in a summary of the many other Federal activities that undergird the economy and furnish both contracts and jobs. For fiscal year 1965, ending last June 30, these were the statistics for our area—Office of Economic Opportunity and Department of Labor funds include sums for programs to be expended after June 30, 1965:

Agency for International Development	$780,302.57
Army Corps of Engineers	2,457,000.00
Department of Agriculture	3,379,140.00
Department of Commerce	16,967,117.00
Department of Defense	58,051,674.35
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare	45,920,266.00
Department of the Interior	5,500.00
Department of Labor	782,300.00
Federal Aviation Agency	54,800.00
General Services Administration	1,012,498.00
Housing and Home Finance Agency	7,256,000.00
National Aeronautics and Space Administration	235,000.00
National Science Foundation	55,640.00
Office of Economic Opportunity	482,597.00
Post Office Department	7,643,560.00
Railroad Retirement Board	8,090,000.00
Selective Service System	46,746.00
Small Business Administration	66,000.00
Veterans' Administration	13,700,000.00
Department of the Treasury	690,000.00

In addition, Madison County may receive $836,000 under the school aid program and $412,000 from the Office of Economic Opportunity program. The figures for St. Clair County are $1,796,000 in school aid and $643,000 under the Office of Economic Opportunity programs.

Big Education Boost

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress has enacted important legislation to improve higher education. The Beloit Daily News published an editorial which stresses the tremendous importance of education.

In summarizing the accomplishments of this Congress in the field of higher education, the editorial says:

All this adds up to an educational step forward of major importance. As the measure's effects are felt, more and more will have access to the education they need if they are to play a full role in tomorrow's America.

I am pleased to place this fine editorial in the Appendix of the RECORD:

BIG EDUCATION BOOST

The importance of education, whether it applies to youth at home or to people of other lands is difficult to overemphasize. Aside from academic attainment and regardless of consideration to any specific field, learning and understanding are the keynotes to the future. Schooling has many aspects. But the pattern assuring greater effectiveness, and the cost is high, prompts considerable in thought and action.

The Senate and House make clear the deep commitment of this Congress to the need of Federal aid to higher education, and by authorizing some $841 million annually, legislators have stressed how they feel about the importance of schooling to the Nation's future in an increasingly complex world. They have agreed to a broad-scale measure.

A good case could be made for the contention that, partly because of the old bugaboo of Federal control, Congress has been overly cautious about expanding aid to higher education. Some would say it has been downright slow to respond to a clear need. The acuteness of this need has for some time been apparent to everyone even modestly familiar with what has been written on the subject. The need for Federal support has not gone wholly unmet. Some money has been available for construction of new and expanded facilities, and the Government-backed program of student loans has been helpful to many.

The program now authorized is something quite different, however. Besides expanding the loan program, Congress has for the first time authorized what amounts to Government scholarships—that is, grants to needy students. Such grants, coupled with a matching program, will enable many of small means to get a college education. In addition, the bill doubles the fund available for construction grants, establishes a program to upgrade college libraries, offers direct help and teaching fellowships to small institutions with special problems.

All this adds up to an educational step forward of major importance. As the measure's effects are felt, more and more will have access to the education they need if they are to play a full role in tomorrow's America.

Federal Water Pollution Control Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, we must continue to stress the importance and the urgency of Federal, State, and local cooperation in our continuing efforts to control the burgeoning problem of water pollution.

The Natural Resources Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations has conducted extensive hearings and studies, and each day there are new evidences that our efforts are being recognized. The adoption of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act, which also has been referred to as the Water Quality Act, during the current session of Congress will provide a very effective approach to the means of alleviating the problem. The fact remains, however, and it must be recognized at all levels of government that the only sure cure to pollution rests in the willingness to appropriate sufficient funds for the work that must be done, and the cost will be staggering.

It was, indeed, gratifying to me that the Federal Water Pollution Control Act as adopted by the House and Senate, and signed by President Johnson, contained an amendment which I sponsored to increase from $100 to $150 million a year the authorized Federal funds for assistance to the States and the communities for the construction of sewage treatment plants.

It is also gratifying to note that Gov. John Dempsey, of Connecticut, has appointed a 100-man task force to make a thorough study of Connecticut's water pollution problems and to make recommendations to the Connecticut General Assembly for remedial action. The Governor has made it clear that it will be a costly program, but he has asked his special commission, which includes prominent residents of all sections of the State, to include the cost factor in its recommendations to the general assembly.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include an article by E. Joseph Martin which appeared in the Hartford Courant of October 10, 1965, under the heading "Drive Against River Pollution Bolstered by Federal Response." The article points up the recent developments in Washington and in Connecticut which stimulate encouragement and hope that we are about to see some tangible results from our continuing efforts.

The article follows:

DRIVE AGAINST RIVER POLLUTION BOLSTERED BY FEDERAL RESPONSE

(By E. Joseph Martin)

Efforts to speed up the cleaning of Connecticut rivers and streams received both State and Federal responses last week.

One always stimulating impetus came in the form of a promise of more dollars from Washington. The other less tangible reaction was a promise of more action by Governor Dempsey.

On October 2, President Johnson signed the Water Quality Act of 1965 into law. This increased the Federal Government's committment to help States build community treatment plants to $150 million a year for the next 2 years.

STATE TASK FORCE

Also on October 2, Governor Dempsey appointed a 100-man task force. It was charged with studying the State's water pollution problems and to come up with recommendations for accelerating pollution abatement programs in time for the next general assembly session.

Under the old law, Connecticut received $1,321,300 in Federal grants. Under the new law Connecticut qualified to receive an additional $697,350 making a total of an eligible $2,018,650.

With these additional funds, the State water resources commission expects to increase new community sewage plant construction about 50 percent. About six to eight new projects are now begun each year. The number is expected to increase to from 9 to 12.

At present Connecticut has 97 community sanitary sewage collection and treatment systems treating 96 percent of the sewage discharged from 80 municipalities serving 60 percent of the population.

To treat the remaining municipal raw sewage discharges, State water resources officials say 44 new, expanded and upgraded plants are needed. Target date for completing the 44 is 1970.

Although this target date is expected to be advanced somewhat by the increase in Federal money available, officials say the money will continue to be used after these plants are constructed for modernizing and making more efficient the community treatment facilities already in operation.

LOCAL EXEMPTIONS

No Federal money is available to industries who install treatment facilities. However, the 1965 general assembly made it possible for industries to apply for local property tax exemptions on equipment certified by the State water resources commission as "water pollution abatement equipment."

Many conservationists hope Governor Dempsey's task force will help to accelerate the pace of industrial waste treatment plant construction by resolving two basic issues:

(1) Finding methods of persuading or forcing industries to install treatment facilities more quickly; and (2) deciding whether the installation of this equipment should be subsidized by the State to a greater degree.

Although most of Connecticut's industries treat both sanitary and industrial waste water, 199 factories still discharge sanitary wastes in the amount of 0.45 million gallons per day to surface waters without treatment.

In addition, officials say 46.8 percent of the total amount of industrial waste water being discharged will need the construction of 234 new treatment facilities.

GET TOUGH POLICY?

To these ends, therefore, two big questions need to be answered. Should Connecticut officials get tougher with uncooperative industries? Should industry receive financial help to construct their treatment plants?

Up to this point, the State water resources commission has been following what has been described as a relatively lenient policy. Although it has the authority by law to issue the necessary orders to secure elimination of specific causes of pollution the commission has chosen to take carefully measured steps in fulfilling its charge.

Its stated policy is "to attempt by education and personal conference to develop a sentiment calling for correction and by assistance to and cooperation with both industry and communities in bringing about the desired results."

Many industries, however, take full advantage of the commission's stated policy and delay the desired results as long as they can. A few even blackmail commission members and communities by threatening to leave the community if forced to construct the treatment plants.

If Governor Dempsey's task force accomplishes nothing else, conservationists say they would consider the effort a success if the group succeeded in forcing a stronger and more positive method of handling industry's few feet-dragging exceptions.

Tribute to Olof R. Anderson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SPARKMAN
OF ALABAMA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a Senator's job, with its long hours and steady work, is wearying and fatiguing. It is most fortunate, I think, that we have the Senate gymnasium, small though it is.

We have a most able staff of assistants in the gymnasium, who for many years now, have attended us faithfully in our effort to maintain physical fitness. I wish to pay tribute to each member of the staff: Olof R. Anderson and his capable assistants—Bo I. Anderberg, Ray Johanson, Gunnar Johanson, and Johnny Ware. They have been wonderful to help us through the years. The senior member of the staff is Olof R. Anderson, who has had 15 years of continuous and devoted service to the Senate. The services of all of these men have contributed greatly to the maintenance of our health and physical well-being.

New Thinking on Potomac River Valley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HERVEY G. MACHEN
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACHEN. Mr. Speaker, last June 28, 1965, when addressing the Governor's meeting with Interior Secretary Udall on conservation of the Potomac River, I stated that because of the controversial Corps of Engineers' plan for high dams on the river we should take steps to protect the land involved until a decision is made on whether to follow the corps' recommendations or try something else.

I said:

Regardless of what plan, let's take steps now either through purchase, scenic easements, or otherwise; let's make arrangements to protect the land in the event the new ideas do not work, in the event we do find that impoundment is the only way we can insure adequate water supply, adequate flood control, pollution abatement, and the additional benefits of recreational and comprehensive programs. But let not we, who are in office now, jeopardize the future of this area where we'll have situations of signs where you cannot get water without paying for it, such as the present situation in New York.

Let's get started now, whether it is for part planned now or what; but let's get a plan and have it available in the event that the Corps of Engineers in their expert way are proven to be right. In the event we do not have that technology that some people say is just around the corner, let's not be derelict in our responsibility to the future generations.

This month, Assistant Secretary of the Interior Kenneth Holum stated in a speech that he favored avoiding making a decision now on whether to build the Seneca Dam on the Potomac as recommended by the Corps of Engineers. He said:

If Seneca Dam were built—and if the Washington metropolitan area grows as everyone predicts that it will—Seneca Reservoir would be one of the largest man-made reservoirs within a major metropolitan area. It is not surprising that Seneca has become a major subject of controversy—not just because it would inundate the Chesapeake & Ohio Canal and a beautiful stretch of the river itself—but, perhaps, even more so because no one quite knows how a man-made fluctuating reservoir would fit into a metropolitan area.

Personally, I think we should avoid making irrevocable decisions for future generations unless they are absolutely essential and unless we are completely certain that the decision we make is in their best interest.

A decision to build Seneca now will force an irreversible decision on our heirs. I would prefer to avoid that decision. It would be particularly unfortunate if the dam were built for purposes that advancing technology can serve through other means.

By the same token, if we do nothing, in 10 years the area will be so completely developed that economics will make it impossible to use the area to serve whatever public purpose may prove to be most desirable in the future.

A more prudent course, it seems to me—and it coincides with the urgent need for more parks, playgrounds and outdoor recreation areas—would be to act now to maintain the present level of economic development so as to free the hands of future decisionmakers. Most of the site can easily and appropriately be incorporated into a Potomac Valley Park. No doubt, new legislative tools would need to be developed to achieve this objective, but, nonetheless, I think it merits careful consideration.

It is very encouraging to see that the Interior Department has chosen this course. It is a wise course and one that can be supported as a compromise by the proponents and opponents of the Corps of Engineers' recommendations. There is no question something will have to be done to insure the Washington metropolitan area an adequate water supply and clean river in the near future.

Until our scientists encounter a technological breakthrough or a majority of the experts agree on a plan for the Potomac River Valley, we could best lay the groundwork for any decision by setting aside the land under easement—donated or purchased.

This will guarantee that if we need the land it will be available in undeveloped or low-density development and large-scale condemnation and relocation will not have to take place. This will allow room for implementation of any one of several courses of action. In preparing for and making a decision of such significance, we need latitude in order to take the best course.

Remarks of John T. Dooley, Navy Day Observance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD D. McCARTHY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD an outstanding speech given by John T. Dooley, president of the Niagara Frontier Council Navy League of the United States, in Buffalo, N.Y.

The speech follows:

REMARKS OF JOHN T. DOOLEY

The U.S. Navy and the officers, members and friends of the Navy League do me a singular honor this evening in permitting me to address this distinguished gathering. However humbled I am by this task, I realize a certain pride in recognizing that it is appropriate to the office of president which I enjoy, to discharge the task.

Since being elevated to the presidency of the council, I have often been cheered by the advice, assistance and cooperation which I received from my fellow officers. I wish to publicly acknowledge my appreciation to them for the accomplishments the Navy League has witnessed here in the past few months.

Due mainly to their dedication and leadership we have added some 40 new members to the council.

We have been able to attract some of the most outstanding military officers in the service of the United States to speak to us on subjects of vital interest to every American.

We have enjoyed ever greater participation at our meetings and affairs—as witness the results this evening of John Lee and his committee's hard work to make his dinner a success. I think we should give Mr. Lee a round of applause. [Applaud.]

We hope we were instrumental in helping the Navy to make up its mind about where the minesweeper, *Prowess*, should be stationed.

We have instituted a division of the Navy Sea Cadet Corps here in western New York for lads 14 through 17 years of age.

And, finally, we are cooperating with the Navy Department in preparing for an orientation cruise abroad a warship in the Atlantic.

We're an active group, and we intend to become even more active. We have to be. There is a special need at this critical moment in our Nation's history for organizations like the Navy League. Every day, throughout this country we see people getting up on their hind legs and demonstrating for peace. Now there is nothing wrong with that. I'm for peace and you're for peace, and if that's all there was to it I'm sure we would all join in the demonstrations.

But peace pure and simple isn't what these people are agitating for. They seem to be advocating a peculiar form of foreign policy. They would dictate military strategy, political programs, economic principles, and moral judgments to the duly elected and appointed representatives of the people. Aside from the fact that I personally find their conclusions to be half-baked, unrealistic hogwash, I fell that the clamor and tumult they arouse gives aid and comfort to our enemies, undermines the morale of our fighting men on the frontlines, and confuses and weakens the will of the American people to stand steadfast against the spread of tyranny.

One of the ablest, fairest, and most conscientious men in the Senate of the United States, Senator DODD, of Connecticut, has recently warned that the demonstrations for peace in Vietnam have been seriously infiltrated by Communists, and now follow the party line.

What can we do about this state of affairs? We can set the record straight. It's up to us to dispel the confusion in the public's mind about intervention in Santo Domingo, the war in southeast Asia, and other such actions taken by our Government to meet the threat of Communist imperialism. There is even a strong possibility that some of the misguided agitators who are opposed to these aspects of our foreign policy might be persuaded to join the majority of Americans who support our action in these places, if they were correctly informed about the nature of the conflict.

Speaking recently in Washington, Secretary of State Dean Rusk said, "the integrity of America's commitment is the principal pillar of peace throughout the world." I agree with Mr. Rusk. We must stand by our commitments in every part of the globe. But I would add something further. We cannot take the sacrifices of the military for granted. They need civilian support. Without such suport, we don't deserve their sacrifices. We deserve to be vanquished. But, God help us, with your support and the support of millions like you across this great country, they won't give up and we won't be beaten.

This is the only sure road to peace—and by peace I mean an order stabilized by justice and inspired with freedom. To follow any other road is to seek the kind of blasphemous peace promoted by Mao Tse-Tung—a condition in which every man is equally wretched, a soul-less robot employed in the service of a satanic master.

The late President Kennedy predicted that this struggle would be long, hard, and bitter. But he also offered us an opportunity unparalleled in the annals of human history: the opportunity to create a world order in which every man's dignity is recognized, and where every person may pursue his individual destiny in freedom.

The battle is joined. Not only in the swamps of Asia, but right here in the busy commercial offices of Buffalo, men are required to make a commitment. We can support—and I mean actively support—this Nation's bloody resolve to hold fast the perimeters of freedom, or we can stand on the sidelines and carp at better men who are doing their duty.

The Navy league is committed. Now let's see what we can do to alert our friends and fellow citizens to their responsibilities.

Thank you.

Your Federal Government in Action

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the C. & P. Telephone Co., as part of its civic education program, has been featuring in its bimonthly magazine, the Transmitter, a very interesting and valuable series of articles, "Your Federal Government in Action." Each of these articles focuses on the structure and activities of one Cabinet department, and includes a statement by that Department's Secretary or another high-ranking official. The third of this series, on the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, appeared in the September-October issue of the Transmitter, and I would like to bring it to the attention of the Congress. In future issues, other departments will be discussed, and I am confident that the high quality of the first three articles in this series will be maintained.

The article follows:

YOUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN ACTION

FOREWORD BY WILBUR J. COHEN, UNDERSECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

The goals that President Johnson has spelled out for the Great Society represent major new challenges to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. We welcome these new challenges.

Excellence at all levels of education, the very best possible health care, a life free from the threat and tyranny of poverty, a society that welcomes and uses the rich variety of talents among all its people, the elderly as well as the young—these are some of the great opportunities that lie just ahead of our society today.

Already this year we have taken big strides in this direction with the passage of some vital and historic legislation, including the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the expansion of of our Social Security system to provide medical care for the aged.

There is a tough job ahead, a job that can be infinitely rewarding. And for this job the old ways of doing things are not good enough. We are going to have to find new ways of solving the problems of equality of opportunity for the victims of racial discrimination, for the poverty stricken, for the handicapped, for the sick and the aged, for all of our people.

I am confident that solutions can be found and that we can strengthen and revitalize our entire society. We must settle for nothing less.

HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

It is young, big, growing—and not infrequently controversial. In one way or another, directly or indirectly, it touches the lives of all Americans.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has grown because many of the problems with which it deals have grown. It is sometimes controversial because it not only deals with the problems of change, but seeks to identify and develop the opportunities for human betterment that new knowledge and new technology produce.

Social security, especially health insurance, has been a hotly debated issue for years. Both the "how" and "why" of Federal aid to education generate divergent views. There are those who object to public assistance for the children of unemployed parents. Some do not like the idea of fluoridation of public water supplies to reduce tooth decay. There are even those who say the Department has no business insisting that peanut butter be made mostly of peanuts.

Out of the past

The national interest in health and education has been recognized from the earliest days of the Republic. Federal aid to land grant colleges and to vocational education and Federal operation of hospitals at major ports of entry are but a few examples. More recently, the national interest in individual economic security also came to be widely recognized. The Social Security Act of 1935, triggered by the great depression, was the first major response of the Federal Government to the economic problems that can beset hard-working, provident members of the labor force and their dependents in an industrial society.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, itself, was established only in 1953, but its roots, too, go far back into the Nation's history. There was a Public Health Service, an Office of Education, a Children's Bureau, a Food and Drug Administration long before there was a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

Into the present

Since 1900, life expectancy at birth has increased from an average of 50 years to 70. Education has become the Nation's largest single enterprise. And, today, most Americans have the satisfaction of knowing that basic economic security for themselves and their families is assured as a matter of earned right.

These and other advances can be traced in varying measure to programs administered by the Department—to an expanding effort to prevent disease and improve health, to the support and encouragement of education, to a strong social insurance system, to welfare programs which seek not only to reduce dependency but to remove its causes, to expanding consumer protection.

All told, HEW administers more than 100 programs, under the direction of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. As of July 1965 the Department was composed of eight operating agencies, all working toward the common goal of improving the health and well-being of the American people.

The Department's work is carried on by some 90,000 employees. About 6,000 of these work in Washington; most of the others in offices, laboratories, and hospitals throughout the country. About 650 are on foreign assignments.

In the fiscal year ended June 30, HEW expenditures amounted to $23.3 billion. Of this, $17.5 billion came from the social security trust funds to pay benefits to retired

and disabled people and their dependents, and to survivors of deceased workers. The remainder—$5.8 billion—came from funds appropriated by Congress. The Department budget constitutes about 18 percent of total Federal expenditures.

Most of HEW's budget—95.8 percent—is returned to the taxpaying public. Medical research by the Department, consumer protection, medical care for Federal beneficiaries, and similar activities account for 2.6 percent of the budget. Administration costs of assistance programs account for 1.6 percent.

Toward better health

The Public Health Service, oldest of the Department's agencies, was established in 1798 as the Marine Hospital Service to help sick and injured seamen and to prevent the introduction and spread of disease.

Today, the Public Health Service is engaged in a wide range of activities. Its National Institutes of Health at Bethesda, Md., is perhaps the world's largest medical research center, and its research grants support an even larger medical research effort in universities, hospitals, and other nongovernment institutions throughout the country. Since 1947, it has made grants totaling $2.3 billion for the construction of hospitals and other health-care facilities involving a total construction cost of $7.3 billion. It makes grants to help build medical research and medical teaching facilities, and to help build municipal waste treatment works to control water pollution.

The Service assists the States in controlling epidemics and in insuring the safety of milk and water supplies. It licenses serums, vaccines, and other biological products. It looks after interstate and foreign quarantine and operates scores of hospitals. It runs the world's largest medical library and keeps track of births, deaths, and health conditions.

Better foods and drugs

Safeguarding the public health is a prime concern of another HEW agency—the Food and Drug Administration. Americans who followed the story of thalidomide still shudder at what might have happened here if thalidomide had been permitted to go onto our drugstore shelves.

So mild it was sold in European countries without prescription, thalidomide seemed a perfect drug. It would induce restful sleep and had hardly any after effects. It was given freely to children, and expectant mothers took it. But, when thalidomide was submitted for premarketing approval, FDA's Dr. Frances Kelsey found things in the record that made her uneasy. She asked for more information. Approval had not been given when European headlines told of a wave of birth deformities. A strong law and a dedicated scientist had averted an American tragedy.

Evaluating safety and efficacy of new drugs before they go on the market is just one of FDA's many major functions. Its mission is to see that the American people get foods, drugs, therapeutic devices, and cosmetics that are safe, beneficial, and honestly labeled.

The FDA enforcement staff is constantly watching for adulterated or misbranded commodities. Insulin and antibiotic drugs are pretested and certified by FDA before they can be legally sold. Color additives and chemicals may not be used in foods unless approved by FDA as both suitable and safe. Food standards are established to promote honesty and fair dealing. Hazardous household substances must bear warning labels.

Special health problems and programs

Over 100 years ago, a long crusade ended in triumph when President Pierce signed an act to establish a Federal hospital for the mentally ill in the Nation's Capital. Dorotheo Lynde Dix had proved herself a great lobbyist as well as an indefatigable humanitarian. She began a new era in the care and treatment of the mentally ill.

Today, another new era for the mentally ill is beginning. Huge, isolated mental hospitals are on their way out. Community centers and services for the mentally ill and the mentally retarded are the modern answer. St. Elizabeths Hospital, still the only Federal hospital concerned with all types of mental illness, will contribute increasingly to this new kind of pioneering.

In 1855, when St. Elizabeths was founded, the concept of "enlightened curative treatment" for the mentally ill was new. Today, that concept is applied to a wide range of handicapping conditions whose victims were once thought beyond help.

HEW's Vocational Rehabilitation Administration provides financial assistance to rehabilitation agencies in each of the States and territories, which last year prepared some 135,000 handicapped men and women for useful employment. Federal and State spending for vocational rehabilitation has risen from $35 million a year to almost $140 million in the past 10 years.

Since the beginning of the program in 1920, nearly 2 million handicapped men and women have been rehabilitated into employment, and the annual total has been growing.

For more and better education

"If we are learning anything from our experiences," President Johnson has said, "we are learning that it is time for us to go to work, and the first work of these times and the first work of our society is education."

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, authorizing more than $1.3 billion in Federal funds for classrooms, broke a long deadlock over the issue of Federal aid to education. Expanded support for higher education, the many calls for innovation emanating from the recent White House Conference on Education, the rapid growth of educational television—these and other developments point to one overriding fact: America's single largest enterprise—education—is in ferment.

The Office of Education has entered its second century with its central mission unchanged but with vastly expanded resources. Its mission: to help succeeding generations of Americans attain a good education. Its resources: new and expanded programs, increased appropriations, more people to develop and guide its activities, and heightened public interest in education. As the pace of change quickens, demands on American education as an essential tool of national policy and purpose will increase.

In 1953, when the Department was established, the Office of Education's appropriation totaled $289 million. For the fiscal year that ended June 30, 1965, the appropriation had reached a total of $1.5 billion. The budget for fiscal year 1966, including the new program of Federal aid to elementary and secondary education, is $3.5 bilion.

The Office of Education's budget for 1966 puts that agency's expenditures in support of education almost on a par, for the first time, with Federal expenditures for public assistance. There is wide agreement that inadequate education is a major cause of dependency.

Toward greater economic security

When he signed the Social Security Act on August 14, 1935, President Roosevelt said:

"We can never insure 100 percent of the population against 100 percent of the hazards and vicissitudes of life, but we have tried to frame a law which will give some measure of protection to the average citizen and to his family against the loss of a job and against poverty-ridden old age."

Today, 9 out of 10 American workers and their dependents are covered by the old-age, survivors, and disability insurance programs of the Social Security Administration. Every month, payments totaling $1.5 billion go out to over 20 million Americans—almost half of them wives, widows, parents, and children.

Since 1935, new benefits have been added, existing benefits have been increased, and coverage has been extended to more people. These improvements have helped retired and disabled workers, dependents, and survivors meet their living expenses.

In 1945, President Truman proposed a program of compulsory health insurance through social security—and one of the longest and most heated debates in American legislative history was underway. On July 30, President Johnson, with former President Truman at his side, signed the Social Security Amendments of 1965 at the Truman Library in Independence, Mo.

The new amendments set up two new health insurance programs for the aged to be administered by the Social Security Administration—one a basic program of hospital insurance financed through the social security system and the other, which is voluntary, a medical insurance program financed jointly by the Federal Government and those who elect to participate.

More constructive welfare services

Among many things, the new social security amendments also provided for important improvements in a number of programs operated by the Welfare Administration, including child health and welfare and medical programs for the needy aged.

Human dependency costs well over $5 billion a year in public assistance payments alone. Much of this money is used to provide subsistence for needy children, the aged, the blind, and the disabled.

Recognizing that many recipients of public assistance cannot be expected, because of age or disability, to become self-supporting, HEW has increasingly supported programs to discover and remove the basic causes of dependency, and to provide work opportunities.

Work-experience programs under the Economic Opportunity Act, counseling to help impoverished families, maternal and child health and crippled children's services, studies and demonstration projects to help halt the spread of juvenile delinquency are among the activities supported by Welfare Administration grants.

Toward a better life for the aged

There are over 18 million people in America who have passed their 65th birthday; the number grows by about 800 every 24 hours. For millions of people past 65, life is a series of problems, ranging from boredom to desperation. Many have problems finding suitable housing they can afford. Many who want to work cannot find jobs.

The passage of the Older American Act created an Administration on Aging. All aspects of growing old will receive the attention of a Federal agency helping with the problems of the Nation's senior citizens.

Through grants and other means, the Administration on Aging will seek to make better use of the knowledge and resources now available to help older people cope with their problems. And through support of research, the new agency will seek additional knowledge about the problems of older people and the steps needed to give new meaning and dignity to the later years.

Time for Rest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, the Racine Journal-Times published a fine editorial on the record of the 89th Con-

gress, and the reasons for the great amount of significant legislation passed. The editorial points out:

All the bases of American life were touched—health, welfare, poverty, taxes, education, constitutional government. And this came from a branch of the Federal Government which, only less than 2 years ago, we were accusing of being incapable of government.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues, as follows:

TIME FOR REST, EVALUATION

Congress has gone home to rest, and President Johnson has gone home to Texas to recuperate, and there has come a rather breathless pause in the Federal legislative process which has operated for 10 months at a breakneck pace unequaled in the past 30 years.

The pause, even if it is only 10 or 11 weeks, should be valuable to permit the Nation, the administration, and Congress itself to evaluate what has been wrought in the past year. During the session, Congress was adopting on an almost semiweekly schedule significant bills, each of which could have been the highlight and single monumental work of any of a dozen previous sessions.

The record can be summarized only in phrases: medicare and the social security increases; a sweeping Federal educational program; the voting rights bill; a housing program that for the first time includes rent subsidies for the poor; a constitutional amendment on Presidential continuity; establishment of a Department of Housing and Urban Affairs; a regional planning and development program with special legislation for the Appalachian region; a start on water pollution control; an immigration bill finally rejecting the odious national origins principle; establishment of regional medical centers; a Federal program for the arts and humanities; doubling of the antipoverty program, first adopted only a year earlier; a new coinage plan; elimination of most Federal excise taxes.

When, since 1933, has any Congress had such a positive impact on the life of the Nation? All the bases of American life were touched—health, welfare, poverty, taxes, education, constitutional government.

And this came from a branch of the Federal Government which, only less than 2 years ago, we were accusing of being incapable of government.

We are reminded of a ceremonial question asked by Jewish children at the Passover seder, or supper: "Why is this night different than all other nights?" Why, indeed, is this Congress so different than its immediate predecessors?

There can hardly be one answer. Rather, a combination of factors has played on the legislative process.

Not the least of those factors has been President Lyndon Johnson himself, who not only has intimate knowledge of the legislative process, but also the ability to capitalize in most practical ways on his famed consensus, so as to put as many of the people as possible behind his demands for legislation.

But Johnson alone could not have performed these legislative miracles. The 1964 elections, with the sweeping victory of liberal and moderate Democrats, set up the conditions which made it possible to adopt legislation that had been in the making for many years, but had been stalled by the conservative coalition of Republicans and southern Democrats.

Finally, much of the legislation adopted simply represented ideas come to their own time. A prosperous Nation, with liberal leadership both in Congress and the White House, was finally able to do things which it had believed could not be done previously—medicare, Federal school aid, programs to help the chronically impoverished.

Congress represents the Nation, and the Nation now feels itself economically secure, progressive and generous. It is ready to expand what John Galbraith has called the public sector of our economy. In the legislative form, that has been done, and we should soon be ready to evaluate the results.

Dedication to Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, I had the recent privilege of giving the principal address at the dedication ceremonies of the new Tashua School at Stonehouse Road, Trumbull, Conn. It was a very interesting and rewarding program and I was particularly impressed with the statement made by Mr. Thomas P. Ryan, chairman of the school building committee. Mr. Ryan has given us a very succinct and effective formula and guideline for our Nation's educators.

All of us are aware, of course, of the great contributions which have been made to education by the 89th Congress. It is encouraging to note that the Federal Government's financial stake in the Nation's education budget has risen from appropriations of $700 million in 1964 to authorizations of $3 billion in fiscal year 1966, but we must also recognize that a total of $39 billion from all sources is annually spent nationally on education and that, therefore, the Federal Government remains a minority stockholder in the entire enterprise.

While State and Federal assistance will continue to help improve our programs of education, the fact remains that the foundation of this country's educational resources and responsibilities rests with the local school board and I believe that this is entirely advantageous.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include at this point Mr. Ryan's statement on education, and I also include from the program of the dedication ceremonies the historical background of Tashua School as compiled by Mr. E. Merrill Beach:

STATEMENT BY MR. THOMAS RYAN

Mankind is beset with many problems. Most of them are of his own making. Many of them will not be solved in our time, so we are thereby forced to leave them to the children of today and tomorrow. We have abused our natural resources; we have fouled the air we breathe, the water we drink. We have allowed poverty and ignorance to spread and flourish, mainly through our greed, selfishness, and bigotry. We have still not found the formula for world peace.

Our young men and women are in turmoil. They are saying that the despotism of custom has to go. They are not content with the things that are. They are asking, rather, "what ought to be."

History will no doubt show that this is the legacy we have left to the young. We can object to history and make excuses. It is easy to evade our responsibilities but we cannot dodge the consequences of avoiding our responsibilities.

We can point to some of our gains and show that we have opened the door to the atom. At the same time we have to admit we have not realized all of its benefits for good. We have opened the way into space, only to find how limited we really are in our knowledge of the heavens. We have made significant gains in medicine, but we are a far distance away from conquering the diseases of the minds and bodies of mankind.

How can we help our young to tackle this formidable agenda of unfinished business and to better face today's and tomorrow's world?

One answer is to be found in providing them with schools and the knowledge and skills which education provides. Education properly used and applied will give real knowledge and only through knowledge will man progress.

Let us hope and pray that this school will produce the youngsters that will have some of the answers to a few of the problems we are giving them. Most of all it is fervently hoped that the children who attend this school will have instilled in them, by the time they leave, a real love of God and of country and a genuine concern for all of mankind.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF TASHUA SCHOOL, TRUMBULL, CONN.

(By E. Merrill Brach)

The first settlers to the northwestern part of what is now Trumbull came in the early 1700's. Through endless toil, they cleared the forest to prepare their farm land and became friendly with the Tamtashua Indians who lived here.

In 1760 these courageous pioneers organized a church and soon thereafter they established a school, which they very naturally were pleased to call "Tashua" after the red men who, no doubt, had made it their homeland for centuries. The new school which is being dedicated this year could very well mark the 200th anniversary of the original school.

The early deeds used in the 1700's for the transfer of property referred to this location as a place called Tashua (sometimes spelled Tashaway).

One of the first records which we find referring to the Tashua school district is dated December 1768, when it was voted to divide the six law books donated by Deacon Abraham Brinsmade to six district schools, including one at Tashua.

In 1778 three committeemen for each of the nine districts were appointed. Those named for the Tashua district were Samuel Gregory, Abijah Seeley, and Joseph Mallett.

Tashua school district bounds were approved at a meeting held December 8, 1795. The other school districts were also approved at that time. The new elementary school is about one-half mile from the old school and about midway from the north and south bounds of the district.

Within this district stands a historical eminence, Tashua Hill, rising 608.3 feet above sea level, which is one of the highest natural elevations along the coastline from Maine to Florida. This was an important lookout station during the War of Independence.

The name "Tashua" that has been used for 2 centuries for the school in the northwest district of Trumbull perpetuates the memory of an Indian tribe which, no doubt, lived and hunted here for hundreds of years. Tashua, the most deeply rooted name in our heritage, means much to the history and traditions of our town.

The 50th Anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK
OF NORTH DAKOTA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co. in Minot, N. Dak., recently celebrated its 50th anniversary. The occasion was reported by the Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association in their GTA Daily Radio Roundup. The reporter does an admirable job of catching the spirit of that day—the exuberance, the pride, the sense of value felt by all who participated. The Farmers Union Elevator Co. in Minot is one of the finest in the Nation as this report amply shows and I ask that the report be submitted to the RECORD at this time.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GTA DAILY RADIO ROUNDUP

(Prepared by the GTA public relations department, St. Paul, Minn.)

In Minot, N. Dak., today it seems like the whole town is turned out to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator Co. It's been a busy morning at the Minot Farmers Union Elevator meeting, with lots more to come. You ought to see the people coming into the celebration, hundreds of them. Manager Walt Abrahamson is a busy man today.

The farm people are here, men, women, and children, and townspeople too. Everybody is having a good time. The meeting itself is at the Farmers Union Hall in Minot. It's good to take time out to celebrate once in a while, and this co-op has plenty to celebrate. Looking at the financial statement we see net savings of almost $84,000 for the year and total assets for this cooperative of almost $2.5 million.

The farm people get the credit for pouring the business into the elevator to make this possible, but no co-op or any other business gets very far without good, aggressive leadership. That's where the Board of Directors comes in, and the manager, that all-important guy who calls the shots as he sees them. And they've all got to be hits, or darn near all of them. Walt Abrahamson has a record that any co-op manager in the Nation can envy, and that includes the managers of some very large and successful co-ops.

Speaking of leaders, one of the great farm and co-op leaders of the Nation will speak here. He is, of course, M. W. Thatcher, the veterans general manager of GTA. We wish all of you could hear his address.

So it is a tremendous and significant occasion, the golden anniversary of the Minot Farmers Union Elevator. Looking out over the grounds and office, I see people and machinery and buildings, and hear talk of events and ideas. These are the things from which cooperation is built. It takes all of them, plus a thing called loyalty and another thing called determination. You can't see these last two ingredients. You can't frame them and hang them on the wall, but they are here at Minot. You can feel them so strongly that you can almost touch them, and say, "Here is loyalty and here is determination."

It's a job well done at Minot, but nobody thinks that it is time to quit. The consensus is that the co-op way is getting a good start and that the young farmers of today will build a farmer-owned spread of cooperative enterprises, co-operative businesses in the all-American sense from the farm to the receiving docks of the big consumer industries. What better place to have the foundation of these great cooperatives of the Nation of the future than in towns like Minot, N. Dak., where it all begins. It took 50 years in Minot, but what a wonderful and rewarding span of years it has been.

Project Aware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, a very interesting and valuable project, "Project Aware," has been undertaken by Mr. John T. Crandall and the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Kensington-Wheaton, Md.

The purpose of "Project Aware" is to explore publicly the problems of today's youth through radio and television discussion shows, lectures, question and answer sessions, and newspaper articles. Its objectives are to publicize the need for greater parental and teen involvement in the prevention of juvenile delinquency; to provide opportunities for discussion of programs to prevent and combat delinquency; and to publicize constructive activities and achievements of youth groups and individuals.

"Project Aware" began with a series of five 45-minute weekly radio programs on WAVA, featuring audience participation via telephone. From this start, which generated more calls per program than could be handled, the program has grown tremendously, and has gained support from many civic groups and prominent citizens of Montgomery County and Maryland. Its supporters to date include county and State officials, juvenile professional workers, radio and TV stations, newspapers, YMCA and YWCA, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, other voluntary agencies, and industry.

I would like to include in the RECORD the following examples of support for this imaginative and fast-growing project:

[From the Bethesda-Chevy Chase (Md.) Tribune, Apr. 30, 1965]

GOOD JAYCEE PROJECT

Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees are doing a good job with their "Project Aware," designed to publicize the need for greater parental involvement in the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

There's no one answer to juvenile delinquency, we suppose, but if just one could be listed, "parent concern" would undoubtedly be it.

Latest step in the jaycees' "aware" program is participation in station WAVA's "Crackerbarrel" program every Thursday from 12:15 to 1 p.m., with Rex Smith, a Jaycee and probation officer of the Montgomery County juvenile court and several area youths taking part.

First subject for discussion, when program premiered yesterday, was "What Role Parents Can Play in Preventing Delinquency" and, after giving their ideas on the subject, the boys answered questions submitted by the listeners.

The program will continue for 5 weeks and if it can awaken even a few adults to their responsibilities, it will have been worthwhile. And we're happy to see the jaycees, most of them still young enough to remember the problems of teenage, tackle the juvenile delinquency problem.

If enough members of the community express the same concern, we may be able to turn some of this aggressive behavior on the part of our youngsters into more constructive channels. They've got to kick up their heels a bit, we know, but some of them are going way too far beyond the bounds of pranks.

[From the Maryland News, May 6, 1965]

JAYCEES SPONSOR RADIO PROGRAM

The Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees on April 22 kicked off "Project Aware," a series of five weekly broadcasts exploring the problem of today's youth.

The initial broadcast featured Rex Smith, chairman of the K-W Jaycee Youth Development Committee, and a probation officer with the Montgomery County juvenile court.

Also expressing their ideas on "What Role Parents Can Play in Preventing Juvenile Delinquency" were Dennis Ethier, 16, of 9511 Sawinaw Avenue, Silver Spring, from Eastern Junior High; Bruce Walter, 17, of 2909 Blueridge Avenue, Wheaton, from Wheaton High; and Skip Arthur, of Arlington, from Stratford Junior High.

The series will continue over Radio Station WAVA on Thursdays from 12:15 to 1 p.m. for another 2 weeks.

PEOPLE'S COURT FOR JUVENILE
CAUSES OF MONTGOMERY COUNTY,
Rockville, Md., September 24, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
Chairman, Maryland Jaycees, "Project Aware," Wheaton, Md.

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: Pursuant to our recent conversations in reference to the "Project Aware" which is being sponsored by the Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees, I wish to congratulate you and the Jaycees for this very well conceived and practical approach to the important problem of school dropouts. I am enthusiastic about this program and wish to assure you of the cooperation of our court in every possible way.

I am most pleased that the program has been approved by your State organization for expansion so that it may become a statewide endeavor. It is my hope that it will meet with such success in our State that it may become a nationwide undertaking.

The Jaycees as a community service organization is particularly well qualified to have a positive impact upon the teenage boys in the community who for various reasons have lost their incentive for further education. I am confident that the design of approach to this problem which you have formulated will result in having many boys stay in school who are on the verge of discontinuing their education and also to motivate those who have left school to return.

Please feel free to call upon me and the personnel of the court for any help that we can give you in this most worthwhile and commendable endeavor.

With very best wishes and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

ALFRED D. NOYES,
Judge.

WHEATON HIGH SCHOOL,
Wheaton, Md., September 30, 1965.

MARYLAND JAYCEES, "PROJECT AWARE."

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: For the past 6 months I have followed your program "Project Aware" with keen interest. I believe the interest you are creating for the positive aspects of youth and their problems is most noteworthy. I fully support your practical and realistic approach to the problem of dropouts. I believe the list of topics you have explored to date timely, well stated and very appropriate to all teenagers.

May I congratulate you and the Jaycee organization, both the Kensington-Wheaton chapter for initiating the project, and the State organization for adopting the project as part of their statewide program. The work you are doing in helping youngsters with their immediate problems and helping their parents really understand these problems will go far in helping all youths as they mature.

Please feel free to call upon me and the personnel from Wheaton High School for any help we can give you with your "Project Aware."

Sincerely,

EUGENE P. MORAN,
Principal.

MONTGOMERY COUNTY, MD.,
Rockville, October 8, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
State Chairman, Maryland Jaycess,
Wheaton, Md.

DEAR MR. CRANDALL: Thank you for providing me with information relative to the program "Project Aware" which the Maryland Jaycees are conducting to counter juvenile delinquency.

I am particularly impressed with the facet which provides the juveniles an opportunity via radio to express their ideas relative to the causes and possible remedies for juvenile delinquent conditions. I am sure the teenagers have intimate knowledge of the conditions which tend to cause juvenile delinquency, and I believe they will be frank in outlining these conditions to the benefit of the parents and others vitally concerned.

I wish to congratulate members of the Kensington-Wheaton Jaycees for the initiative and interest they have shown in producing a most worthwhile approach to the problem which is of immediate concern to residents of the county, but in a broader sense, to the entire country.

I am pleased to be advised that the Maryland Jaycees have endorsed and will support the program. Should it develop that members of the Montgomery County Police Department can be of assistance, please advise me.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES S. MCAULIFFE,
Superintendent.

WTOP RADIO,
Washington, D.C., October 14, 1965.

Mr. JOHN T. CRANDALL,
Chairman, Maryland Jaycees "Project Aware,"
Wheaton, Md.

DEAR JOHN: Aware as I am of the dozens of community-minded activities your jaycees engage in, I am prompted to label your Kensington-Wheaton group's latest efforts the most important and far-reaching endeavor you've yet undertaken.

To damn all juveniles is easy. To recognize their innate and potential worth is something else again. And to inspire and uplift them as your "Project Aware" is designed to do is a service that merits all our attention and support. The concept is most admirable and I congratulate you for inaugurating it, just as I hope to share in enlarging upon it by whatever means are at my disposal.

With cordial good wishes,

LEW MARTIN.

North Carolina Grange Selects Harold D. Cooley as Man of the Year 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN
OF NORTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, our able and beloved colleague, the Honorable HAROLD D. COOLEY, chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, has been named by the North Carolina State Grange as "Man of the Year for 1965."

This is, indeed, a signal honor.

The National Grange is the oldest and one of the proudest and most respected national farm organizations. The North Carolina State Grange, with Mrs. Harry B. Caldwell its master, is a great constituent unit of the National Grange, working constantly to achieve a parity position for agriculture and for the well-being of the farm families of our State.

I salute HAROLD COOLEY for the deserving honor and I commend the Grange for the wisdom of its selection. With the permission of the House I am inserting in the RECORD, at this point, the North Carolina State Grange citation of HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY:

THE NORTH CAROLINA STATE GRANGE PROUDLY RECOGNIZES HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY AS THE MAN OF THE YEAR FOR 1965

HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY, native of Nash County, where he owns farms and maintains his residence, is a 7th degree member of the Grange, and the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture in the Congress of the United States.

He was educated in the public schools of Nash County, the Law School of the University of North Carolina and Yale University; served in the Aviation Flying Corp during World War I; married Madeline Matilda Strickland in 1923; practiced law in Nash County; and was elected to the 73d Congress on July 7, 1934, a position he has filled during the past 31 years.

His assignment to the House Committee on Agriculture in 1934 marked the first time in more than 100 years that a Representative from North Carolina had served on this important committee. Since that time he has been its honored chairman during the 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and the current session of the 89th Congress, which is a record not equaled by any other individual.

During his tenure in office he has been a strong supporter of programs to perpetuate the family farm and to assure farmers of parity of income and services with other segments of the economy. He believes that a prosperous agriculture is essential to the welfare of the Nation and that no program can succeed unless it is fair to farm and city people alike.

Congressman COOLEY played a prominent role in developing the Agricultural Adjustment Act, price supports, crop insurance, the soil conservation program, rural electric and telehpone programs, reorganization of the Farm Credit System, farm security, and other measures which gave rural America the benefit of electric power and brought agriculture out of the depression of the 1930's. Under these programs, farmers received 100 percent of parity for 11 consecutive years prior to 1953.

He sponsored legislation creating the Farmers Home Administration, championed programs to expand foreign markets for farm commodities, led battles in the Congress against efforts to destroy farm programs, and introduced and guided to enactment the farm legislation initiated by the administration during the 87th and 88th sessions of Congress. Tobacco and cotton growers will be forever indebted to him for his role in developing the programs that have been invaluable to producers and the industry alike in North Carolina.

He demonstrated his skill and ability again by piloting the new omnibus farm bill through the current session of Congress so that the producers of cotton, tobacco, wheat, feed grains, dairy, and other products are assured of stable markets and a reasonable return for their capital and labor.

For these and other achievements, the North Carolina State Grange is proud to recognize HAROLD DUNBAR COOLEY as the Man of the Year for 1965 at its 37th annual convention in Raleigh, N.C., on this 22d day of October 1965.

MRS. HARRY B. CALDWELL,
Master, North Carolina State Grange.

Independence Day of Czechoslovakia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK J. LAUSCHE
OF OHIO
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LAUSCHE. Mr. President, geography has placed Czechoslovakia in the heart of central Europe, and the Czechs as well as Slovaks have been very much in the center of European affairs. The native home of John Huss and Comenius, of Masaryk and Benes, Czechoslovakia was overrun and dominated by foreigners during most of modern times. Before the First World War Czechoslovakia was part of the polyglot Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy. However, alien rule could not subdue the spirit of independence among these indomitable Czechs and Slovaks. Trained in the school of adversity under the leadership of true patriots, they vowed to fight during the war years of 1914–18 for the attainment of their political independence. During those trying years they earned the sympathy of the democratic world in support of their national cause. Then, on October 28, 1918, they proclaimed their independence.

Unhappily this much-deserved and well-earned independence was not destined to last long. Czechoslovakia became one of the first victims of the Second World War. In 1939 it was partitioned among its three neighbors—Germany, Poland, and Hungary. After the Second World War the country was reconstituted once again. But the Czechoslovak's hopes of preserving and enjoying their regained freedom and independence turned out to be quite illussory. In 1948 the independence of Czechoslovakia was again smothered by totalitarian dictatorship, this time in the guise of communism. The Kremlin's Communist regime could not tolerate Czechoslovakia's independence, and the Soviet Government saw to it that these sturdy and freedom-loving people were once more robbed of their liberty.

Today the people of Czechoslovakia live under totalitarian Communist tyranny. Even though there have been modifications in Soviet policy in the past few years, still the Czechoslovak people detest the Communist yoke imposed upon them by the Kremlin as bitterly as ever. On their independence day we wish them patience and fortitude in their struggle for their freedom.

Comments on Americanism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, if Americans have been somewhat apathetic to the tragedy of certain of our citizens conducting the so-called draft-card burning demonstrations and other activities such as sending blood to the Communist Vietcong which are so repugnant to the American conscience, I would say today that such apathy has dissolved.

An excellent example of the forthright and expressive response to our national heritage and traditions in time of crisis comes from an editorial written and aired by Ross E. Case, general manager of radio station KWAT in Watertown, S. Dak.

Mr. President, Mr. Case's editorial is worth the reading time of every American—it bring back into perspective the real values which are involved in this topsy-turvy world in which the Communist aggressors sometimes are successfully able to present their efforts to subjugate free peoples under the curious and entirely inaccurate version of being programs for peace. I request the editorial be made a part of the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

COMMENTS ON AMERICANISM

(By Ross E. Case, KWAT general manager)

The following should be considered a KWAT editorial—perhaps it sounds more like it might be a sermon. This is Ross Case speaking. These comments are brought about because of the story that I read on my noon newscast of yesterday, which I hope that many of you heard. I'd like to repeat that story first of all:

"The New York World-Telegram said today an antidraft group known as the May second movement is sending blood, first aid supplies, and money to the Communist Vietcong. The movement was among those involved in recent demonstrations against the war in Vietnam. The report said a blood donor drive has been organized in the movement's west coast chapter, and blood and first aid material already has been shipped to North Vietnam. The paper said the New York chapter plans to send blood donated by its members and send the money to the Vietcong through the Algerian National Liberation Front. The report said the movement has 17 chapters across the country, with the New York City chapter having 200 members.

"The paper also quoted one Columbia University student—identified as a member of the May second movement—as indicating that the movement in Michigan is training volunteers to join the Communist forces in Vietnam. The student, when asked about the report, was quoted as saying: 'That's not far from the truth.'" So much for the story. It's time for the average, decent, red-blooded American to stand up and be counted. Do you or do you not believe in the concept of liberty and justice, tempered with faith in those who lead our country and have the authority to direct our actions. Isn't it time to quit snickering about being a flag waver and really show our patriotism.

I challenge every veteran's organization to become militantly aggressive in the purpose of bringing home to the people, especially our younger people, the need for military preparedness. I challenge the fraternal organizations such as the Elks, the Masons, the Eagles, and others who stress Americanism in their rituals, to give it more than lipservice. I challenge the civic organizations, business firms and individuals of this community, to put God and country above business in observance of patriotic holidays, to help drive home the principles of democracy that guide our country. I challenge the churches to preach to their congregations: Why the need for relief in what our country stands for. I challenge the youth group leaders; such as Scouting, FFA, YCL, Hi-Yi, and all the rest, to make Americanism and an understanding of loyalty to country and constituted authority, a major portion of its regular programing and instruction. I challenge the teachers to educate our students from the very beginning about our country and what it represents. I challenge the young people of our area to think clearly and honestly about their future. They have no place to go if they don't believe in the principles of the American way that history and tradition have created. And, most of all, I challenge you parents to undertake the task that is your most solemn obligation—that of guiding your youngsters by experience and example. If you don't believe in what our flag stands for, if you don't participate to the fullest extent in the practice of democracy, if you let someone else do the job of protecting your rights; then don't expect your youngsters to be any different than you. Someone has got to tell these young people why they have to expect to face sacrifices in behalf of their country. Someone has got to get across to them the reasons for respecting authority and discipline. Someone has got to give them enough faith and belief in that which is right so that they can't be hoodwinked and misled by fuzzy thinking and deliberate subterfuge. And, parents, that someone has got to be you.

Patriotism, love of our flag and country, respect for the rights of others—these are the lessons that must be taught at home. They have to be started young and they have to be told often. The attitude and approach-to-thinking on the matter of serving our country and accepting our responsibilities has sunk to a new low. Our apathy and evasive stand on the problems facing the United States in our conflict with our enemies are hard to comprehend.

Somebody, somewhere has got to start the ball rolling. Somebody, somewhere has got to fire up a very tiny flame that at one time was bright enough and warm enough to create the greatest country in the history of the world. There's no reason why that somebody can't be you and I. There's no reason why that somebody must not be you and I.

Take the time to think about it and you'll suddenly realize that time is running out on our way of life. If that's the way you want it to be, keep on doing what you've been doing. As for me, I'm joining the parades—I'm going to wave the flag—I'm going to sing the "Star-Spangled Banner." Are you ashamed to join me? I don't believe so. But, just nodding your head in agreement, talking about it over the coffee cup this morning and forgetting it—that's not going to improve the situation. You've got organizations you beyong to. There are people who will listen to you. Most of all, you have kids that need your instruction and example. Let's get on with our job of being acting, active, aggressive and proud Americans. And, let's show the light of truth to those around us who aren't too sure about it all.

Finally, here's a comment written by a Peter E. Gianutsos, an American officer serving in Vietnam. I'd like to read his comments:

"A legacy of ignorance: Time was when a boy went to college to study law, medicine, engineering or one of the arts. And girls went to get their Mrs. degree. But, that was in the past. Today's crop of college cut-ups are no longer content to swallow gold fish, crowd themselves into telephone booths, or foreign cars. They now insist on dictating Government policies and are ready to parade, demonstrate or sit in at the drop of a cause.

"The latest gimmick among these intellectual midgets is a campaign to urge all members of the Armed Forces to desert their posts rather than serve in Vietnam.

"As a member of the race that started this democracy kick (quick, Socrates, the hemlock) I have no quarrel with the right of the individual to voice his opinions. However, the hysterical babbling of these bourgeois boors, borders on sedition if not treason. I leave that to the legal eagles in the Justice Department. It is a sad day indeed when the words honor, duty, and country have come to mean so little. As a member of the military family, I have spent the better part of my adult life in the Saigons of the world. It never occurred to me to disobey an order, to question the right of my Government to send me anywhere to protect and preserve its interests.

"Like a lot of us here, I have had occasion to be at the base theater during one of the daily memorial services, and I have witnessed the loud music, the slow walking, and heard the soft prayers for those to whom fygmo charts and rotation dates are no longer important. I muttered my own prayer, as well as giving silent thanks that it was not me inside that metal box. As I stood there, I remembered the preachings of these mentally retarded adults and my compassion for a dead man turned to shame, and finally anger, that they dared to ask me to prostitute my profession, ask me to bring dishonor to myself, to my service, and to my country.

"It is difficult enough to understand when the more learned citizenry take the rostrum to rant and rave against our Government, and thereby feed the propaganda mills to the north, but to be subjected to the meaningless chatter of many of these imbecilic sloths, whose idea of bravery is to lead a panty raid, is more than human dignity can bear.

"It has been suggested that they all be drafted and brought to Vietnam. I could not agree less. To put these morons in a uniform is to insult the memory of those who never came back from Guadalcanal, Pork Chop Hill, or, those who did not survive the Brinks BOQ bombing or the VC attack on the Embassy. Instead, clean them up, cut their hair, take away their sweat shirts, and sneakers and bring them to Vietnam to live among the people. Let them expound their theories about the kind, gentle missunderstood VC among the villagers whose homes were destroyed and their meager rice crop stolen. Let them talk about war mongering to the widow of a Vietnamese Army private who earns her rice and fish as a prostitute, or, with the village woman who lost a hand, one finger at a time, to

Vietcong terrorists because she dared to stand up for what she believed was right.

"Draft them into the military? Never. Ours is a proud organization, made up of men and women who have ideals and principals, and what's even more important, men and women who have the courage and the will to live up to those beliefs. They take great pride in themselves, in their uniforms and in their nation, qualities that campus cuties have yet to acquire. Until they do, they will never belong. Their voice will be that of the semieducated half-baked idiot and the fool who will leave behind only a legacy of shame, dishonor, and disgrace."

These last comments by Peter E. Gianutson, an American officer serving in Vietnam.

And this is the sermon for this morning.

Richard Aldrich Decorated With Brazilian Order of the Southern Cross

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, I had the honor of being present at the Embassy of Brazil when Mr. Richard Aldrich was decorated with the Brazilian Order of the Southern Cross by former Ambassador Juracy Magalhaes.

A dedicated friend of Brazil, Mr. Aldrich is associated with the International Basic Economy Corp., and has served as president of the Brazilian Center in New York City.

Governor and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller were present to witness the moving ceremony of friendship between our two nations, and the Governor presented a specially commissioned portrait of Lord Nelson to the Sao Paulo Art Museum, of which the Governor has long been a patron. The portrait was commissioned from the British artist Graham Sutherland by the former Brazilian Ambassador to Great Britain, Assis Chateaubriand. Ambassador Chateaubriand made the taxing journey from Brazil to be present at the ceremony. His remarks during the ceremony revealed the high integrity and deep insight of this outstanding Brazilian statesman.

The occasion had special meaning because of the imminent departure of Ambassador Magalhaes to return to his country as Minister of Justice. The Ambassador rendered distinguished service here and I am sure that my colleagues join me in wishing him well in his new post.

It was a splendid evening, worthy of the great friendship between our two nations. Under unanimous consent, I include at this point in the RECORD Ambassador Magalhaes' remarks in presenting the award to Mr. Aldrich and Mr. Aldrich's reply:

REMARKS OF AMBASSADOR MAGALHAES

Mr. Justice Stewart, Governor and Mrs. Rockefeller, distinguished American and Brazilian friends, my dear friend, Ambassador Garin, my beloved friend, Assis Chateaubriand, ladies and gentlemen, it gives me great pleasure to welcome here so many distinguished American and Brazilian guests, who join me in honoring a good and long-standing friend of my country, Mr. Richard Aldrich. I would like to express my deep gratification for the presence of Justice Potter Stewart and convey to him the high regard in which we all hold the great judiciary institution of which he is a respected member.

I deem myself fortunate to have here tonight so many members and friends of the Rockefeller family. The presence of Gov. Nelson Rockefeller cannot fail to evoke among my countrymen the memory of the services rendered by the Governor to the cause of closer relations between the United States and Brazil in times of war and peace. They were and are so numerous that out of consideration for his well-known modesty, I will refrain from relating them. Tonight, he renders a further service to the cause of Brazilian-American friendship by making the formal presentation of the portrait of Adm. Lord Nelson to Washington society. This valuable painting, commissioned from the renowned British contemporary artist, Graham Sutherland, is another major contribution from that admirable and tireless fellow citizen of mine, Ambassador Assis Chateaubriand, to the enrichment of the São Paulo Art Museum, one of the outstanding achievements of his creative genius.

The drives for the development of civil aviation, for child welfare, and for the progress of the press, radio, and television in Brazil, are only a few of the many patriotic-minded and enduring initiatives of a dedicated and public-spirited Brizilian. The greatest, however, of his services to Brazil, has been the admirable courage he has shown in face of adversity by overcoming the illness which tries to keep his wings from soaring into even higher flights in the service of his country.

We pay tribute to the Rockefeller tradition of selfless public service and enlightened private enterprise, in the person of Mr. Richard Aldrich. His close association with my country dates back to the Second World War, when as a captain in the 5th Army, he was assigned to train Brazilian soldiers of the Brazilian Expeditionary Force on the Italian front. The next 20 years of his life, spent partly in my country, show a record of unbroken connection with Brazil. One of his five children, William Stuart Aldrich, is a Brazilian-born national. He has held with distinction many stewardships, among them the Chairmanship of the Brazilian Institute in New York, and the honorary presidency of the Brazilian Center in that city, sharing with Mrs. Aldrich the burdensome social activiteis of that useful organization. As manager in Brazil of the International Basic Economy Corp.'s many ventures into agricultural research, and the development of a mutual funds investment company, the largest in the country, he has lived up to the high standards set by the Rockefellers in my country.

I have the privilege of having as cohosts of this double occasion, their Excellencies Octavio Gouveia de Bulhões and Raymundo de Britto, Ministers of State for Finance and Public Health, as well as other many distinguished friends, among whom is His Excellency the Ambassador of Portugal, who represents a country so dear and close to us. As close, if I may say so as is Great Britain to the United States; all three countries represented here tonight, doing honor to an American and a great British hero.

I take great pleasure in presenting to Mr. Richard Aldrich as a token of the gratitude of Brazil, the highest honor which my country bestows upon a non-Brazilian—the Order of the Southern Cross in the rank of chevalier. This gesture by my Government is a further link in the chain of good friendship between our two countries and our two governments, united in the struggle for the preservation of peace, economic development and social progress everywhere.

REMARKS OF MR. RICHARD S. ALDRICH, BRAZILIAN EMBASSY, WASHINGTON, D.C., SEPTEMBER 30, 1965

I would like to begin my remarks with the opening lines of a Brazilian poem:

"I looked for my love at all corners,
But the corners were all round."

These are the words of that distinguished Brazilian poetess, Dora Vasconcellos, who is here tonight, I hope. I came across these words in her book "Surdina Do Contemplado" and I was struck by the haunting quality, but at the same time by the simplicity with which she described the terrible futility of the lives of many.

The terrible futility of those who have not and will not. Two-thirds of the people of the world today are in this state. And the free world, as it attempts to deal with this problem, is faced with its greatest challenge.

Yet, in the spirit of the Irmãos Leme I have had the privilege to deal with perhaps the most ingenious pioneering device dealing with this problem, that has come upon the scene in many years. Roger Blough at San Francisco said that the most interesting recent development in the field of economics is the multinational corporation. I would like to ask, how about the multinational corporation that deals with the needs of man?

A corporation that builds houses at prices within the reach of the working class. A corporation that has brought agricultural techniques to some of the underdeveloped nations of the world, techniques that have helped to make Brazil an exporter of corn. A corporation that, in bringing the techniques of food distribution to some of the lesser developed nations, has reduced the cost of food as much as 40 percent. A corporation that has developed a chicken whose conversion of grain to protein has supplied a food product which promises to make a dramatic contribution to the feeding of millions. A corporation whose contribution in the field of finance in these same areas has permitted the small wage earner to stand beside the industrialist in ownership of the gross national product. These are the characteristics of that corporation which I have the privilege to serve and had the opportunity to lead in Brazil.

For this privilege I am receiving the Cruzeiro do Sul from a country whose people have perhaps more to offer the world in terms of understanding of problems than any other.

Our Ambassador said to your country, at the end of the parliamentary debate which terminated slavery: "Your 4 days of debate have accomplished more than we in 4 years of civil war."

It is no coincidence that Brazilians fought in Italy, where I had the privilege of serving with them—nor that Brazil was in Korea—nor that on the day of the announcement of our intervention in Santo Domingo, Brazil was on our side and remains there at the head of the OAS effort to bring reason out of chaos—nor that Brazil has been on the side of right in the United Nations time after time.

Mr. Ambassador, I am receiving this decoration more gratefully than I can express, but also in the humility of one who has been so fortunate as to be singled out.

I use the word "humility" because if it were not for men like Marek Lubomirski and Hans Horch, who worked with me and respectively succeeded me in the leadership of IBEC-Brazil—both of whom are here—I would not be here. Without the guidance of men like Dr. Theodore Quartim Barbosa, Ambassador Walther Moreira Salles, Robert Purcell, Paulo Reis de Magalhães, Thomaz Saraiva Przirembel, to mention a few, I would have been lost. I would also like to thank Miss Clelia Moraes for her patience—which is

exceeded only by that of my wife and my four children.

But, Mr. Ambassador, I must also thank you for being so generous as to let me bring so many of my family, my brother and two sisters, as well as members of my wife's family and many of my friends. And I must reserve a different sense of gratitude to Nelson Rockefeller for the two ideas: that of IBEC and that of having me with it.

Thank you.

Civic Responsibility—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, last year I had the opportunity to present to the Members of this body the report by the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, located in my city of Cleveland, on the book "None Dare Call It Treason," which at that time caused great controversy in our Nation.

It has again come to my attention that the book is again receiving wide distribution on college campuses throughout the United States. In light of the increasing circulation of this book and continuing interest in the academic basis for the assertions made in this book, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility has seen fit to release an additional study of the book.

It is my hope that this study which follows will be of some use to people throughout the country. I shall publish the report in two parts, the first of which follows:

REPORT OF NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

1. On August 10, 1965, the American Educational League circulated a letter asking for tax-deductible contributions for the purpose of distributing 500,000 copies of "None Dare Call It Treason" to students on approximately 700 college campuses.

The books were to be distributed free of charge in October 1965, so that students might participate in an essay contest in which the Americanism Educational League will award over $6,000 in prizes.

While the letter states that students will be "encouraged to consider" material critical of as well as favorable to "None Dare Call It Treason," the sponsors make their own strong bias in favor of the book very clear. In addition, no provision is indicated for the distribution of critical material along with the book.

2. On September 10, 1964, the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's report on "None Dare Call It Treason" was inserted into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by Representative CHARLES A. VANIK, of Ohio. The NCCR report received wide coverage in most major newspapers and requests were received by the NCCR and by Representative VANIK's office for almost 4 million reprints.

3. Prominent Republican and Democratic spokesmen denounced the book and the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee cited it as one of the major abuses in the 1964 election campaign. Since all candidates for national elective office formally pledge themselves to abide by the standards set forth by the National Fair Campaign Practices Committee, that body's letter to the NCCR is quoted herewith:

FAIR CAMPAIGN
PRACTICES COMMITTEE, INC.,
New York, N.Y., October 23, 1964.

Mr. THOMAS C. WESTROPP,
Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR MR. WESTROPP: I am very grateful, both personally and for the Fair Campaign Practices Committee, for your permission to reprint the National Committee for Civic Responsibility's review of John Stormer's "None Dare Call It Treason."

Our election issue of Fair Comment tried to take on all the major campaign abuses, both those affecting Senator Goldwater and those against President Johnson. We devoted considerable effort to gathering the best material on these subjects; and we found that the committee's review of the Stormer book was by far the fairest and most painstaking. We have been gratified that such responsible (and impeccable) conservatives as Russell Kirk and John Chamberlain have written briefly of the invalid documentation you so fairly and carefully exposed.

I am enclosing several copies of Fair Comment, as well as some information on our committee. May we again thank you for cooperation.

With every good wish, I am
Sincerely yours,

CHARLES P. TAFT,
Chairman.

4. The NCCR also received many rebuttals. Most of these were from individuals; some were from unorganized ad-hoc committees; a very small number came from newspapers and other publications; one was from the Young Americans for Freedom; and John A. Stormer, author of "None Dare Call It Treason," issued a 16-page pamphlet entitled "Anatomy of a Smear." This report will comment briefly on these rebuttals, but Stormer's own publication will be examined in detail.

5. "Anatomy of a Smear":

A. Like "None Dare Call It Treason," this 16-page pamphlet was published by Liberty Bell Press. On September 8, 1964, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published a news item about Liberty Bell Press, excerpts from which are quoted below:

"John A. Stormer has been in violation of the Missouri law on registration of fictitious names since February of this year, Proscuting Attorney Daniel V. O'Brien, of St. Louis County, said today. 'There is no question whatsoever about Liberty Bell Press, Post Office Box 32, Florissant, Mo., being a fictitious name and there is no question that Stormer has been in violation of the law for a long period of time,' O'Brien said. 'I presume he registered because he learned he was under investigation for this violation. We had the choice of issuing a warrant against Stormer or of warning him and giving him a chance to comply with the law. We elected to follow the latter course, and I wrote him informing him to comply with the law within 1 week. Otherwise, I told him we would proceed against him.'"

The article went on to say that Stormer had previously attempted to register under the Fictitious Names Act several months earlier but that his check had been returned because the law required that a street address be furnished. Stormer had not listed a street address, only a Post Office Box and "Liberty Bell Press" apparently had no street address to furnish.

B. Since Stormer's pamphlet does not have numbered pages for easy reference, this report will attempt to consider his rebuttals in the order that they are presented.

C. At the outset, Stormer implied that this committee is variously a "button-pushing agency" for the Communist conspiracy, a leftwing organization or, at the very least, the tool of the Democratic Party. He did not make the kind of direct charges which would be legally actionable but the implications are clear. The only evidence he cited to substantiate those implications is that: (1) This committee "received editorial coverage in the official Communist Worker almost immediately after formation"; and (2) "an article in the Cleveland Press on September 19, 1964, points out that the NCCR was formed early this year to fight hate shortly after the Communist press in the United States called for the formation of such groups."

The fact is that this committee did not receive editorial coverage in the Worker. Since Stormer published the article in question, it would normally be obvious to any reader that this was a matter-of-fact news story, neither favorable nor critical. Stormer sought to obscure this publishing on the same page but in smaller type an editorial from the Worker about a different organization which used a similar name but which was formed 10 months later and which has since disbanded. As for the item which Stormer identified as being from the Cleveland Press, it was in fact the statements made by the John Birch Society coordinator for the State of Ohio as reported in the Cleveland Press. He identified himself in that article only as the director of the American Opinion Library which many people do not recognize as the designation given to the John Birch Society bookstores.

Now that the charges made in that article have been identified as emanating not from the Cleveland Press, but from the John Birch Society, the only refutation necessary is to say that the charges are false. The Cleveland Press itself had something quite different to say about this committee. The following editorial appeared in that newspaper on November 14, 1964:

"CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

"The small voice of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility, born less than a year ago in Cleveland, was raised and heard in the incredible din of the presidential campaign just ended.

"In September NCCR described as a fraud the John Stormer rightist book 'None Dare Call It Treason,' which had been accepted by many people as a scholarly proof that this Nation's statesmen, judges, clergy, schoolmasters and journalists had been Communist dedicated or duped since the 1930's.

"NCCR traced back a few of the 'scholarly' references Stormer cited and found them to be quite unscholarly and shaky foundations for this remarkable nonsense.

"The sparkplugs of NCCR have been Hal Steigman, its originator, and Thomas Westropp, executive vice president of the Women's Federal Savings & Loan Association, NCCR's president. They have been attacked by the far leftists and far rightists, as was to be expected.

"They have courageously continued their course, which is to expose any individual or organization that uses innuendo, calumny, distortion, lies or violence in attempts to shape public opinion."

The Press is Cleveland's afternoon and evening daily newspaper. Cleveland's morning and Sunday newspaper is the Plain Dealer. On November 24, 1964, the following editorial appeared in that newspaper:

"YEAR OF BALANCE

"First anniversary of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility is being marked today—a year in which this organization has served the cause of truth and justice exceedingly well.

"It has also been a year in which the individuals who had the courage to speak out about hatemongers were subjected to abuse from extremists of the right and the left. That they continued their efforts is to their credit and to this community's benefit. That the NCCR has been eminently successful is

illustrated most emphatically by the nature of those who have attacked the Cleveland-based group now known nationally.

"The anniversary is a tribute to the zeal of Hal Steigman, who conceived the idea of the NCCR and served as its first executive secretary, and to Thomas C. Westropp, president of the NCCR, and to other members.

"As the Plain Dealer commented editorially on December 24, 1963, the NCCR was faced with the necessity of 'walking a tightrope' if it was to achieve its goals. It has, in the Plain Dealer's opinion, maintained that necessary balance, wavering neither to the right nor to the left but walking the tighrope of truth."

D. Stormer stated that his rebuttal had not been issued in order to defend his book against the NCCR report. He claimed that an objective look at the history of the last 20 years attests to the accuracy of his charges and that, therefore, no attempt will be made to justify every comma and correct every misspelling or typographical error in the book. The NCCR report did not, of course, note any errors of that kind. For this reason, Stormer stated, he would not dispute point by point the charges made against his book in the NCCR report, but would instead answer a few of the charges to demonstrate the propaganda techniques used to discredit his book.

(1) On page 29 of "None Dare Call It Treason" Stormer stated that "half of all American uranium and the technical information needed to construct a bomb were sent to Russia." Item 6B of the NCCR report stated that "Nowhere in this reference is any mention even made about any atomic bomb information" and the NCCR report then reprinted the testimony cited by Stormer to show that Stormer's own reference did not corroborate his claim about the shipment to Russia of half of all American uranium. In rebuttal, Stormer simply ignored the bomb information issue, and admitted that half of all uranium was not shipped to Russia, but countered with the claim that all the uranium which American officials could locate was shipped to Russia. He gave no documentation for this new charge.

(2) On page 29 of "None Dare Call It Treason," Stormer charged that "in actual conduct of the war, military decisions were made, not according to the tactical needs of the day, but for the long-range political advantage of the Communist conspiracy." Item 6C of the NCCR report stated that Stormer's reference contained "nothing whatever to support this charge, nor is any mention made of such a happening." The NCCR report further stated that the reference cited seemed "to be saying quite the reverse of Stormer's allegation." In rebuttal, Stormer admits that the NCCR charges are accurate, but that he was citing this reference only to establish certain facts, and that since he had cited as his reference a liberal source, "naturally his conclusions differ."

(3) On page 126, Stormer sought to imply that G. Bromley Oxnam was a pro-Communist because he was closely associated with Dr. Harry F. Ward. Item 6D of the NCCR report stated that Stormer sought to do this by "pulling a reference out of context in order to twist it to the opposite meaning." In support of this charge, the NCCR report reprinted the entire testimony which Stormer had cited as his own reference. In rebuttal, Stormer repeated that portion of the testimony he had used in the book and claimed that the NCCR was guilty of "planned distortion" because it had reproduced the testimony in full.

(4) On page 58, Stormer charged that "weapons and ammunition were supplied to the underground in Cuba by the CIA in such a way as to insure that they could never be used." Item 6E of the NCCR report noted that since Stormer's documentation for this charge came from a biased right-wing source, that it would not necessarily have been an accurate statement if it had so charged, and that finally, the source did not say or even imply that this operation was carried out so as to insure that the weapons could never be used. In rebuttal, Stormer admits that his documentation does not bear out his implication of treason but that "whether the action was prompted by stupidity or treason matters little." This is precisely what the first NCCR report objected to: Stormer consistently labels as traitors those who do not agree with his views. To Stormer, this is apparently both fair and logical.

(5) On page 168 Stormer charged that the CIO remained under Communist control for at least 7 years after that control was exposed by congressional investigations. Item 6F of the NCCR report stated that the reference cited by Stormer did not support this allegation. In rebuttal, Stormer admits the accuracy of this charge but says that his contention is supported on the very next page (CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Sept. 22, 1950, p. A6832). The fact is that neither on that page nor on any other page of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date was the charge made that the CIO was under Communist control.

E. The above items constitute Stormer's entire rebuttal to the specific charges contained in the NCCR report. These are the items which Stormer selected to demonstrate how he had been smeared and yet in not one single instance did he even attempt to dispute the accuracy of the specific charges contained in the NCCR report. Instead, he sought through innuendo, distortion, and misrepresentation to impugn the integrity of this committee. This cannot be excused as honest error or lack of knowledge; it was a deliberate attempt to deceive.

F. Upon receipt of Stormer's pamphlet, the NCCR invited him to participate in a day-long seminar so that "under the spotlight of national publicity, your book and our evaluation of it will be critically examined." The telegram to Stormer said, in part, "In light of the serious charges that have been made, one or the other of us deserves to be held up to public ridicule and scorn * * * we are herewith providing the medium by which that can be done."

This challenge was reported in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on October 25, 1964, in the Cleveland Press on October 26, and in many other newspapers. The Post-Dispatch reported that Stormer could not be reached for comment and Stormer did not accept the NCCR invitation.

6. Most of the rebuttals received from individuals were answered briefly with the comment that this committee was not staffed to satisfy numerous individual requests which required lengthy replies. The NCCR urged these individuals to write to Stormer requesting that either he or a spokesman designated by him accept the NCCR invitation to a public seminar or debate. In every instance, this ended the correspondence.

7. Several informal ad hoc committees were formed in support of Stormer. These received the same response as did individuals. One such ad hoc committee (which described itself as a committee of prominent Catholics) prepared a lengthy rebuttal and demanded that the Diocesan newspaper which had published the NCCR report also publish their rebuttal.

The managing editor of that newspaper wrote back that he would be happy to publish a rebuttal from any group or individual who was a party to the controversy (such as Stormer or his representative). Of the rebuttal which that ad hoc committee had submitted, his letter said, "Your manuscript is not worth publishing. In our judgment it is tendentious, abusive, sophomoric and misleading. Instead of confining itself to whatever points are held to be at issue, it descends, through innuendo and insinuation, to attacks on the honesty and good faith of the authors of the (NCCR) report."

8. An editorial rebuttal was published in the Richmond News-Leader and reproduced in the rightwing publication Human Events. When the NCCR requested permission to answer that editorial, James Lucier, associate editor of that newspaper, refused to honor that request. The NCCR then asked for permission to reproduce the correspondence between Mr. Lucier and the NCCR. Mr. Lucier responded that this was private correspondence and was, therefore, not to be made public. James Lucier also writes for the John Birch Society periodical American Opinion. His articles have appeared in the following issues of that publication: May, July-August, and November of 1963; April, July-August, September, October, November of 1964; and January, February, April, June, and July-August of 1965.

9. Young Americans for Freedom:

A. The cover page of the Young Americans for Freedom's 12-page rebuttal pamphlet described the National Committee for Civic Responsibility as a new brand of smear artist—respectable and sometimes eminent individuals who under the cloak of civil responsibility did the work of the far left in defaming the conservative movement." It went on to say that this committee was one of this country's two worst offenders in tactics of "lies, distortion, and emotional appeal." On April 7, 1965 this committee wrote to the YAF requesting that they furnish substantiation or documentation for those charges. The YAF did not reply.

On June 16, 1965, this committee again requested that the YAF furnish documentation and substantiation for their charges. This letter closed with the following statement: "If this letter too brings no response from you, we can only assume that your publication knowingly and maliciously circulated material which you knew to be false and defamatory." Again the YAF did not reply despite the fact that in August 1965 their failure to reply was brought to public notice in many newspapers, including the Washington, D.C., Star, circulated in the city where their national headquarters are located.

B. The YAF rebuttal said that "Mr. Stormer does document his statements and gives matter-of-fact references to his sources, making no claims to their being authoritative." It further says that only "the jacket of the book claims it is a carefully documented story of America's retreat from victory and a careful compilation of facts from hundreds of congressional investigations and dozens of authoritative books." The rebuttal explains that Stormer himself makes no claim that his documentation is authoritative and that "for an advertising blurb this rates unusually high, in contrast to the misleading blurbs on a great many books offered by established publishers."

Since Stormer registered as the publisher of "None Dare Call It Treason" and sole owner of Liberty Bell Press under the Missouri Fictitious Names Act, he was obviously just as responsible for the advertising blurb as he was for the rest of the book. This committee considers it self-evident that Stormer meant for his readers to think that his documentation was both "careful" and "authoritative." This committee has demonstrated that it is neither.

C. YAF's rebuttal is very much like Stormer's own "Anatomy of a Smear." The NCCR sent YAF a point-by-point refutation on April 7, 1965. YAF has not replied. This report will not examine the YAF rebuttal in detail but the very last item merits special comment.

The NCCR report stated Stormer's reference 29 for chapter 8 of his book was nonexistent. Stormer admitted this saying that he could "find no clue as to how it even got into the manuscript." The YAF report claims that Stormer's reference was accurate and that the NCCR report was in error.

College Editor Defends U.S. Policy in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MORRIS K. UDALL
OF ARIZONA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, I suppose everyone knows by now that there are students on American college campuses who oppose American foreign policy in Vietnam. What may not be so well known is that the great majority of college students in this country support our military effort there and regret the demonstrations now taking place in their midst.

One evidence of this is an editorial published in the Arizona Daily Wildcat, student newspaper on the University of Arizona campus. In this editorial, the editor, Frank Sotomayor, observes that 12 Arizona students participated in the recent Vietnam day demonstration but that these protesters represented only a tiny fraction of the university's student body of 20,000.

Mr. Speaker, without objection I shall insert the editorial at this point in the Appendix:

THE LUNATIC FRINGE

America's role in the Vietnamese war has brought forth, in addition to courageous soldiers, another traditional Yankee figure—the crackpot.

We regret the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations on a national level. But we are ashamed and disheartened by their presence on our campus.

Last Saturday, 12 members of the Vietnam Day Committee (mostly students), proudly exercised their constitutional right to protest by marching through Tucson (starting at the university main gate) to condemn U.S. military intervention in Vietnam.

These local antics were part of a sickening weekend nationwide series of international days of protest sponsored by something called the National Coordinating Committee To End the War in Vietnam.

The unshaven demonstrators, mostly college students, termed American bombing of Communist North Vietnam as aggression, condemned American atrocities against the Vietnamese people and urged increased efforts to achieve a negotiated peace (mainly, by getting out—surrendering).

Placards reading "Yankee, Come Home," "Stop the Draft, Let Johnson Do the Fighting," and "Negotiate, Not Escalate" were commonly used.

Fortunately, the demonstrators were an obvious minority. Throughout the country last weekend, marchers were booed, pelted, and everywhere met by counter-demonstrations supporting the United States in this difficult time.

The agitators have not been cowed, however.

A November 27 march on Washington is planned by the National Coordinating Committee further to harass a courageous administration and to downgrade a noble cause.

Make no mistake: the demonstrations by these misfits are helping to prolong, not shorten, the Vietnam fighting. As James Reston, distinguished New York Times columnist, recently wrote:

"The Communists have not been able to challenge American air, naval, or even ground power effectively since mid-summer, but they apparently still have the hope that the demonstrations against the Johnson administration will in the end give them victory.

"Ho Chi Minh and the other Communist leaders in Hanoi remember that they defeated the French in Vietnam between 1950 and 1953 at least partly because of opposition to the war inside France."

Not only do the demonstrations invite Communist aggression abroad (as well as confusion in the minds of our allies), but they also encourage subversive activities at home.

The FBI, in its annual report issued this week, said the American Communist Party "has instructed its members to cooperate with all protest groups in order to intensify these activities and weaken the Government's position."

It is fortunate that the obnoxious weekend outbursts (which drew 70,000 participants, according to end-the-war bigwigs) have not seriously affected American morale in South Vietnam.

According to an Arizona Daily Star article, many soldiers in Vietnam refused to dignify the demonstrators by commenting on them. When asked for an opinion, a staff sergeant just spat on the ground. One soldier, however, said:

"I think the demonstrators are crazy. I don't think they know what they are talking about. I don't like it over here but it's my duty as a soldier to be here.

"They sent me over to help these people and I'm going to help them all I can. Some of those demonstrators ought to come over here and see what it is all about."

What is it all about?

It's about brave young Americans defending a tenacious country against a barbarous tyranny whose advocates in South Vietnam terrorize, mutilate, kidnap, assassinate, and steal village food and medicine in the name of "liberation."

In short, it's simply the old story of Americans defending freedom as in countless other times and places. The odds are great, as in past times, and our adversaries should be those abroad—not at home.

There should be national unity in this painful period of war and the support of a just policy which, if not followed, would lead, in Dean Rusk's words, "to further and bigger Communist aggressions in the future."

It pleases us that only a handful of students out of a campus of 20,000 saw fit to degrade the country last weekend. We sincerely hope that this fringe will remain a tiny, if still odious, part of the university.

Resolution by the Hawley Dieckhoff American Legion Post No. 33

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. RACE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, we all are aware of the undue and amplified publicity given to demonstrations against U.S. policy in Vietnam.

I think we also are aware that these demonstrators represent a very small minority of Americans. Unfortunately, publicity of equal measure is not given to the thousands of voluntary efforts and activities in support of our Vietnam policy.

It is indeed, an honor for me, therefore, to bring to the attention of the Congress the following resolution adopted by the Hawley Dieckhoff American Legion Post No. 33 of Neenah, Wis., in my district.

Post Commander Harvey Porath was good enough to send it to me.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I request that the resolution be printed in the RECORD:

Whereas the United States is now at war in Vietnam; and

Whereas the support of our Government's policy in Vietnam is the patriotic duty of all citizens; and

Whereas citizens in our armed services are now serving our national interest and deserve our wholehearted appreciation and support: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That Hawley Dieckhoff Post No. 33, the American Legion, Neenah, Wis., reaffirms its support of the U.S. policy in Vietnam and expresses the appreciation to all who serve our national interest by service in the armed services of the United States.

Civic Responsibility—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. VANIK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD at this point, the second part of the supplemental study which the National Committee for Civic Responsibility of Cleveland, Ohio, recently completed on the book "None Dare Call It Treason."

In this part, additional data is brought to light concerning political support of "None Dare Call It Treason" by certain organizations in the United States. In addition, the background of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility has again stated publicly letters of commendation and support for the NCCR which are included to further validate the usefulness of the National Committee for Civic Responsibility.

The second part of the supplemental study follows:

10. Distribution:

In "Anatomy of a Smear" Stormer charged that this Nation's news media had engaged in a conspiracy of silence against his book "hoping that it would die as have so many other anti-Communist books in the last 20 years."

"It didn't work this time," wrote Stormer, "because instead of relying on the normal channels of distribution, a pricing structure and marketing concept was developed which has enabled concerned Americans to place large quantities of this book in the hands of their friends, relatives, neighbors, etc."

That pricing structure and marketing concept is examined below:

A. In most cases, this was simply a euphemism for distribution by the John Birch Society. In Cleveland, as elsewhere, even the newsstand distributors received their copies through the local heads of the John Birch Society. The massive distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" was made an official project for members of the John Birch Society in that organization's July 1964 bulletin. The books were to be purchased directly from the national headquarters of the

John Birch Society for that purpose at 20 cents per copy.

The Americanism Educational League's plans for a massive free distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" was announced on August 10, 1965. The August 1965 bulletin of the John Birch Society advised all members that they were to receive five free copies of that book for distribution to their young friends and a coupon was sent to each member redeemable for five free copies at their nearest American Opinion bookstore. The September 1965 bulletin of the John Birch Society advised all members that each chapter was being sent an additional 25 free copies for distribution to college students of their choice.

B. Substantial quantities of "None Dare Call It Treason" were distributed by the members of such rightwing organizations as the Young Americans for Freedom, the Organization To Fight Communism and by such disreputable racist organizations as the National States Rights Party.

C. A few respectable organizations also distributed the book. By far the most prominent and most active among these were numerous posts and districts of the American Legion, although the American Legion did not authorize such distribution under its auspices.

In most places across the country such distribution was unopposed, but it might be instructive to quote an example of what happened when opposition did develop.

In August of 1964, a notice was circulated on American Legion letterheads stating that the Lake County, Ohio, District of the American Legion was sponsoring an essay contest in the Lake County public schools on the patriotic book "None Dare Call It Treason." On September 2, 1964, the Cleveland Plain Dealer reported that at least three of the five members of the committee which had initiated the project, including its chairman, were followers of the John Birch Society. (The chairman was, in fact, a chapter leader of the Birch Society.)

Other Legionaires now protested the project and on September 3, the Plain Dealer editorially stated that Birch Society control of an American Legion Americanism project was an improper link.

On September 8, Ohio American Legion Commander Vernon E. Allen ordered the project abandoned and stated that it had been mounted without Legion knowledge or approval and that, furthermore, this committee of the American Legion was not empowered to mount such projects.

Subsequently, a rightwing organization, now defunct, attempted to rescue the project under its own auspices. That attempt was unsuccessful and the project collapsed.

D. These facts, along with the observations that (1) the printing of 6 million copies of Stormer's book is a very expensive project; (2) that quantity of books could hardly have been distributed from a post office box; and (3) the close similarity between the book and John Birch Society material, even to erroneous quotations and wording, lead this committee to the conviction that Liberty Bell Press was in effect, if not in fact, nothing more than another John Birch Society front.

E. The distribution currently subsidized by the Americanism Educational League is being implemented by the Young Americans for Freedom; 16,000 copies have been distributed by the YAF at the University of Pennsylvania, 5,000 at Ohio State University, and 1,500 at Case Tech in Cleveland. The president of the Case Tech chapter of the YAF stated that this was a major project for YAF chapters across the country (Cleveland Press, Oct. 18, 1965).

11. The NCCR has two major functions. The first is to promote responsible debate between knowledgeable spokesmen for opposing views on controversial issues of public importance. That it has effectively and impartially fulfilled this function is attested to by the following letters from two radio stations in Cleveland:

WJW BEAUTIFUL MUSIC RADIO,
Cleveland, Ohio, November 27, 1964.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY,
Cleveland, Ohio.

GENTLEMEN: May I take this opportunity to extend to your organization the gratitude of this radio station for your efforts during the past year with respect to informational public service programing.

Your office was a frequent source of accurate, unbiased information; willing and able to provide learned spokesmen from opposing sides of various issues.

In our continuing efforts to expose all reasonable opinion on today's questions and issues, your cooperation was most helpful.

We look forward to working with you in the year ahead.

Cordially,

CHARLES C. RENWICK,
Program Manager.

KYW RADIO,
Cleveland, Ohio, December 9, 1964.

Mr. HAL STEIGMAN,
National Committee for Civic Responsibility, Cleveland, Ohio.

DEAR HAL: This is to express my appreciation for your several appearances on our "Contact" radio program in which we were able to quite dramatically illustrate the analytical function of your organization, particularly concerning issues of passionate feeling.

I know you have been attacked by aggressive groups and individuals at either extreme of the political spectrum, but I believe you have done a sincere and conscientious job in spotlighting your targets—those appealing to prejudice and latent hatreds in order to propagandize their own ends.

In particular I was pleased to have you on the air at that time last winter when an explosive situation had developed in this city over the school integration issue and you were able to confront representatives of both points of view in the "Contact" studio, to expose the personal animosities that were standing in the way of logic and solution.

I would like also to thank you for your cooperation in supplying information for other programs in which you did not personally participate. While you and I have personally disagreed on many issues, I feel that there is a great need for the NCCR and I wish you success in attaining your nationwide goals.

Sincerely,

S. DAVE BABBITT,
"Contact" Producer.

The NCCR's second major function is to oppose and expose those who use violence or malicious falsehood in attempts to intimidate or discredit. With the exception that the NCCR excludes those who use such tactics, its membership is deliberately balanced to represent differing races, religions, and political persuasions. The organization is prohibited from taking a partisan position on any political issue and each NCCR chapter in the United States must adopt that same structure and code of regulations.

For these reasons the NCCR reports on "None Dare Call It Treason" are limited to examples of those instances where Stormer used malicious falsehood in attempts to discredit those with whom he disagreed.

12. Others have documented some of Stormer's misrepresentations and distortions in their own individual fields. Among these are the Office of Public Services, Bureau of Public Affairs, Department of State, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Julian Foster and others in a tract entitled "None Dare Call It Reason" which may be obtained by writing to Dr. Foster at California State College, Fullerton, Calif.; and by Dr. Henry M. Bullock, editor, Church School Publications, the Methodist Church, 201 Eighth Avenue, Nashville, Tenn.

Cited below are examples of items listed in the State Department release:

A. On page 48, Stormer charged that in the middle of the Hungarian revolt of 1956, the State Department sent a telegram to Marshal Tito, of Yugoslavia, stating that "the American Government does not look with favor upon governments unfriendly to the Soviet Union on the borders of the Soviet Union."

State Department: "This allegation is baseless in fact. No such message was sent."

B. On pages 56 and 57 Stormer alleged that Dean Rusk gave a speech on June 14, 1951, in which he compared Mao-Tse-Tung to George Washington and contended that the Chinese revolution did not aim at dictatorship.

State Department: "Dean Rusk gave no speech on that day and did not at any time make such statements."

C. On page 25, Stormer charged that Dean Rusk defended Alger Hiss when Hiss was exposed as a Communist agent.

State Department: Dean Rusk did not defend Alger Hiss, either as a witness during his two trials or in any statement.

D. On page 8, Stormer charged that the United States supplied nuclear reactors to Czechoslovakia and machinery to produce precision ball bearings used in guided missiles along with synthetic rubber plants to the Soviet Union.

State Department: "No such equipment was ever sent."

E. On page 93, Stormer charged that "today, 400 American boys rot in Red Chinese prisons, deserted after a war which ended in 1953."

State Department: "There is no factual evidence or intelligence to indicate that any of the 389 men listed as unaccounted for at the end of the Korean war may yet be alive and held prisoner by the Soviet Communists, the Chinese Communists, or the North Korean Communists."

13. Summary:

A. Both Stormer and the major subsidizer and distributor of his book, the John Birch Society, claim that their publications are attacked, not because they are dishonest, but because a giant Communist conspiracy is operating against them.

Both have a simple formula for identifying Communists and traitors: Those who disagree with right wing extremist doctrine are either stupid or they are Communists; if it can be demonstrated that such persons are not stupid, they are then by definition Communists or traitors.

B. It is disturbing that some Americans understand their country, its free institutions and its problems so little that they consider it patriotic to distribute Stormer's book. And it is distressing to witness the tactics those people have used to defend that book even after its true nature was exposed.

Plainly, "None Dare Call It Treason" is not an anti-Communist book; it is an anti-American book. Only one chapter truly deals with communism; the rest is primarily a maliciously dishonest attack on American political, religious, educational and judicial institutions and on their topmost leaders.

C. Few Americans are taken in when such attacks are mounted directly by Communist propagandists. Americans recognize such attacks as deliberate attempts to divide them into polarized and mutually hostile factions. But when the very same thing is done by Communist fronts or under the guise of patriotism, some Americans are deceived.

D. Leftwing and rightwing extremists have far more in common with each other than either has with the legitimate conservatives and liberals to whom they attach

themselves and whom they attempt to exploit.

Liberals and conservatives have in common the desire to preserve our free society and its institutions while seeking, each according to his own views, to improve and strengthen them.

Extremists, whether they be labeled left wing or right wing, have in common a distrust of a free society and a desire to discredit, disrupt and subvert it so that upon its ruins a totalitarian society can be built.

For that reason, legitimate conservatives and liberals seek to adjust and resolve problems caused by conflicting interests and ideologies in our pluaralistic society. Their tools are debate, persuasion, lobbying, lawful assembly, comprise and the other processes normally associated with a free society.

Extremists, on the other hand, seek to emphasize our differences and to escalate them into open conflicts. They seek thereby to demonstrate that free institutions are incapable of preserving order and that those institutions must therefore be replaced by authoritarian controls. Their tools are infiltration, fronts, intimidation, suppression, character assassination, inflamatory propaganda and the other tactics normally associated with totalitarianism.

E. The NCCR considers the current mass distribution of "None Dare Call It Treason" an excellent opportunity for initiating an educational program for understanding and recognizing extremist programs and tactics. This committee has already approved such an undertaking for its own affiliates and it will soon ask for the active participation of major educational, civic and religious organizations for that purpose.

HAL STEIGMAN,
Executive Secretary.

Congressional Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN A. RACE
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RACE. Mr. Speaker, the Milwaukee Journal published a provocative editorial, "Bit of Unfinished Business: Congressional Reform." Under leave to extend my remarks, I commend this editorial to my colleagues and request it be printed in the RECORD:

BIT OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS: CONGRESSIONAL REFORM

You are a Congressman who has been hearing complaints for years that Congress' usual incapacity to make more than a handful of major decisions per session is proof of its archaic arrangements and inefficient process, needing extensive reform.

Then comes a 1965 session with a prodigious record of accomplishment and you are accused of acting with undue haste and merely rubber stamping the administration. Between the two sets of critics, you're damned if you do and damned if you don't.

One of the first of the 89th Congress' many deeds this year was to set up a joint committee on the organization of Congress, like the one that brought forth the last big modernization effort, the La Follette-Monroney Act of 1946. The danger now, in light of the 1965 record, is that the ensuing session will feel too smug to see the need for any important changes—except more pay and fewer elections. The committee report may get lost.

The fact is that, except for a couple of helpful rule changes in the House, the great spate of action in 1965 did not come because Congress suddenly found itself efficient; it came in spite of the same old inefficiencies as before. Indeed, much of it is undoubtedly going to demonstrate defects in the lawmaking process.

The same Senator MONRONEY, of Oklahoma, who as a Representative put his name on the reorganization of 20 years ago, heads the joint committee now. It has three members of each party from each House. It held many hearings over a 5-month period. It is directed to report in January.

The mandate from Congress forbids it to propose changes in rules, precedents, and floor procedures, but the 1946 reorganizers labored under the same inhibition. This has not prevented the present committee from being a forum for critics of the rules, a showcase for what's wrong with them. It has stimulated thinking by scores of Congressmen who deluged it with their own reform ideas.

The limitation leaves open a broad range of reform opportunities—in congressional controls over budget and spending, in the committee structure and appointment of chairmen by seniority, in electronic voting, regulation of lobbying, ethical discipline, abdication of Congress' role as the Washington city council, processing of citizen complaints against Government bureaus with less burden on Congressmen.

The 89th Congress, for all the temptation to bask in its own glory, will need this sort of attention to its defects not one bit less than its recent predecessors.

The Meaning of the Ashley Bank Merger Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said and written about S. 1698, the power and pressures behind it, and the prospects for enactment.

S. 1698 is of course a bill to give commercial banks special treatment under the antitrust laws and to forgive all past bank mergers, even those held illegal by the courts.

The impression has been given that all bankers back S. 1698 and the so-called Ashley-Moorhead bill. Of course, this is contrary to fact. It is only the largest and most powerful giants in the banking industry who have been so vociferous and brazen in lobbying for these bills. The Independent Bankers Association, an organization of 6,300 banks in 40 States, strongly opposes any move to exempt bank mergers from the antitrust laws.

I commend to Members the remarks made to my colleague on the Banking and Currency Committee, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. MIZE] by Mr. Paul Jones, president of the Cummins-American Corp., and a banker and respected member of the financial community for 43 years. His letter well describes what this bill represents:

OCTOBER 7, 1965.

Hon. CHESTER L. MIZE,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. MIZE: Thanks for your considerate wire asking me to explain why I feel the Ashley amendment indicates support of giant banks as opposed to small banks.

First, the Independent Bankers Association in a convention resolution opposed S. 1698. The Independent Bankers Association is the association of small banks. The Ashley bill is more severe and dangerous than S. 1698, therefore, more regupgnant to that association. I know this does not prove that S. 1698 and the Ashley amendment are opposed to the welfare of small banks but it is pretty evident that small banks think so and they should be somewhat expert in that area. The American Bankers Association supports it and it is my opinion and that of others that the American Bankers Association is dominated by the giant banks.

Furthermore, Mr. Horace Hanson, eminent counsel for the Independent Bankers Association has this to say as to the applicability of the antitrust laws under the Ashley bill:

"The Ashley bill would completely eliminate court actions under the antitrust laws as to future bank mergers, thus removing the ultimate competitive protection for smaller banks.

"Worse than this, the Ashley bill makes more vague and indefinite the loose standards of the present law by adding in paragraph (4)(g) 'such other factors as the responsible agency may deem relevant.' This would give the approving agency unrestricted discretion. Considering that under the present law the approval rate by the agencies is 20 to 1, the future could see boundless merging activity.

"The Ashley bill provides, as the sole court remedy, an appeal from the agency order, but as protective device it is a delusion. Involved here is the subtle relation of the bill's provision to the Federal Administrative Procedures Act.

"When Congress gives such absolute discretion to the Executive, the judiciary is loath to interfere, in deference to the separation of powers doctrine, unless there has been a flagrant abuse of discretion."

In contrast, this is the statement of Senator ROBERTSON, the original sponsor of S. 1698 when he commented on the resolution opposing S. 1698 by the Independent Bankers Association as follows:

"The basic purpose of your resolution, I take it, is to promote competition and to prevent monopoly in the field of banking. I agree fully with this objective. I believe that this objective is in the best interest of banking and of the individuals and business firms served by banking, and that it will promote most effectively the growth and development of the United States."

Those who are promoting the passage of the Ashley amendment hope to take the enforcement of the antitrust laws with respect to bank mergers out of the jurisdiction of the courts where all other American free enterprises are tried, and set up a special privilege for banks whereby "the control of bank mergers should be in the hands of the appropriate banking supervisory agencies—the agencies equipped with the special knowledge necessary to regulate intelligently the American banking system," as stated in the American Bankers Association resolution approving S. 1698. The appropriate agencies are the Comptroller of Currency, the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, and the Federal Reserve Board. The Comptroller of Currency, Mr. James Saxon, certainly will qualify as equipped with special knowledge necessary to regulate with intelligence the American banking industry. Mr. Saxon was House Counsel for the First National Bank of Chicago before becoming

Comptroller and before that counsel for the American Bankers Association. It is reported that he expects to leave his office as Comptroller shortly. He undoubtedly will either return to the First National Bank of Chicago or make his unusual talents available to the banking industry. The others are bankers or career men oriented to the banking institutions and their needs through many years of service to the Federal Reserve System, the stock of which is owned by the bank members of that system.

This is like placing the chicken coop in the care of the fox. It's not that fox are bad, it's just their nature. If fox had the power to legislate, chickens would be raised for fox to eat and cooped away from human beings. Human beings and our historic antitrust laws that all other American enterprises operate under are pretty well forgotten in the Ashley amendment.

If the record under the Bank Merger Act of 1960 is bad, it will be far worse under the Ashley bill amendments, because the slight restraints on the approving agencies in the existing law would be removed, and all bank mergers henceforth would be exempt from antitrust restraints.

One final thought. If bank mergers are to be exempt from the antitrust laws, as in the Ashley bill, further exemption bills would inevitably follow in favor of bank holding companies (two of which are now involved in antitrust actions) and bank branching systems. The end result would be little or no restraint against concentration of banking and the control of commercial credit in this country.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL JONES,
President.

The District of Columbia Election Extension Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MORRIS K. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, last year over 200,000 people in the District of Columbia registered to vote here. These people are U.S. citizens who do not claim the right to vote in any State or territory but who must meet the other usual qualifications for voting. Last November over 90 percent of these registered voters voted in the first presidential election ever held in the District of Columbia.

These people constitute the largest single group of American citizens in any one place who still have no voice of their own in Congress. The time is long overdue to remedy this, within the present constitutional framework, by an amendment of the District election law so as to establish the office of Delegate in the House of Representatives from the District of Columbia, and to provide for his election by the registered voters here. This matter is entirely separate from any home rule proposal.

The Delegate's function and authority in Congress will be comparable to that of the former Delegates from the territories such as Hawaii and Alaska, and of the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico.

I am confident that once the office of Delegate is established and the elected Delegate installed, we in Congress will find the Delegate will serve a useful and needed function, to the Members of Congress, to the citizens of the District of Columbia, and to the country as a whole.

Mr. Speaker, this proposal for Delegate has great merit. There is already a substantial interested electorate here, but under the present election laws its members can exercise their franchise only at 4-year intervals in presidential election years. The Delegate would be elected every 2 years, and I believe that the resulting increased frequency in the use of the electoral system here will add vitality and maturity to the District electorate, and produce a better overall working arrangement for the conduct of affairs affecting the citizens of Washington.

Other changes will be required in the present framework of the District of Columbia election law, not only so as to provide for the Delegate's election, but also to improve the nature and conduct of the quadrennial election operations under the present law.

Earlier today the gentleman from Maryland, Congressman MATHIAS, introduced H.R. 11822, a bill to amend and extend the District of Columbia Election Act and for other purposes. I had intended to introduce an identical bill for these purposes at the same time, but was delayed in doing so due to the pressure of other business in the House. I wish to make it clear, however, that I want to be considered a cosponsor of Mr. MATHIAS' bill, and that I believe that the subject matter of this bill will warrant the attention of the House early in the next session.

Mr. Speaker, I have had a section-by-section analysis of this bill prepared, and without objection I shall insert it at this point in the Appendix:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS OF H.R. 11822, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA ELECTION EXTENSION ACT

(Introduced by Mr. MATHIAS, October 22, 1965, and referred to the House Committee on the District of Columbia)

SECTION 1

Section 1 states the title of the act.

SECTION 2

Section 2 provides for permanent registration of voters in the District of Columbia. It changes the existing system of registration, which now requires each person to register again every 4 years. The third section of this bill provides for the election of a Delegate to Congress every 2 years, and this speedup in the election cycle will make a permanent registration system workable here.

Subsection (a) of this section 2 provides for automatic removal of the names of people who have failed to vote in two successive general elections and who have not re-registered, and continues the provision of existing law which charges the Board of Elections with the duty to keep the registry "accurate and current." Subsection (b) puts the permanent system of registration into effect at once and provides that people who were registered at the close of the polls in November 1964 and who continue to live in their precinct will not have to re-register to vote in 1966 elections.

Subsection (c) provides for longer periods of registration than under the present law and shortens to 30 days (from the present 45 days) the period before each election in which the registration office is closed. It also broadens slightly the Board of Elections' power to issue regulations with regard to times and places of registration.

SECTION 3

Section 3 establishes the right of the people of the District of Columbia to be represented by a Delegate in the House of Representatives. The Delegate will have a seat in the House Chamber with the right of debate but not of voting. His term would be for 2 years, along with the Members of Congress. The committees to which he would be assigned would be determined by the House under its rulemaking power. The District Delegate must be at least 25 years old and have lived in the District for at least 3 years, and must continue to live in the District during his term of office. He must be a qualified elector under District law.

Subsection (b) of section 3 provides that the District Delegate shall be elected by the District of Columbia voters in a general election, in the usual case after first winning a primary election. The existing District of Columbia Election Act as amended by this act would govern the election of the Delegate. Subsection (c) provides that the candidate for a primary election for Delegate is to be nominated by a petition containing at least 500 signatures of registered voters of the same political party as the nominee, and accompanied by a filing fee of $200. The section also provides that the primary election of candidates for Delegate will, as in the case of existing District of Columbia law, be by a closed primary, but that the general election of the Delegate will be an open election which will permit voters to cross party lines. Subsection (d) provides that the timing of the primary and general elections of Delegates will coincide, in presidential election years, with the May primaries and the November general elections under existing law. The Delegate would be elected every 2 years, of course, and in nonpresidential election years the Delegate would also be chosen by a May primary and a November general election.

Subsection (e) provides for filling vacancies in the office of Delegate, and also in the position of candidate for Delegate in the event that a candidate wins in a May primary but dies or resigns before the general election in November. In the latter case the local political party committee selects the successor. If a vacancy occurs in the office of a Delegate who has already been elected, the Board of Elections can hold a special election to fill the vacancy, except toward the end of a term of Congress.

SECTION 4

This section makes a series of changes in existing statutes relating to the operation of the Congress, to put the Delegate from the District of Columbia into a position or status in the House of Representatives essentially comparable to that formerly held by the delegates from Hawaii and Alaska, and presently held by the Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico. Most of these changes in law are required simply because the present laws refer to Delegates "from the territories." Since the District of Columbia is not a territory, these changes are required.

As a result of the enactment of these 10 subsections, the Delegate from the District of Columbia would be elected on the same election day as Members of Congress (subsec. [a]); he would receive the same annual salary as a Member of Congress or Resident Commissioner—$30,000 (subsec. [b]); and when elected to fill an unexpired term, his salary would begin with the date of his election and not with the date on which the vacancy occurred (subsec. [c]).

Similarly, the provisions of law relating to the payment of unpaid salaries in the event of the death of a Member of Congress during his term of office are made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [d]), and the privileges of participating in the retirement benefits of the Civil Service Retirement Act which are applicable to Members of Congress are made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [e]).

In the same way, subsection (f) makes applicable to the District Delegate, and to his office, the provisions of law relating to allowances for stationery, telephones, the hiring of clerical help, and the furnishing of office equipment which now apply to Members of Congress and to the Resident Commissioner. The statutory provisions for congressional office space are also made applicable to the District Delegate (subsec. [g]).

The provisions of Federal criminal law which relate to Members of Congress, to their activities, and to their elections, are also made applicable to the District Delegate. Thus, the Federal Corrupt Practices Act is made applicable to the Delegate's position (subsec. [h]), as are also the provisions of law making it a Federal crime to intimidate voters (subsec. [i]), as well as those punishing the use by Federal employees of influence or authority to interfere with elections (subsec. [j]).

Subsection (k) contains the changes required in existing law to assure that appointment of candidates to the armed services academies from the District would be made by the elected Delegate, rather than by the appointed Commissioners.

SECTION 5

This section contains the definitions which are used throughout the bill, and also a number of miscellaneous provisions which will be important in administering the law. Subsection (a) contains the definitions. Subsection (b) provides that in all elections in the District the polls will be open from 7 a.m. to 9 p.m. (present law is 8 till 8.).

Subsection (c) clarifies the power of the Board of Elections to issue regulations to set deadlines where not already set by the statute, but provides that the deadlines must be published at least 30 days before they take effect. Subsection (d) simply brings the provision of the existing election law up to date with respect to the current name of the former municipal court. Subsection (e) amends the law so as to give the Board of Elections authority to accept initially the signatures on duly filed nominating petition, but sets up a mechanism by which the petitions can be timely challenged and the challenges resolved by the Board of Elections.

Subsection (f) amends the existing law slightly to clarify the authority of the Elections Board to issue regulations to accept some ballots which have been cast outside the precinct in which the registrant lived—as, for example, in the case of a person who was registered in one precinct but on election day is in a hospital in another precinct and is voting as a "shut-in."

Subparagraph (g) changes the system of law slightly so as to require that only one of the officials in the polling place will be needed to assist an illiterate or handicapped voter to vote his ballot, instead of two officials as is now required. The change would also provide that the voter can, if he so desires, have a second official to assist him in the voting process.

Subsections (h) and (i) will shorten and simplify the party primary ballots under the 1955 Election Act, by eliminating the election of alternates to the various party officials. The party primary ballots have been widely criticized because of their length and complexity. The elimination of the election of the election of alternate officials will substantially shorten the ballots in a number of cases. At the same time, the arternates can, of course, be selected by the parties themselves, by caucus or other means not involving the use of the citywide primary election machinery. The party officials themselves (national committeemen and women, delegates to the presidential nominating conventions and, when designated by the parties, members, and officials of the local party committees) would continue to be elected by ballots under the present election law.

Subsection (j) amends the existing law to make it clear that the party primary ballots may contain presidential preference questions to be answered by the voter (if the party committee so desires and presidential and vice-presidential candidates do not object). The right to have such questions on the ballot under the present law has been sharply disputed ever since the act passed in 1955, and a 1964 court decision cast a further cloud on the authority of the Board of Elections to permit presidential preference questions under existing law. With this amendment, these presidential preference questions would replace the so-called party questions. These party questions have been criticized as diluting the powers of the elected party officials to formulate party policies, and also because the questions add further to the length of the ballot.

Subsection (k) would remove an ambiguity in existing election law by establishing a clear deadline for filing the designations of the offices of local party committees to be filled by the party primary elections.

Under the existing election law each candidate on the ballot has the right to have one watcher at each polling place. Subsection (l) would change this arrangement slightly in the light of the length of the party primary ballots (in the 1964 election, for instance, there were over 250 candidates on the party ballots), to give the Board of Elections authority to issue regulations reasonably limiting the number of watchers in each voting place, and reasonably to regulate the scope of the watchers' activities, while at the same time preserving their rights to perform their important duties.

Subsection (m) would give the Board of Elections clear authority to declare that duly nominated and unopposed candidates for office are elected without opposition. The fact that they have been so elected would appear on the ballot, together with the names of all the candidates who are opposed and whose election is to be determined by the voters. This change will further simplify and shorten ballot forms, without in any way diminishing the effectiveness of the elections under the act.

Subsection (n) changes the method of compensation of the members of the three-man Board of Elections. They are now paid $25 per day while performing their duties. With the enactment of this act there will be two elections in every even-numbered year, with occasional special elections to be expected from time to time, thus substantially increasing the activities of the Board of Elections. The amount of time spent by Board members in an election year is substantial, and the changeover to a modest, fixed annual compensation is desirable and appropriate under all the circumstances.

Subsection (o) amends the law so as to give the candidates a period of 30 days after each election in order to complete and file their financial reports. At present they have only 10 days in which to perform this work, a period which is insufficient and unworkable.

Subsection (p) tightens up the enforcement provisions of the present law so as to make it clear that any false statement by a registrant with respect to qualifications for voting will render him subject to penalty, whereas the present act limits the applicability of the penal provision to false statements as to the registrant's residence or voting privileges outside the District. The bill also makes the enforcement provisions of the act applicable to the restrictions on contributions and requirements for reporting expenditures.

Subsections (q) and (r) amend the title, and the first section of the existing law, so as to reflect the fact that the act provides for the election of the Delegate to the House of Represenatives in addition to the other officials elected under the existing law.

Subsection (s) makes it clear that all the provisions of the act become effective on the date of approval, except the provision which reactivates the registration of voters, and which would take effect 30 days after the act is approved.

Longer Terms

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, our present system of 2-year terms for U.S. Representatives is archaic. Too much of a Congressman's time is spent in doing the necessary campaigning for reelection, and not enough time is left for representing the people.

It is my feeling that a congressional election at the same time as the presidential election every 4 years would reflect the choice of the country in both the executive and legislative branches. This would avoid much of the stagnation that arises when one party controls the legislative and the other controls the executive branch of Government.

I was pleased to testify before the subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee which held hearings on House Joint Resolution 394. This bill to provide for 4-year terms for Congressmen was sponsored by the Honorable FRANK CHELF of Kentucky. I supported Congressman CHELF in August when I testified before the subcommittee, and I continue to support him today.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I would like to present a recent editorial which stresses the need for a change in our present system. The article was printed in the Carroll Daily Times Herald, a newspaper in the Seventh Iowa District. The editorial follows:

LONGER TERMS

Representative FRANK CHELF's bill providing 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives now languishes in the Judiciary Committee. There is no chance it will be brought to a vote in the closing days of this session. Many who have devoted some thought to the problems of representative government in our complex society will agree, we think, that when the next Congress convenes this measure ought to receive more attention.

A few generations ago it was feasible to have the 2-year term as a means of making Members of the House quickly answerable to the electorate. Sessions were much briefer than in recent times, and the task of being a Congressman was far simpler than it is today. By now the complexities of the job are such that mastering it takes longer and is made more difficult by the need to run constantly for reelection.

A 4-year term would be short enough to keep representatives sensitive to their constituents' desires. It would be long enough to give them a far better chance than they now have to concentrate on the business of legislating in the general interest. The Chelf bill may not be the complete answer, but it should make a good takeoff point for debate leading to action.

Text of Hon. Bob Ellsworth's Newsletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROBERT F. ELLSWORTH
OF KANSAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ELLSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the text of my newsletter which is being sent to my constituents in the Third District of Kansas:

YOUR CONGRESSMAN, BOB ELLSWORTH, REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

A tough and demanding year in Congress has come to a close. I have enjoyed serving you, and thought you might enjoy a few observations from inside Capitol Hill.

ATOM SMASHER FOR KANSAS?

As the Atomic Energy Commission narrows its list, the Third District of Kansas is still in the running for the $300 million atom smasher. Many of us have cooperated and worked hard on this project—our future is bright, we hope to win. If not, we have learned a good deal about attracting and holding new space-age industry for Kansas.

A NEW HOOVER COMMISSION

New programs costing billions of dollars are now being set up by Federal legislation. In the last few weeks over two dozen Republican Congressmen (including House Republican Leader GERALD R. FORD) have joined me in sponsoring legislation to establish a new Commission to review management and operation of the executive branch of Government. It is high time for such a Commission, patterned after the effective Hoover Commissions of the past, to make sure the taxpayer is getting maximum efficiency for each dollar spent on new and old programs.

ELLSWORTH BILLS

As your Representative I have introduced over 50 bills this session of Congress. They are the result of study, research, and discussions with colleagues, and visits and exchanges of letters with citizens of the Third District. Below are a few of special interest:

My first bill, to repeal many of the Federal excise taxes, was introduced on January 4. Many other Congressmen joined as sponsors, and on June 21, the President signed into law a bill repealing the excise taxes.

The Bobby Baker affair pointed to the need for a congressional code of ethics. I have submitted a bill to establish such a code. If passed, I believe it would do much to restore Congress to the position of respect it deserves as the greatest legislative body in the world.

Medicare was one of the hottest issues in Congress this year. I opposed the financing of the mandatory administration program and reintroduced my voluntary medicare proposal to be administered by private insurance companies. My viewpoint did not prevail, although it was accepted in a portion of the final version.

I also introduced a bill to increase social security benefits. Many ideas from my bill were written into the administration's legislation—now law. This will be some help to senior citizens faced with rising living costs.

ELLSWORTH COMMITTEES

Congressional committees are the backbone of our legislative work. Here we study bills and social problems in detail. During hearings public witnesses and administration spokesmen testify and are cross-examined. After long hours, often weeks, of testimony, we committee members roll up our sleeves in closed sessions and hammer out bills and reports that establish policy and law to guide the Nation.

Working in the Joint Economic Committee, I became aware of dangers in our international monetary system. In June, I addressed the Congress and called for reform. Treasury Secretary Fowler liked the speech, talked with the President, and the United States is now providing world leadership in this field. Last month I was on the U.S. delegation which made important progress at the 103-nation International Monetary Fund Conference.

Bills concerning veterans and, often, active servicemen are considered in the Veterans' Affairs Committee. One important bill on which many of us worked, provides up to $10,000 worth of life insurance for American fighting men. On September 20, I told the House of Representatives that the bill is of great importance to our servicemen, their wives and children—it passed unanimously.

When Vivian and I spent an evening at the White House, I had a chance to discuss opening new markets abroad for Kansas wheat with the President. If we could sell to available markets, the impact on Kansas would be about the same as opening a large space-age industry. All of the Kansas congressional delegation has been working on this. The President has expressed interest but has not yet acted.

THIS WAS THE YEAR THAT WAS

This was the year of the galloping Congress. Like a well-oiled machine, it cranked out bills—some good, some poorly drawn, most expensive. This was the year of medicare, higher education, air pollution control, omnibus housing, National Arts and Humanities Foundation, drug controls, omnibus farm program, excise tax reductions. A multitude of "minor" bills also passed. Issues like repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act will still be with us next year.

The Third District of Kansas has everything: Cities, towns, farms, suburbs, flatland, highland, colleges, labor, management, and on and on. A colleague once said it sounded like the entire United States in one congressional district. Your views are as diverse as the district, and I enjoy hearing from you and working for you.

The $100 billion Federal budget holds a multitude of stories affecting our lives. We could talk about taxes, or millions of dollars going to KU for higher education, or thousands going to Pomona for water pollution control, or 30 Olathe children enrolled in Project Headstart. One gratifying activity on which my staff and I spend much time, has been development of flood control, water conservation and recreation projects. The economy of our entire area is boosted by these important programs.

My office is your office. More than 2,000 have visited us this year. When you are in town—come in. We can give you passes to the House and Senate. With advance notice we can arrange VIP tours of various agencies.

Many thousands sent letters this year. Letters help me to know your views on important issues, or allow me to assist you with a problem involving the Federal Government. Keep writing: Congressman BOB ELLSWORTH, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

The space of a newsletter is all too brief, but perhaps this one has given you a glimpse of Capitol Hill this year. I hope we can get together at home, during adjournment, for an exchange of views and a firsthand report.

Sincerely,

BOB ELLSWORTH,
Your Congressman.

The Campbell Soup Plant in Paris, Tex.—President Murphy, Friend of Rural America—Offers Solution to Rural Area Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the adequacy with which we are trying to deal with the enormous problems of a rapidly growing population gives cause for added study. This is especially true when it comes to the urban areas of this country which are now the center of this Nation's population.

Thirty percent of the Nation's population now live in cities; our farm population has declined from 30 million in 1930 to 12 million today, representing only 6 percent of our population. This reduction in rural population has been caused by a vast increase in farm productivity, the replacement of small farms by large mechanized operations, and more job opportunities offered in cities to people who could not make a decent living on the farms.

Mr. W. B. Murphy, president of the Campbell Soup Co., recently addressed himself to the problems of the rural areas of this country in an address to the Economic Club of Detroit. Mr. Murphy discussed the all too familiar problems that a large city creates, but makes a proposal which, I believe, Mr. Speaker, merits some thoughtful consideration. Recognizing the large number of unemployed citizens in our cities and the decline in small farming in our rural areas, Mr. Murphy proposes that a greater number of new manufacturing plants be located in rural areas so that the work force, made available by the reduction in the number of farms, would not have to move to crowded metropolitan areas to find work.

Mr. Murphy describes the way the Campbell Soup Co. established a new plant making use of the rural labor supply in my congressional district in Paris, Tex. In a community of 21,000 people, the new plant employed 1,500 new workers, who readily adapted to the work of handling some of the most sophisticated manufacturing machines. In a very short time, the Campbell decision to settle in Paris, Tex., proved to be successful; the employees developed the necessary skills in at least as short a time as was the case in urban centers.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Murphy's statement to my colleagues:

THE RURAL–URBAN BALANCE

(By W. B. Murphy, president, Campbell Soup Co.)

Michigan is well known throughout the world for its metalworking industries, of course. But to those of us in the food industry, it is equally renowned for its high-quality agricultural production and for its position as a leader in education relating to foods. The food industry leans heavily on Michigan farms for a wide variety of ingredients and on its great universities for teaching and research in agriculture, biology, and food distribution.

When one is in the food industry he is likely to find it advantageous and usually necessary to keep closely attuned to the people of our country if for no other reason than that there's a well-established custom of eating foods at least three times a day. Also, the food habits of the population are pretty decisive in the success or failure of a food business.

There are two subjects relating to food and people that are much discussed these days and that are of concern to anyone who is thinking of the future. The first of these is the country's and the world's ability to provide the necessary food as population shoots upward; and second, the adequacy of water supplies.

A third subject is less discussed but just as vital: The continued shifting of population from the farms and small rural places to the mammoth metropolitan areas. To a food processor who deals with and is dependent on the farmers in the rural areas, this shifting of people and what it means is a matter of more than small importance.

Today I should like to discus briefly the first two of these subjects; namely, food production potentials and adequacy of water supply and then deal with the question of where people are going to live and work.

Now, there are many predictions about the things to come. Undoubtedly one of the least unreliable has to do with the future population trend. It is estimated that the population of the United States will come close to doubling and that of the world about double over the next 35 years; that is, by the year 2000. This sounds like the distant future, but actually it isn't so far off. A growth rate of 2 percent per year means doubling in 35 years.

Can this vastly greater population be fed? This is a complicated subject in itself. There is a different answer for North America than for Asia or South America. For North America, the answer is an unequivocal "yes." For some parts of the rest of the world, the answer hinges on economic, educational, and political accomplishments more than on the technical question of the earth's food production potentials. Since food supplies are inadequate now in Asia, the future for food in that part of the globe is full of problems. For the rest of the world, the situation is less questionable.

I believe it is not too difficult to raise food production to a much higher level. The world's arable land is about 6.6 billion acres and only about 3 billion are used for agriculture. Furthermore, substantial progress is being made in reducing the huge crop losses caused by insects, viruses, predators, weeds and nematodes and there are continued improvements in the techniques of crop production. A combination of reduced losses and better growing methods means that the yield per acre generally can climb to much higher levels. The agricultural productivity in large areas of our country and in many countries of the world is not near its practical limit and will rise as modern agricultural research and development is applied to meet local conditions.

For example, a careful program of agricultural research in Mexico, sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, boosted corn and rice crops and enabled that country to become self-supporting and, in fact, an exporting nation for wheat, sugar, and cotton. Mexico is now engaged in a well-rounded research program that is showing fine results for many other crops. In the United States and Canada, the yields per acre for a long list of grains and vegetables have more than doubled since World War II and can go much further with research work now underway. The productivity figures for cattle and poultry have also climbed rapidly. Genetics research can bring resistance to some of the crop debilitating factors. Crop-growing experiments result in improved growing methods. Chemical research is producing means for more effective disease and predator resistance and for weed controls.

The adequacy of water for a population that will nearly double over the next 35 years is vital to the food industry for the simple reason that 40 percent of the water used in the United States today is for irrigation. If a higher percentage of our arable land is to be planted, a primary concern is water supply. The subject of water is just coming into its own as a national problem. The 3-year below-normal rainfall in the Northeast States triggered this sudden general interest, although water as a subject of major national and regional concern would have come to the forefront in any event sooner or later.

There is plenty of water for a doubled population and much more if water supply and its distribution is given attention. It is a sure thing that we are going to have to pay a little more for water in the future. Unmetered homes, unlined irrigation ditches, undistributed surpluses, uncaptured rain and snow runoffs, and untreated waste water, of necessity, will be frowned upon, and as a result, water supplies will probably be adequate for the foreseeable future.

The third subject for discussion here, namely, increased population, is more difficult to deal with than food production potentials and water supply. Where is this increased population going to live and work? If the present trend toward greater and greater population concentration continues, there will be rather drastic environmental effects on most of us having to do with the way we live—our taxes—and our peace of mind—among other things. Incidentally, the entire September issue of Scientific American is devoted to the problems of the metropolitan areas viewed from the standpoint that big cities will get bigger and bigger.

Why would a businessman and a food processor worry much about population trends as long as they're going up? There are at least two good reasons:

1. As a food processor, he is vitally concerned with the need for continuing increases in crop yields per acre, not only to raise food production, but to help hold consumer food prices. This increasing productivity, involving as it does fewer and fewer farms producing larger and larger crops, carries with it the problem of surplus farm and small-town population.

2. As a businessman and taxpayer, he must be interested in the massive problems and in the costs to convert the metropolitan centers into attractive, livable places.

Last March, President Johnson sent a message to Congress on housing and cities. He said, "Over 70 percent of our population—135 million Americans—live in urban areas. A half century from now 320 million of our 400 million Americans will live in such areas. And our largest cities will receive the greatest impact of growth. In our time, two giant and dangerous forces are converging on our cities; the forces of growth and of decay. Between today and the year 2000, more than 80 percent of our population increases will occur in urban areas. During the next 15 years, 30 million people will be added to our cities. Each year, in the coming generation, we will add the equivalent of 15 cities of 200,000 each."

Plans are already being considered for the huge metropolitan areas of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore-Washington—for the enormous metropolitan areas centered by the cities of Chicago, Detroit, Miami, San Francisco, and Los Angeles. These plans involve much needed programs for cleanup, rehabilitation, and upgrading. People are to be stacked on top of each other in innumerable large apartment projects—distances from suburbs to city centers will increase—breakfasts will be served earlier and dinners later—transportation needs will soak up vast areas of valuable urban and suburban property.

This picture of greater and greater population concentration is to me unpleasant and expensive, and I would hope, not inevitable. It makes for a more impersonal existence, higher taxes, more government controls, and in most ways what can be considered a distorted existence, at least by the standards we know today.

Yet, we are on our way to this rather dismal prospect if we continue for the next 35 years the trend toward urban concentration that has characterized the past 35 years.

Thirty-five years ago, the farm population was approximately 30,500,000 people. In 1965, it is about 12,500,000. Farm population was almost one-fourth of our population 35 years ago, whereas today it is only 6½ percent. In contrast, the metropolitan areas with populations of over 1 million totaled 43 million people in 1930 and today about 80 million. The reduction in the farm population has come about through the tremendous productivity improvements in farming, the sharp reduction in numbers of small farms, plus the job opportunities offered in the big cities for people who had difficulty making a living in the rural areas.

An analysis of population figures by counties shows what has been happening. Counties with less than 25,000 population not contiguous to metropolitan areas represent 61 percent of all counties—they also have 61 percent of the land area but only 12 percent of the population. Counties with 25,000 to 100,000 population and not in metropolitan areas represent 26 percent of all counties and 20 percent of the population. Adding these together yields 32 percent of the population as against 42 percent 35 years ago, yet they represent 88 percent of all counties and a corresponding proportion of the land area.

Now, let's look at the metropolitan areas of 1 million or over. There are 164 counties in this category that represent less than 5 percent of the land area but have 41 percent of the population. This population has gone up in a disproportionate amount over the last 35 years. If we examine the record on distribution of employment in manufacturing establishments, the most recent count shows that the metropolitan areas have 48 percent of the total.

We know that the combination of metropolitan industrialization and scientific farm developments has caused many millions of rural people to go to the metropolitan areas. What problems we created for ourselves. Had industry expanded by decentralization to a far greater extent than now is the case, and had it gone into the thousands of small cities and towns, the rural citizens who could not make a living on their farms could have found jobs in local industry and the overcrowding of big city areas would be far less.

This isn't a phenomenon of North America. The vast slums of Caracas, Mexico City, and Lima, for example, are made up to a considerable degree of families from rural sections who are attracted to the possibility of jobs in the industry that clusters in metropolitan areas. One day the merit of industrial decentralization will be recognized throughout the world and those from the poor farms

will find jobs in plants located near their homes.

I believe it is in order to suggest that in the United States the disproportionate industrial concentration in the metropolitan areas not go further and further and also to suggest that manufacturers can do themselves a favor and our country a service by allocating a fair share of their new plants to the rural areas.

We already have critical urban problems. Those problems will be compounded if the trend toward the metropolitan areas that characterized the past 35 years continues into the future.

In this city of Detroit, there is an aggressive urban renewal program led by Mayor Cavanagh that obviously is badly needed and which illustrates the kind of attack that must be carried on in all major cities. But Detroit doesn't need to have further migrations from the rural areas.

Philadelphia, where I live is also making strenuous efforts to upgrade its character and also has a long struggle ahead. It too doesn't need further migrations from the rural counties. The conditions in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are too well known to need description here.

It is estimated, and I think it is a reasonable estimate, that over the next 35 years, while our population will double, the number of farms wil decrease from today's 3,300,000 to about 1,500,000 and that farm population will drop from today's 12½ to about 6 million. Since in 35 years the 12½ million will nearly double to approximately 24 million, and farms will then need only 6½ million, this means a surplus of about 18 million. These are conservative figures. Other estimates indicate that there will be only 1 million farms and a farm population of only 4 million. There is no estimate for the future reduction in numbers of people in rural towns serving the farm population. This reduction easily can match in numbers the surplus from the farms. The trend to fewer and fewer farms and lower farm and other rural population has been going on for many years and shows no sign of abating.

This does not mean that our crop production will be less—in fact, it will be far higher but it will be done by much larger farms and by further farm mechanization and other crop productivity gains. I am not suggesting that we are going to have farm factories. An overwhelming proportion of our farms undoubtedly will be family farms as they are today, but these will be family farms of much larger acreage, operated with more sophisticated machinery and with fewer work-hours per unit of crop production. In 1930 the average value of a farm was $10,900—today, the average value of a farm is $68,000. It is estimated that 35 years from now the average value of a farm will be $200,000 or more. This means that there will be fewer farms and millions of people from small farms and rural towns will be looking for jobs. If the trend of the last 35 years continues, they will go to the large cities and mostly to the metropolitan centers.

Farming is an exciting occupation when the farmer has good education and training and when the farm has the potential to be profitable. This means a sizeable acreage, high production modern farm machinery, funds for fertilizing and spraying and ample water supply.

But it's no fun being a break-even or loss farmer and so over the last several decades there has been an evolutionary change entailing large, year-after-year reductions in small farms. This will continue, in all probability, until there remains a hard core of well educated, high income farmers. Speaking as a taxpayer, this will be a good thing in more ways than one.

The fact that there is considerable unemployment in the poor sections of big cities would seem to argue for concentrating new plants in such areas. This seems to me to be a superficial conclusion. There are plenty of job opportunities now in the big cities for trained people.

The principal problem of the unemployed is lack of education. Educated people do not have trouble getting jobs and this applies to all nations and all races. Our unemployment is heavily concentrated in the ages of 16 to 25 and primarily among those without good education or training. Motivate these young people to want an education, to want to work and to want to be trained, and the vast employment opportunities now existing in big cities will be available to them.

If most of the new manufacturing plants are loaded into the metropolitan areas, this won't solve the unemployment problem of the uneducated, but it will cause millions more from the rural counties to drift to the big cities to look for jobs.

You might ask what will stop this greater and greater big-city concentration. People are going to move where they want to and the mobility of the American people is well established. If the jobs are available in the metropolitan areas, the people are going to those jobs. By the same token, if jobs are available in the thousands of small towns and cities away from the metropolitan areas, I think most of the people in these rural areas will not move. They will prefer to live in the circumstances in which they were raised. People everywhere can read. They see television and they read the papers. They know about urban crowding and the urban crimes. They also know that smaller places are friendly. They know that in the small town or city it takes only 5 to 15 minutes to travel between home and work. Generally, parking is not a problem. For those who golf, the golf course is near enough to their place of work to permit nine holes before dinner. If one likes to hunt and fish, the hunting and fishing frequently are quite handy also. If one runs into trouble, the neighbors will help and not look the other way.

Of course, those of us who travel a good deal find much of this industrial decentralization going on right now. Industrial plants are springing up in many places throughout the country, but they are also still springing up in the metropolitan areas as well and in greater proportion. At the present time, we have a continuation of the trend to greater and greater big city crowding.

For the most recent 10-year period for which figures are available, that is 1952–62, the number of business establishments of all kinds, manufacturing and nonmanufacturing combined, that had over 100 employees, increased from 50,900 to 57,000. Over 48 percent of that increase took place in the already overcrowded 164 counties that represent metropolitan areas.

To place this in another perspective, by the latest figures available, the number of people employed in manufacturing plants in the rural counties is about 1.1 million and has gone up only 450,000 in 20 years. The number of people in manufacturing plants in metropolitan areas is 8.5 million and has gone up 3.4 million in 20 years, over seven times as much as in the rural counties; so 5 percent of the land and 5 percent of the counties have had seven times as many new jobs as the rural 60 percent land area. This is concentration and overcrowding with a vengeance.

If manufacturers were to schedule a fair share of their new plants to the small places distant from the metropolitan areas as suggested here, this could well bring down the wrath of the metropolitan chambers of commerce and metropolitan real estate promoters, but it should not. Even if there were no more manufacturing plants built in the already overcrowded urban areas, there is still more cleaning up to do, more building expansion, more growth in the urban centers than probably can be handled well.

Most of our urban centers now have very difficult water and sewage problems. All of them need housing improvements. Their educational facilities, which should be first rate to cope with big city problems, are, in general, far from that much-needed level. This applies to the situation today. Without a further disproportionate share of new manufacturing plants added to metropolitan centers, the load on transportation, on water and sewage systems, on housing and on education will be vastly greater in the future for the very simple reason that the metropolitan centers will have constantly rising populations and greater demands on contiguous business.

It happens that there is an enormous segment of the business complex that can't be disassociated from the great population of the metropolitan centers. I refer here to the services industry which includes retailing, wholesaling, utilities, transportation, construction, entertainment, banking, insurance and all of the other types of services that are necessarily indigenous to the population. They must be located where they are needed. It also happens that the services part of our economy is our fastest-growing portion and now exceeds in employment the manufacturing part.

The metropolitan areas will have their hands full adjusting to the growth in the services industries without further massive manufacturing plant loads.

I am not so naive as to think that in this area of industrial development and population growth that everything is cut and dried. In my company, for example, we now have five plants in metropolitan areas. We are in the process of some necessary expansion in three of these plants. We have rehabilitated all of them in order to raise their productivity.

I do not think for the future that it would possibly come about that all new manufacturing plants could be located in the counties of smaller population, but I would hope that a greater portion would be so located than has been the case in the past so that the work force made available by the reduction in numbers of farms would not have to move to the metropolitan areas to find work.

Assuming it to be desirable, how is this scattering of new manufacturing plants to be accomplished? In England and France, for example, it is done by government fiat. Belgium has a most effective voluntary program that stresses the logic of utilizing available rural labor, lower taxes, and low-cost real estate. I think in our country decentralization is now going on to some extent and will be done to a much greater degree as the relative merits of locating in small rural-type communities become more apparent to our manufacturing companies. Lower costs will be an important factor and here I do not mean labor rates, except as they reflect lower living costs.

There are many places in our country where manufacturing can be located away from the metropolitan centers. Of the Nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in these rural counties. This is about one such plant per county. Now it is true, of course, that a part of this land is represented by mountainous or desert areas, but even if we allow for this, there are literally thousands of small places hungering for manufacturing industries. Also, most counties away from metropolitan areas, that have 25,000 to 100,000 population, are far from being overcrowded with manufacturing plants.

Using our company as an example, we recently completed construction of a million-square-foot plant that will ultimately require about 1,500 people in Paris, Tex., a community of about 21,000 people. This was

a very close decision as we had dozens of opportunities to go into small places in Texas where conditions were adequate in all respects. We were in the happy position of being able to choose one out of at least a dozen excellent communities. We are now constructing a plant in Sumter, S.C., a town of 23,000. This plant could have gone into any one of 50 locations in the southeastern part of the country, all with adequate land, labor, water, utilities, etc.

I could give examples of other such plants in Ohio, Maryland, Indiana, Minnesota, Nebraska, Arkansas, California. These plants are located in towns as small as 2,000 population. In these places, employees are sometimes drawn from a radius of 15 to 20 miles. In the past 15 years, our medium-size company has added roughly 14,000 employees in smaller communities as our business has expanded. This has meant that some 50,000 to 60,000 family members have been held in their home communities rather than forced to drift into larger places looking for jobs plus at least that number of people in the services industries dependent on money circulating from those families.

Of course, there are some obstacles to operating manufacturing plants in small cities and towns. The difficulties might be considered to be these: lack of management and executive personnel—reluctance of some company executives or their wives to take assignments in small communities—lack of trained mechanical workers—inadequate utilities—lack of construction work forces. Of all of these, the most serious one is the possibility of inadequate utilities. It may be necessary to put in one's own water or sewage system. This is an extra cost, of course, but we have found it to be more than offset by the lower tax rates. The matter of the lack of trained people is a myth in my opinion. The men and women from farms and small towns tend to have good work habits because of their way of life and their early training. Our organization at Paris, Tex., for example, where we took a green force from scratch and trained it to handle some of the fastest metalworking machines, such as, can body makers and aluminum presses, and intricate electrical devices, such as, electronic sorting machines, automatic controls and computers, developed the necessary skills in at least as short a time as is par for the course in urban centers.

Being the main industry in a town has many advantages but also I suppose has the disadvantage of being constantly in the spotlight. However, an industry that deals fairly with its neighbors and employees has lots of friends. This can be important during critical periods.

Small towns cannot compete with large centers for cultural activities—the theater, museums, concerts, lectures, etc.—but I don't think this is a critical matter. There are fast airplane services, national magazines, national newspapers, and national radio and television, but most of all, the fast and frequent means of travel permits those who live in small places to visit large cities with great ease and at low travel cost. And, I suppose, we might put forth the advantages of communing with nature as being a cultural advantage favoring the small town.

If someone should ask us whether rural places and small towns can equal the urban centers as the spawning ground for business, government, education, and scientific leaders, the record to date indicates that the answer is "Yes." For example, of the 100 president's of the country's leading industrial firms, 23 were born in metropolitan areas, but 41 came from small towns or rural communities. Of the 100 U.S. Senators, only 13 came from metropolitan areas, while 59 came from the predominantly rural counties. For the President and his Cabinet composed of 12, only 3 came from metropolitan areas, and 5 came from rural places. Of the 20 heads of the Nation's leading colleges and universities, only 3 were born in metropolitan areas, while 12 came from small towns and farms. Of the 20 top men in the National Academy of Sciences, which includes 11 members of the Council and 9 Division Chairmen, 4 were born in metropolitan areas, while 9 were born in small places. This does not prove that the rural counties are better than the metropolitan areas for developing future leaders, but it does indicate pretty persuasively that there is no disadvantage to being born and brought up on a farm or in a small rural town.

I think I have certainly shown a leaning toward locating a fair share of manufacturing plants away from the big population centers at this stage in our country's development. My purpose has not been to disparage the big city, but rather to indicate the importance of avoiding further unnecessary overcrowding and additional distortions in our already mammoth centers that will result through failing to provide jobs in the rural counties for the coming millions from these rural counties who will need nonfarm jobs.

The 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following report to my constituents on the activities of the 89th Congress, 1st session:

DEAR FRIEND: The 89th Congress, having just completed its first session, has been widely praised by many, including the New York Times, which has termed it "the best Congress since World War II." The major legislation passed by this Congress has been developing for over two decades and its far-reaching effects will benefit every family in our district. Federal expenditures in education, social security, medicare, immigration, veterans' benefits, and voting rights are but a few of the measures enacted by a Congress that was no longer hampered by obstructionist rules and a rigid seniority system. I have supported and in some instances coauthored much of this legislation. I have also exercised my right to disapprove those administration policies that I believed were not in the best interest of good fiscal government or in the best interest of my constituents. In addition to measures of national scope, I have actively engaged in our local problems of conservation, economy, urban renewal, transportation, and consumer protection. To those who may think this a "do-too-much" Congress, I refer to the enormous task still before us. Twenty-eight pieces of major legislation awaits the second session's scrutiny and approval. In this first session I have represented you on 201 rollcalls and on 172 quorum calls. I have had 12 general pair votes and 2 active pair votes. I was absent for five votes, although my absences were justified by official duties. My attendance record was 95 percent. I am anxious to tell you about my activities and share some thoughts with you about our Nation's political agenda. Our Federal Establishment is now so complex that people and their Government are often precluded from adequate contact with one another. This development I think we should all try to resist. For this reason, and because it enables me to reach the greatest number of you (about 200,000 families), I am sending you my congressional report by postal patron. As always, I welcome your views on the report, and on any other matters which interest, concern, or trouble you.

MAJOR LEGISLATIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS I VOTED FOR

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system; provides for increases up to 7 percent in old-age and survivor benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, plus other liberalizing changes. If you are a recipient of social security, railroad retirement, or Federal civil service retirement benefits, you qualify automatically for hospital insurance and should be receiving an application for the new program going into effect July 1, 1966. If you are 65 or over and not a recipient of any of the above benefits, or if you will be 65 by January 1, 1966, you should check for information with your local district office of the Social Security Administration prior to March 31, 1966. May I caution you not to cancel any health or hospital insurance you may now have. I coauthored this legislation which is an insurance plan that will do much to alleviate the need for welfare by our senior citizens.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grants to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with the bulk of aid for the school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families. I also coauthored this bill.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides grants for public housing for the handicapped. The new act reaches at the heart of causes of much of the spreading growth of crime.

Excise tax reduction: Provides for excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, jewelry, furs, cosmetics, luggage, and many other items.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote for all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes and literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control programs and grants for waste treatment plant construction, strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up rivers and streams. This measure will help to make our beaches safe to enjoy.

Immigration act amendments: Abolishes the discriminatory national origin quota system over a 3-year period; does not enlarge the present total immigration quota but gives special preference to relatives of American citizens. I coauthored this bill.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population now residing in suburban and metropolitan communities. This measure provides representation for the urban and suburban resident to counterbalance the farmer who has had a Department of Agriculture.

Higher education: Provides scholarships for needy undergraduates and reduces interest on private loans to graduate and undergraduate students.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad programs to meet the cultural needs of our Nation.

Presidential continuity: Proposes amendments to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit the Vice President to become Acting President; provides for filling the vacancy of the Office of the Vice President, and eliminates the dilemma caused by the tragedy of President Kennedy's assassination.

ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS I OPPOSED

On May 26, I voted against H.R. 8370, the Department of Agriculture appropriations bill, because I am in favor of eliminating long-term agricultural subsidies. These subsidies make the farmer totally dependent upon Federal handouts and raise the price of food to the consumer; my vote on July 14 was against the Coinage Act and for sound money; I opposed the administration's position by voting for the military pay raise which I felt our servicemen deserve; on August 3 I voted to increase civil service annuities for retirement and disability as an adjustment to economic reality; because I am concerned with the balance-of-payments problem, I voted against the interest equalization tax which I found to be a burden on private enterprise and did not accomplish the desired result; the public works bill presented on August 12 was poorly drawn and because I do not support the pork barrel theory, I could not support this measure, and in September I opposed a flood control bill because it was also poorly drawn. I favored an increase in Federal salaries over administration recommendations because I feel such salaries should be commensurate with private industry.

PROPOSED LEGISLATION

In addition to the many programs enacted, there remain bills which I have introduced that are still pending before the Congress. A partial review follows: House Resolution 144, to establish a special committee on the captive nations living under the Communist yoke; H.R. 3494, to award posthumously a Congressional Medal of Honor to the late President John Fitzgerald Kennedy; House Concurrent Resolution 240, making known the sense of Congress against persecution of persons in the Soviet Union because of religion; H.R. 5609, to establish a Commission on Science and Technology and aid private enterprise convert from too great a reliance upon defense contracts; H.R. 7074, to provide free distribution of certain Government publications to State and local governments and also to institutions of higher education; H.R. 9875, to provide for the regulation of transportation of dogs and cats intended for research and experimentation, a humane act to protect our pets from cruelty; House Resolution 518, expressing the sense of the House with respect to the Warsaw Convention and Hague Protocol which sharply limits the amount of money survivors of international air disasters can collect. (On October 20, the President authorized the Department of State to withdraw from this treaty unless the insurance limit was increased to a minimum of $75,000. This decision resulted from my resolution.) H.R. 10861, to provide protection for members of families of the Armed Forces from threatening and harassing communications; H.R. 11215, to provide for a Hudson Highlands National Scenic Riverway in the State of New York; House Joint Resolution 686, to reduce voting age to 18; H.R. 11557 to provide for a comprehensive plan to preserve, develop, and make usable for the public the Long Island Sound and related shoreline in New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, thus eliminating the piecemeal destruction of our natural resources. The last measure I introduced, H.R. 11797, provides for the Federal Government to establish standards for marine heads to eliminate further pollution of our navigable waters by uncontrolled discharge of raw sewage.

PROMOTION OF BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

The lifeblood of the economy of Long Island rests with increased business activity. In July I led a tour of 17 members of the Armed Services and Space Committees, who had never before visited our area or realized the full potential of our area for space and defense production, through the Republic Aviation plant at Farmingdale. Again, in October, I accompanied Secretary of Defense McNamara and Senator ROBERT KENNEDY on a tour of the Sperry, Fairchild Hiller-Republic, and Grumman installations. These have been unprecedented visits for our district, and I am confident of a better working relationship with the Department of Defense and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. Early next year I have planned a special Government contract procurement seminar for small businessmen in our district in my continuing effort to promote Long Island as one of the Nation's finest business and industrial areas.

CONSERVATION OF OUR NATURAL HERITAGE

The magnificant heritage of natural beauty found on Long Island must be protected. I have introduced legislation that would provide a "conservation master plan" for the entire Long Island Sound area. This unified approach involves New York, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and would replace the individual uncoordinated efforts that have so far proved ineffective. This legislation calls for a study that would provide the best method of coping with the problems of water pollution, destruction of marine life and wetlands, the hodgepodge construction of piers and marinas and indiscriminate dredging. It would be a major step toward arresting and reversing the unfortunate trend toward piecemeal destruction of our priceless natural heritage. One reason I am opposed to the construction of a proposed sound bridge at Oyster Bay is that it will destroy one of the finest natural areas in the northeast. I favor two bridges—one at Port Jefferson and the other at Orient Point—for the betterment of the economy of our area, but the cost in the loss of the Oyster Bay natural retreat would be incomprehensible. I brought to Oyster Bay Interior Department officials who joined me in an aerial survey of the wetlands in the area. The possibility of establishing a Federal wildlife preserve was favorably reported. The National Park Service has already agreed to spend $104,400 in fiscal 1966 for the development of the Sagamore Hill National Historical site, the home of President Theodore Roosevelt.

CONGRESSIONAL OFFICES

You may be interested to know that my staff has served over 3,000 visitors in this first session, answered over 100 letters per day, and about the same number of phone calls. I am equally proud of your use of the congressional district offices in Glen Cove, Jericho, and Port Washington.

NEW LEGISLATION FOR OUR CITIZENS

One of the most progressive and long-awaited pieces of social legislation, medicare, is now a reality. Some 5,800 residents of our district, who previously were not eligible, will now be entitled to receive benefits. About 92,000 residents, age 65 and over, will be eligible for hospital insurance protection on July 1, 1966. If you have any questions regarding this or any other new Federal program, please contact my office for assistance. This landmark legislation begins a new era of security for our senior citizens.

VETERANS' LEGISLATIONS

This year there are four major improvements in benefits to veterans: (1) increased compensation to disabled veterans; (2) reestablishment of the national service life insurance program; (3) increased vocational rehabilitation training allowances for service-connected disabled veterans; and (4) war orphans' allowances for educational assistance. Any veteran with questions is invited to contact my office for assistance through our Veterans' Affairs Committee.

I am continuing my efforts to locate a veterans' hospital in Nassau County where it will serve the greatest number of veterans.

FEDERAL AID TO OUR COMMUNITIES

As your Representative in Washington, I take it as my responsibility to make available to the communities in our district, information about the many Federal-aid programs. On November 4, I arranged a meeting in Port Washington between the officials of all the towns in our district and a team of top Washington administrators for the purpose of implementing as many programs in our communities as feasible. To date Federal assistance to housing and urban development—loans, grants, and advances from major programs of Housing and Home Finance Agency totaled $179,282. I am happy to report that after 5 years our urban renewal program in Glen Cove is finally underway. Federal funds totaling $1,843,342 have been granted to our district for the operation of antipoverty projects. Two hundred and sixty-six culturally deprived 4- and 5-year-old children attended 12 Project Head Start centers with the help of 7 grants totaling $45,932. Three residents of our district have joined VISTA, the domestic peace corps. Five hundred and forty unemployed heads of families are receiving constructive work training, and over 73 small business loans have been made to help individuals establish and strengthen their businesses.

WINNING THE PEACE IN VIETNAM

The war in Vietnam is an ideological and economic struggle as well as a military conflict. Ultimate peace depends upon a realization by the Vietnamese people that the democratic way promises a better life to all. Recently I proposed a plan to stimulate American business investment in Vietnam. Backed by Federal Government guarantees, American businessmen would join with their Vietnamese counterparts in producing items of light manufacture that are in short supply. Besides bolstering the war-weary Vietnamese economy, this program would eventually relieve the burden of foreign aid from American taxpayers. With the backing of the State Department, meetings were held in Washington and New York with American and Vietnamese businessmen. Recognizing that this plan could provide a strong key to a successful peace in Vietnam, plans are now afoot to bring this project to fruition.

CONSUMER PROTECTION

As a former businessman concerned with the rising cost of living, I have long questioned the impact and widespread use of trading stamps upon consumer costs. I have concluded a series of informal meetings on this matter both in Washington and New York. Joined by 16 of my distinguished colleagues, I have inquired into all aspects of this multimillion-dollar industry on behalf of the American consumer, for I believe Mr. and Mrs. Consumer have a right to know for what they are paying. It is gratifying to report that at a recent meeting of the trading stamp industry there was talk by a number of reputable stamp companies to seek standards to insure the public from unscrupulous companies by providing adequate bonding regulations. It was also agreed to reexamine the use of the word "free" with reference to premiums. However, the consumer must be protected from irresponsible dealers, and any premium that is paid for directly or indirectly cannot rightfully be called "free." It is high time the consumer was protected. This has been the vigor and thrust of my inquiry.

JET NOISE

I have attended meetings in Washington with Federal Aviation Agency officials who are studying the serious problem of jet noise on Long Island. I actively support all efforts to solve this annoying problem without compromising aircraft safety.

FOR THE INTERNATIONAL TRAVELER

In August, Senator ROBERT F. KENNEDY joined me in seeking an increase in liability of airlines in international travel to survivors of air crashes. Present liability is regulated by the Warsaw Convention and is limited to $8,300 (even to Canada and Mexico) and even if airline negligence is proven. The

State Department, at the President's behest, has now advised that the United States will withdraw from this treaty unless coverage of a minimum of $75,000 is available. This is a major victory in protecting the air traveler.

RECESS

With Congress adjourned until January 10, 1966, I have planned for my third visit to Vietnam in the past 18 months. I plan to conduct a series of town meetings this winter to review those issues you wish to bring to my attention for legislation at the next session.

In conclusion, I wish to thank the local radio and television stations for carrying my news reports of Congressional activities to you. The daily and local newspapers have also been generous in reporting my activities in your behalf. I am also very appreciative of the contributions of time given freely to my office by volunteers who have helped to carry on the activities of our congressional offices and by college students from our district who are studying in Washington.

During my trip to Vietnam all of our offices will remain open for your continued use. Please do not hesitate to contact me any time I can be of service. If you are planning a trip to our Nation's Capital, please contact my office in advance so that we may arrange tours and visits that would make your visit more memorable.

VOTING RECORD OF THE HONORABLE LESTER L. WOLFF, 89th CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

January 4, 1965:

Election of Speaker (289–139): Vote McCORMACK.

House Resolution 1: Authorizes oath of office to certain Mississippi Members. On ordering the previous question (276–149): Vote "nay."

House Resolution 8: Relates to rules of the House. On ordering the previous question (224–202): Vote "yea."

January 19, 1965: House Resolution 126—Dismissal of contest of election of Richard L. Ottinger. On agreeing to resolution (245–102): Vote "yea."

January 26, 1965: House Joint Resolution 234—Supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture. On motion to recommit, designed to bar use of any funds to finance any exportation of agricultural commodities to the United Arab Republic under provisions of title I (204–177): Vote "yea."

February 8, 1965: House Joint Resolution 234—Supplemental agriculture appropriations, 1965. On motion to instruct the House conferees to insist on disagreement to Senate amendment No. 3, providing Presidential discretion in granting of aid to the United Arab Republic (165–241): Vote "nay."

February 9, 1965: H.R. 3818—Eliminates the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. On motion to recommit (93–289): Vote "nay." On passage (300–82): Vote "yea."

February 17, 1965: H.R. 2198.—Amends the Arms Control and Disarmament Act. On passage (302–63): Vote "yea."

February 18, 1965: H.R. 45.—Amends the Inter-American Development Bank Act. On motion to recommit, designed to reduce the authorization from $750 million to $725 million (152–237): Vote "nay." On passage (288–93): Vote "yea."

February 25, 1965: House Resolution 188.—Provides $370,000 for the expenses of the Committee on Un-American Activities. On motion to recommit, designed to provide for open hearings on authorization of funds for the committee (53–333): Vote "yea." On agreeing to resolution (360–29): vote "yea."

March 3, 1965: S. 3.—Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965. On motion to recommit, designed to replace the text of S. 3 with the provisions of H.R. 4466 (100–323): Vote "nay." On passage (257–165): Vote "yea."

March 10, 1965: H.R. 2.—Amends the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act. On passage (402–0): Vote "yea."

March 15, 1965: H.R. 4714.—Amends the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (217–113): Vote "yea."

March 16, 1965: H.R. 5505.—Relates to establishment of Federal standards for Congressional redistricting. On Mathias amendment providing that the number of Representatives that a State is entitled to may be elected at large pending reapportionment under this act; also providing for at-large elections in States that have never established districts (147–255): Vote "nay."

March 17, 1965: H.R. 5374—Increases by $3,000 per annum the salaries of the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. On agreeing to House Resolution 276, the rule providing for consideration of the bill (202–183): Vote "yea." On passage (178–202): Vote "yea."

March 22, 1965: H.R. 5688—Relates to crime and criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. On motion to recommit (166–216): Vote "yea." On passage (251–131): Vote "yea."

March 23, 1965: H.R. 5721—Amends the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco. On passage (206–170): Vote "general pair."

March 26, 1965:

On ordering the previous question on motion to consider the Journal as read (274–119): Vote 'yea."

H.R. 2362—Strengthens and improves educational quality and opportunities in the Nation's elementary and secondary schools. On motion to recommit (149–267): Vote "nay." On passage (263–153): Vote "yea."

March 31, 1965:

H.R. 3708—Providing assistance in the development of new or improved programs to help older persons. On passage (395–1): Vote "yea."

H.R. 1111—Provides for the optimum development of the Nation's natural resources. On passage (383–0): Vote "yea."

April 1, 1965: H.R. 4257—Manpower Act of 1965. On passage (394–0): Vote "yea."

April 5, 1965:

H.R. 980—Provides for the return of obscene mail. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (360–12): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 7064—Authorizes an appropriation of $1 million for construction of a U.S. Embassy building in Saigon. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (378–0): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 7060—Treasury-Post Office Departments, appropriations. On passage (347–7): Vote "general pair."

April 6, 1965: H.R. 7091—Second supplemental appropriations, 1965. On passage (348–62): Vote "yea."

April 8, 1965: H.R. 6675—Provides a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act. On motion to recommit (191–236): Vote "nay." On passage (313–115): Vote "yea."

April 13, 1965:

H.R. 2998—Arms Control and Disarmament Act. On agreeing to conference report (316–65): Vote "yea."

House Joint Resolution 1—Presidential inability and succession. On passage (368–29): Vote "yea."

April 14, 1965: House Resolution 310—Providing $50,000 for additional expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities incurred in investigation of Ku Klux Klan. On agreeing to resolution (313–43): Vote "yea."

April 27, 1965: H.R. 6497—Authorizes an increase in the International Monetary Fund quota of the United States. On motion to recommit (113–275): Vote "nay." On passage (301–88): Vote "yea."

April 28, 1965: S. 4.—Water Quality Act of 1965. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

April 29, 1965:

H.R. 7091—Supplemental appropriations for fiscal year 1965. On agreeing to conference report (316–55): Vote "yea." On preferential motion to recede and concur in Senate amendment (144–228): Vote "yea."

H.R. 4714—Amends the National Arts and Cultural Act of 1964 with respect to the authorization of appropriations. On passage (239–115): Vote "yea."

May 3, 1965: H.R. 2906—To extend and amend certain expiring provisions of the Public Health Service Act relating to community health services. On passage (347–0): Vote "yea."

May 4, 1965: H.R. 2985—Authorizes assistance in meeting the initial cost of professional and technical personnel for comprehensive community mental health centers. On passage (389–0): Vote "yea."

May 5, 1965:

House Joint Resolution 447—Making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 for the Department of Defense. On passage (408–7): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7657—Appropriations during fiscal year 1966 for procurement of aircraft, missiles, etc., for the Armed Forces. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

May 6, 1965: H.R. 7717—Authorizes appropriations to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration for research and development, construction of facilities, and administrative operations. On agreeing to resolution (389–0): Vote "yea." On passage (389–11): Vote "yea."

May 10, 1965: H.R. 2984—Amends the Public Health Services Act provisions for construction of health research facilities. On passage (334–4): Vote "yea."

May 12, 1965: S. 701—International Coffee Agreement Act of 1965. On passage (300–97): Vote paired "for."

May 20, 1965: H.R. 8122—Atomic Energy Commission, appropriations. On motion to recommit (43–313): Vote "nay." On passage (352–1): Vote "yea."

May 25, 1965: H.R. 7750—To amend further the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended, after adopting a corrective committee amendment. On motion to recommit (178–219): Vote "nay." On passage (249–148): Vote "yea."

May 26, 1965: H.R. 8370—Department of Agriculture, appropriations. On motion to recommit (187–208): Vote "yea." On passage (354–41): Vote "nay."

June 1, 1965:

H.R. 8639—State, Justice, Commerce, Judiciary, appropriation. On passage (322–60): Vote "yea."

H.R. 3584—Coal Mine Safety Act. On passage (336–42): Vote "yea."

June 2, 1965: H.R. 8371—Excise Tax Reduction. On passage (401–6): Vote "yea."

June 3, 1965: H.R. 7777—Appointment of Gen. William F. McKee to the office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. On passage (228–137): Vote "yea."

June 7, 1965: H.R. 3157—To amend the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 to eliminate the provisions which reduce the annuities of the spouses of retired employees by the amount of certain monthly benefits. On passage (323–0): Vote "yea."

June 8, 1965:

H.R. 8775—Legislative appropriations. On motion to recommit (149–244): Vote "nay."

H.R. 7105—To provide for continuation of authority for regulation of exports. On passage (288–1): Vote "yea."

June 9, 1965:

H.R. 8464.—Public debt limit, increase. On ordering the previous question (273–109): Vote "yea." On passage (229–165): Vote "yea."

House Concurrent Resolution 285.—Kennedy film. On request for a separate vote on an amendment to prevent the charging of a fee from viewers of the film (174–216): Vote "nay." On agreeing to resolution (311–75): Vote "yea."

June 16, 1965:

H.R. 6927—Housing and Urban Development. On motion to recommit (141–259): Vote "nay." On passage (217–184): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 416—Authorizes each Member of the House of Representatives to employ annually, on a temporary basis, a student congressional intern. On agreeing to resolution (229–153): Vote "yea."

June 21, 1965:

H.R. 7743—Establishes a system of loan insurance and a supplementary system of direct loans to assist students to attend post-secondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (300–0): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 8620—Amends the Agricultural Act of 1949 and the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (297–2): Vote "general pair."

House Concurrent Resolution 416—Requests the President of the United States to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (298–0): Vote "general pair."

June 23, 1965: H.R. 9221—Defense Department appropriations. On passage (407–0): Vote "yea."

June 24, 1965: H.J. Res. 541—Extends the Area Redevelopment Act for a period of 2 months. On agreeing to resolution (224–167): Vote "yea."

June 28, 1965: H.R. 7984—Housing and Urban Development. On agreeing to House Resolution 425, the open rule providing for 6 hours of debate on, and the waiving of points of order against the bill H.R. 7984 (230–115): Vote "yea."

June 30, 1965: H.R. 7984—Housing and Urban Development. On Stephens amendment to rewrite section 101, relating to rent subsidies, to limit eligibility to persons eligible for public housing (240–179): Vote "yea." On motion to recommit designed to delete sections 101 and 106, relating to rent subsidy payments, and rehabilitation grants to homeowners in urban renewal areas (202–208): Vote "nay." On passage (245–169): Vote "yea."

July 6, 1965: H.R. 6400—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 440 providing for the consideration of, and 10 hours of debate on H.R. 6400 (310–58): Vote "yea."

July 9, 1965: H.R. 6400—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On Cramer vote-fraud amendment to provide criminal penalties for giving false information on voting eligibility status (253–165): Vote yea." On Boggs amendment (identical to the Long amendment in the Senate bill) respecting judicial review (155–262): Vote "nay." On Gilbert amendment to allow people illiterate in English to vote if they have completed the sixth grade in Spanish-language schools (202–216): Vote "yea." On motion to recommit designed to substitute the text of H.R. 7896 prohibiting the denial to any person of the right to register or to vote because of his failure to pay a poll tax or any other such tax, for the language of the committee (171–248): Vote "nay." On passage (333–85): Vote "yea."

July 12, 1965:

H.R. 8856—Atomic Energy Act of 1954, intent of Congress. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (216–139): Vote "yea."

H.R. 242—To extend the apportionment requirement in the Civil Service Act of January 16, 1883, to temporary summer employment. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (336–32): Vote "yea."

July 13, 1965: S. 559—Cigarette Labeling Act. On agreeing to conference report (285–103): Vote "yea."

July 14, 1965: H.R. 8926—Coinage Act of 1965. On Battin amendment to require the silver content of quarters and dimes to be fixed at 40 percent (187–218): Vote "yea:" On passage (255–151): Vote "yea."

July 20, 1965: H.R. 9075—Military pay increase. On passage (410–0): Vote "yea."

July 22, 1965: H.R. 8283—Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1964. On motion to recommit (178–227): Vote "nay." On passage (245–158): Vote "yea."

July 26, 1965: H.R. 77—Labor, right-to-work provisions (14(b)). On ordering previous question, open rule (H. Res. 437) for consideration of bill (248–171): Vote "yea."

July 27, 1965:

H.R. 6675—Provides a hospital insurance program for the aged under the Social Security Act. On agreeing to conference report (307–116): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7984—Housing and urban development. On agreeing to conference report (251–168): Vote "yea."

H.R. 2985—Community Mental Health Centers Act Amendments. On agreeing to conference report (414–0): Vote "yea."

July 28, 1965: H.R. 77—Labor, right-to-work provisions (14(b)). On motion to recommit (200–223): Vote "nay." On passage (221–203): Vote "yea."

July 29, 1965: H.R. 8856—Atomic Energy Act of 1954, intent of Congress. On passage (275–126): Vote "yea."

August 2, 1965:

Senate Joint Resolution 81—To increase the amount authorized for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal year 1967 and to authorize the apportionment of such amount. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (314–11): Vote "general pair."

H.R. 8027—Provides assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and other personnel and is improving capabilities, techniques, and practices in State and local law enforcement and prevention and control of crime. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (326–0): Vote paired "for."

H.R. 6964—To amend U.S. Code to facilitate the rehabilitation of persons convicted of offenses against the United States. On motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (326–0): Vote "yea."

August 3, 1965:

S. 1564—Voting Rights Act of 1965. On motion to recommit designed to delete the Boggs-Long amendment (118–284): Vote "nay." On agreeing to conference report (328–74): Vote "yea."

H.R. 8469—To provide certain increases in annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund. On passage (396–0): Vote "yea."

August 4, 1965:

H.R. 8439—Military Construction Authorization. On agreeing to conference report (389–0): Vote "yea."

S. 1742—Permits U.S. Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation to agree to amendments to the articles of agreement of such Bank and Corporation. On passage (331–54): Vote "yea."

August 5, 1965: H.R. 4750—To provide an extension of the interest equalization tax. On agreeing to House Resolution 490, the closed rule under which the legislation was considered (329–44): Vote "yea." On passage (274–97): Vote "nay."

August 9, 1965: H.R. 9918—To amend the Fire and Casualty Act and the Motor Vehicles Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia. On Sickles amendment supplying new text (173–156): Vote "yea."

August 10, 1965: H.R. 10306—Amends the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951 to prohibit destruction or mutilation of draft cards. On passage (393–1): Vote "yea."

August 12, 1965: S. 1648—Provides grants for public works and development facilities, etc. On Sisk amendment to make more areas eligible for grants for public works and development facilities under title I; to increase the authorization from $400 million to $500 million; and to limit the program from 5 years to 4 years (196–194). Vote "nay." On Cramer motion to recommit designed to require funds provided for projects be spent on American products, prevent the making of working capital loans; and provide for annual congressional review of Economic Development Loan Fund (163–224). Vote "yea." On passage (246–138). Vote "nay."

August 16, 1965:

H.R. 6431—To amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to provide that certain forms of nickel be admitted free of duty. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (297–48). Vote "yea."

H.R. 8635—To establish and prescribe the duties of a Federal Boxing Commission. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (346–4). Vote "yea."

August 19, 1965:

H.R. 7750—To amend the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961. On agreeing to conference report (244–150). Vote "yea."

H.R. 9811—Food and Agriculture Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (169–224). Vote "yea." On passage (221–172). Vote "nay."

August 24, 1965: H.R. 10586—Supplemental appropriations for Departments of Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare. On motion to recommit (139–263). Vote "nay."

August 25, 1965: H.R. 2500—Amends the Immigration and Nationality Act. On MacGregor amendment to establish on July 1, 1968, a limit of 115,000 immigrants per year from countries in the Western Hemisphere and require cancellation of special immigration visas from numerical ceiling of 115,000 when deportation proceedings are stayed or alien status adjusted (189–218); Vote "Nay." On passage (318–95); vote "Yea."

August 26, 1965: H.R. 9567—Higher Education Act of 1965. On passage (367–22); vote "Yea."

August 30, 1965: H.R. 9022—Amends Public Laws 815 and 874, Eighty-first Congress, to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster. On passage (305–37); vote "general pair."

August 31, 1965: H.R. 9042—Implementation of Agreement between United States and Canada concerning Automotive products. On agreeing to resolution (H. Res. 551) closed rule for consideration of H.R. 9042 (364–23); Vote "Yea." On passage (280–113); vote "Yea."

September 1, 1965: H.R. 3141—Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965. On passage (340–47); Vote "Yea."

September 2, 1965: H.R. 5863—To authorize the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. On passage (317–24); Vote "Yea."

September 7, 1965: H.R. 8439—Military construction authorization. On motion to table a motion providing for discharging the Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of H.R. 8439, fiscal 1966 military construction authorization (323–19); Vote "Yea."

H.R. 10775—Military construction authorization. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (347–0): Vote "Yea."

H.R. 168—Veterans' disability compensation increase. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (348–0): Vote "Yea."

Senate Joint Resolution 102—Authorizes funds for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (339–0): Vote "Yea."

September 8, 1965: H.R. 10871—Foreign Aid Appropriations. On passage (239–143): Vote "Yea."

September 13, 1965:

(Procedural votes to delay consideration of or in opposition to one or more bills under the 21-day rule or in opposition to the consideration of bills without a rule from the Rules Committee):

On Moss motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call of the House (220–126): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (243–127): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (256–123): Not voting.

On Albert motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (255–121): Not voting.

On Hall motion to lay on the table ALBERT'S motion that the Journal be approved as read (138–244): Vote "Nay."

On ordering the previous question on the motion to approve the Journal (257–126): Vote "Yea."

On Albert motion that the Journal, as read, stand approved (265–119): Vote "Yea."

On McMillan motion to adjourn (175–204): Vote "Nay."

H.R. 10065—Equal Employment Opportunity Act. On agreeing to House Resolution 506, the open rule for consideration of (259–121): Vote "yea." On Albert motion to table motion to reconsider vote to adopt House Resolution 506 (194–181): Vote "yea." On Sikes motion to adjourn (173–201): Vote "nay." On McFall motion that further proceedings under the call of the House be dispensed with (243–136): Vote "yea."

H.R. 7371.—Amends the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On agreeing to House Resolution 499, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 4 hours of debate on H.R. 7371 (201–171): Vote "yea."

H.R. 9460—National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 478, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 2 hours of debate on H.R. 9460 (260–114): Vote "yea."

H.R. 10281—Government Employees Salary Comparability Act. On agreeing to House Resolution 536, the open rule providing for the consideration of and 4 hours of debate on H.R. 10281 (288–84): Vote "yea."

September 14, 1965: H.R. 2091—Establishment of concession policies in areas administered by National Park Service. On motion to recommit (73–298): Vote "nay."

September 15, 1965:

H.R. 8283—Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965. On motion to recommit the conference report (209–180): Vote "nay."

H.R. 9460—National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (128–251): Vote "nay."

September 16, 1965:

House Resolution 574.—Directs the Postmaster General to provide the names of temporary employees employed by the Post Office Department during the summer of 1965. On motion to table the resolution (186–180): Vote "nay."

S. 2042.—Atomic Energy Act of 1964, indemnification agreements. On passage (338–30): Vote "yea."

September 17, 1965:

H.R. 9221.—Department of Defense appropriations, 1966. On agreeing to conference reeport (380–0): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 585.—Mississippi contested elections. On agreeing to resolution (228–143): Vote "nay."

September 20, 1965:

S. 2127—Armed Forces, indemnity insurance. On suspending the rules and passing the bill (360–0): Vote "yea."

House Resolution 560.—Communism in Western Hemisphere. On suspending the rules and agreeing to the resolution (321–52): Vote "yea."

September 21, 1965: S. 4.—Water Quality Act of 1965. On agreeing to conference report: Vote "yea."

September 22, 1965:

S. 2300.—Rivers, harbors, and flood control. On Clark amendment to authorize the Secretary of the Army to conduct and report to Congress on a survey of St. John River, Maine, for flood control and allied functions separate and apart from the Passamaquoddy tidal power project (207–185): Vote "yea."

H.R. 30.—Inter-American Cultural and Trade Center. On passage (255–112): Vote "yea." On motion to adjourn (89–204): Vote "nay."

September 23, 1965:

H.R. 7371—Amends the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956. On committee substitute amendment to eliminate several additional exemptions from the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 (199–178): Vote "yea."

H.R. 10232—Water and sanitation systems in rural areas. On ordering the previous question on H. Res. 580, the open rule providing for 2 hours of debate on the bill (280–70); Vote "yea." On passage (325–10); Vote "general pair."

September 24, 1965: S. 306—Clean air pollution program. On motion to recommit designed to delete the provisions for solid waste disposal (80–220); vote "nay." On passage (294–4); vote "yea."

September 27, 1965: H.R. 4644—District of Columbia home rule. On Multer motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of House Resolution 515, the open rule providing for the consideration of, waiving points of order against, and 5 hours of debate on H.R. 4644 (213–183); vote "yea." On agreeing to House Resolution 515 (222–179); vote "yea." On Multer motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee on the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H.R. 4644 (234–155); vote "yea."

September 29, 1965: H.R. 4644—District of Columbia home rule. On motion to strike the enacting clause and thus kill the bill (179–219); vote "nay." On Multer amendment as amended by the Sisk amendment (227–174); vote "yea." On motion to recommit (134–267); vote "nay." On passage (283–117); vote "yea."

September 30, 1965: H.R. 2580—Immigration and Nationality Act. On agreeing to conference report (320–69); vote "yea."

H.R. 10281—Government Employees Salary Comparability Act. On motion to recommit designed to remove the provisions for a permanent system for the establishment and maintenance of proper salary relationships in Federal, executive, judicial, congressional, and career salaries (238–140): Vote "nay." On passage (370–7): Vote "yea."

October 1, 1965:

House Joint Resolution 642—Third Library of Congress Building. On motion to recommit (17–321): Vote "nay." On passage (328–5): Vote "yea."

H.R. 10871—Foreign assistance appropriation. On motion to recommit with instructions to the conferees to insist on disagreement to amendment No. 7, which deleted North Vietnam from the language prohibiting aid to countries that furnish aid to Cuba or North Vietnam (164–174): Vote "yea." On agreeing to conference report (204–127): Vote "yea."

H.R. 3142—Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965. On passage (296–3): Vote "yea."

H.R. 6519—Jefferson National Expansion Memorial. On passage (250–12): Vote "nay."

October 7, 1965:

Senate Joint Resolution 32—Ryukyu Islands, contributions to. On agreeing to resolution (312–55): Vote "yea."

H.R. 2020—Nevada water project. On passage (239–134): Vote "nay."

S. 2084—Highway Beautification Act of 1965. On motion to recommit (153–230): Vote "nay." On passage (245–138): Vote "yea."

October 8, 1965: H.R. 9811—Food and Agricultural Act of 1965. On agreeing to conference report (219–150): Vote "nay."

October 12, 1965: H.R. 11135—Sugar Act Amendments of 1965. On agreeing to House Resolution 598, the closed rule providing for the consideration of, 4 hours of debate on, and waiving points of order against H.R. 11135 (253–80): Vote "yea."

October 13, 1965: H.R. 11135—Sugar Act Amendments of 1965. On motion to recommit (160–230): Vote "general pair." On passage: Vote "general pair."

October 14, 1965: Supplemental Appropriation for fiscal 1966 (242–100): Vote "Yea."

October 20, 1965: To strengthen educational resources of colleges and universities (313–63): Vote "yea."

October 21, 1965: Supplemental Appropriation (250–84): Vote "yea."

October 22, 1965: Amend and extend provisions of Sugar Act of 1948. On adoption of conference report (174–88): Vote "yea."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On October 20, 1965:

H.R. 10871. An act making appropriations for foreign assistance and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

On October 21, 1965:

H.R. 9042. An act to provide for the implementation of the agreement concerning automotive products between the Government of the United States of America and the Government of Canada, and for other purposes.

On October 22, 1965:

H.R. 7919. An act to provide for the establishment of the Roger Williams National Memorial in the city of Providence, R.I., and for other purposes.

On October 23, 1965:

H.R. 5457. An act for the relief of Maria del Rosario de Fatima Lopez Hayes;

H.R. 5554. An act for the relief of Mary Frances Crabbs;

H.R. 5904. An act for the relief of Nam Ie Kim;

H.R. 6229. An act for the relief of Kim Sun Ho.

H.R. 6235. An act for the relief of Chun Soo Kim;

H.R. 7888. An act providing for the extension of patent numbered D–119, 187;

H.R. 8457. An act for the relief of Robert G. Mikulecky;

H.R. 9521. An act for the relief of Clarence Earle Davis; and

H.J. Res. 571. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the week beginning October 25, 1965, as National Parkinson Week.

On October 26, 1965:

H.R. 1319. An act for the relief of Joseph Durante.

H.R. 3515. An act for the relief of Mary Ann Hartmann; and

H.R. 9526. An act for the relief of Raffaella Achilli.

On October 27, 1965:

H.R. 1311. An act for the relief of Joseph J. McDevitt;

H.R. 1836. An act for the relief of Constantinos Agganis;

H.R. 2035. An act for the relief of Miss Gloria Seborg;

H.R. 2285. An act for the relief of Mrs. Concetta Cioffi Carson;

H.R. 2557. An act for the relief of Frank Simms;

H.R. 2757. An act for the relief of Maria Alexandros Siagris;

H.R. 2853. An act to amend title 17, United States Code, with relation to the fees to be charged;

H.R. 3288. An act for the relief of Hwang Tai Shik;

H.R. 3669. An act for the relief Emilia Majka;

H.R. 3770. An act for the relief of certain individuals employed by the Department of the Navy at the Pacific Missile Range, Point Mugu, Calif.;

H.R. 4078. An act for the relief of William L. Minton; and

H.R. 4203. An act for the relief of Alton G. Edwards.

On October 29, 1965:

H.R. 1644. An act for the relief of 1st Lt. Robert B. Gann, and others;

H.R. 4137. An act for the relief of Dr. Jan Rosciszewski;

H.R. 4194. An act for the relief of Angelica Anagnostopoulos;

H.R. 4464. An act for the relief of Michael Hadjichristofas, Aphrodite Hadjichristofas, and Paniote Hadjichristofas;

H.R. 8350. An act for the relief of the successors in interest of Cooper Blyth and Grace Johnston Blyth otherwise Grace McCloy Blyth; and

H.R. 10281. An act to adjust the rates of basic compensation of certain officers and employees of the Federal Government, and for other purposes.

On October 30, 1965:

H.R. 23. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to initiate with the several States a cooperative program for the conservation, development, and enhancement of the Nation's anadromous fish, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1386. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of Pomona College;

H.R. 2578. An act for the relief of Maxie L. Rupert;

H.R. 4832. An act to provide for the free entry of a mass spectrometer for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.;

H.R. 4845. An act to provide for the economic and efficient purchase, lease, maintenance, operation, and utilization of automatic data processing equipment by Federal departments and agencies;

H.R. 8272. An act to provide for the free entry of an isotope separator for the use of Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.;

H.R. 8646. An act for the relief of Rifkin Textiles Corp.;

H.R. 9495. An act to increase the appropriation authorization for the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9588. An act to provide for the free entry of an electrically driven rotating chair for the use of the Louisiana State University Medical Center, New Orleans, La.; and

H.R. 10198. An act to amend the requirements relating to lumber under the Shipping Act, 1916.

On October 31, 1965:

H.R. 168. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to provide increases in the rates of disability compensation, and for other purposes;

H.R. 1393. An act for the relief of Mrs. Maria Eduvigis Aran Heffernan;

H.R. 2762. An act for the relief of Manlio Massimiliani;

H.R. 2906. An act for the relief of Mrs. Lily Ning Sheehan;

H.R. 3126. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the University of Washington;

H.R. 4170. An act to provide for adjustments in annuities under the Foreign Service retirement and disability system;

H.R. 6312. An act for the relief of Mario Menna;

H.R. 6655. An act for the relief of Pieter Cornelis Metzelaar.

H.R. 6720. An act for the relief of Ping-Kwan Fong;

H.R. 7282. An act for the relief of Richard D. Walsh;

H.R. 7357. An act for the relief of Dr. Felipe V. Lavapies;

H.R. 7608. An act to provide for the free entry of one automatic steady state distribution machine for the use of the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.

H.R. 8135. An act for the relief of Jennifer Rebecca Siegel;

H.R. 10256. An act for the relief of James D. W. Blyth, his wife, Jean Mary Blyth, and their daughter, Penelope Jean Blyth;

H.R. 10292. An act for the relief of Hilda Shen Tsiang;

H.R. 11096. An act to authorize the disposal of graphite, quartz crystals, and lump steatite talc from the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both; and

H.R. 11588. An act making supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

On November 1, 1965:

H.R. 1218. An act for the relief of T. W. Holt & Co. and/or Holt Import & Export Co.;

H.R. 5217. An act to permit the vessel *Little Nancy* to be documented for use in the coastwise trade;

H.R. 6906. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer and one split pole spectograph for the use of University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.;

H.R. 7453. An act for the relief of Margaret Elizabeth and Frederick Henry Todd;

H.R. 8232. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer-gas chromatograph for the use of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.;

H.R. 9022. An act to amend Public Laws 815 and 874, 81st Congress, to provide financial assistance in the construction and operation of public elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster; to eliminate inequities in the application of Public Law 815 in certain military base closings; to make uniform eligibility requirements for school districts in Public Law 874; and for other purposes;

H.R. 9351. An act to provide for the free entry of one shadomaster measuring projector for the use of the University of South Dakota;

H.R. 9587. An act to provide for the free entry of a Craig countercurrent distribution apparatus for the use of Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.;

H.R. 10369. An act to give the consent of Congress to the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont to become parties to title II of the Compact on Taxation of Motor Fuels Consumed by Interstate Buses and the agreement relating to Bus Taxation Proration and Reciprocity;

H.R. 11303. An act to amend section 18 of the Civil Service Retirement Act, as amended; and

H.R. 11420. An act to amend title 39, United States Code, to provide certain mailing privileges with respect to members of the U.S. Armed Forces, and for other purposes.

On November 2, 1965:

H.R. 1317. An act to provide for the free entry of a mass spectrometer which was imported during May 1963 for the use of Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.;

H.R. 1781. An act to amend section 113(a) of title 28, United States Code, to provide that Federal District Court for the Eastern District of North Carolina shall be held at Clinton;

H.R. 2565. An act to provide for the free entry of one mass spectrometer for the use of the University of Chicago;

H.R. 3905. An act for the relief of Bibi Daljeet Kaur;

H.R. 4088. An act for the relief of Irving M. Sobin Chemical Co., Inc.;

H.R. 5006. An act for the relief of Diosdado F. Almazan;

H.R. 8370. An act making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9545. An act providing for the acquisition and preservation by the United States of certain items of evidence pertaining to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy; and

H.J. Res. 397. Joint resolution to authorize the Commissioners of the District of Columbia on behalf of the United States to transfer from the United States to the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency title to certain real property in said District.

On November 3, 1965:

H.R. 9811. An act to maintain farm income, to stabilize prices and assure adequate supplies of agricultural commodities, to reduce surpluses, lower Government costs and promote foreign trade, to afford greater economic opportunity in rural areas, and for other purposes; and

H.J. Res. 597. Joint resolution providing for the erection of a memorial to the late Dr. Robert H. Goddard, the father of rocketry.

On November 4, 1965:

H.R. 9047. An act to authorize the release of certain quantities of zinc from either the national stockpile or the supplemental stockpile, or both.

On November 5, 1965:

H.R. 7812. An act to authorize the loan of naval vessels to friendly foreign countries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 10305. An act to authorize the disposal, without regard to the prescribed 6-month waiting period, of approximately 200 million pounds of nickel from the national stockpile.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H-112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 89th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 111 WASHINGTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1965 No. 202

Appendix

NOTICE

The last issue of the daily Congressional Record for the first session of the Eighty-ninth Congress will be published not later than Monday, November 15, 1965. It is requested that copy and proofs of speeches withheld for revision, or extensions of remarks as authorized by either House, be submitted to the Government Printing Office or to the Congressional Record Clerk, Room H–112, Capitol, before that date.

By order of the Joint Committee on Printing.

CARL HAYDEN, Chairman.

High School Graduates Overwhelm Portland Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, my attention has been called to an article which appeared in the Friday, October 15, 1965, issue of the Portland Oregonian over the byline of Mr. John Guernsey. It details the factual nature of the pressure being placed upon institutions of higher education through increased enrollment. The research of vice principal Mildred Wirtz of the David Douglas High School shows incontrovertibly, in my judgment, how badly needed are the authorities which we provided through Public Law 88–204 and in the recently enacted Higher Education Act of 1965.

Mr. President, I commend Mr. Guernsey and Mrs. Wirtz upon this article. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MASS OF HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES OVERWHELMS PORTLAND COLLEGES

(By John Guernsey)

The David Douglas School District has done much to pinpoint why it is difficult this fall to find a parking space around Portland State College and the nearby Portland Community College.

Research by Mrs. Mildred Wirtz, vice principal and college counselor at David Douglas High, indicates that 359 of the 620 June graduates now are enrolled in colleges, community colleges, or business schools.

This is 57.8 percent of the graduates, up 4.3 percent over the percentage of 1964 David Douglas graduates who went on to college. And the 1964 class had about 80 fewer students in it.

But more significant is the fact that a much larger percentage of Portland area students are staying in the Portland area to do their college work.

About 96 of the graduates are enrolled at Portland State, and 42 of them at Portland Community College. This compares with the fall of 1964 when only 67 of the David Douglas graduates enrolled at Portland State, and only a handful at Portland Community College, which offered college transfer courses for the first time last year.

PORTLAND GAINS STUDENTS

More than half of the 359 David Douglas graduates who are continuing their educations are doing it in the Portland area.

In addition to 96 at Portland State and 42 at Portland Community College, 18 are at Multnomah College, another 28 at 4-year colleges in the immedate Portland area, and 11 are at private business schools.

Although most other school districts in the Portland area do not have student followup information as refined as that from David Douglas, counselors from the other districts believe that more of their students are attending the Portland area colleges and community colleges. Their conclusions are based on conversations with the students.

Frances McGill, supervisor of guidance of counseling for the Portland school system, believes that about 55 percent of the Portland system's 6,066 June graduates are in colleges or community colleges. She is also positive that a bigger percentage of them are going to Portland State and Portland Community College.

The number of Portland High school graduates continuing their educations last year was about 51 percent, and there were only 5,100 graduates.

That explains much of the phenomenal growth at Portland State and PCC, and why the college vicinity parking is like putting sardines in a can.

But what about the rest of the State? In the seven public colleges and universities operated by the State system of higher education there are about 42,500 students—nearly 5,900 more than the total enrollments of last year. Enrollments at the State's private colleges are up slightly this year.

The full-time enrollment at Oregon's growing system of community colleges is up about 70 percent this year.

Richard Pizzo, director of high school relations for the State system of higher education, has the answer to why the public colleges have 5,900 more students this year, the private colleges have several hundred more, and the community colleges have about 3,400 more full-time students.

First, Oregon's public and private colleges graduated about 31,788 seniors last June, compared with 26,041 graduates in the spring of 1964.

On a statewide basis, about 50.2 percent of the June high school graduates are continuing their educations this fall. The percentage was about 46.9 during the fall of 1964.

Most educators believe that the higher percentages enrolling as college freshmen are caused by two main factors: (1) More students have become conscious of the need for education; and (2) the increased armed service draft calls has caused more students to take shelter in the colleges.

Additionally, many counselors believe that fewer Oregon students are going out of State for their college educations.

Old Glory a Symbol To Guide Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, I believe my colleagues here in the House and all

Americans will appreciate the following excellent article, which came across my desk:

TO HONOR OUR FLAG IS AMERICANISM

(By Christ S. Minneci, Chicago, Ill.)

George Washington said, "If we desire to avoid insult, we must be able to repel it, if we desire peace it must be known that we are at all times ready for war," and again Abraham Lincoln questioned, "What constitutes the bulwark of our own liberty and independence? It is not our frowning battlements, our bristling sea coasts—our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us."

Our flag represents this and much more. It gives us the incentive to acquire property, it gives us the protection of holding that property. The pioneers who risked their lives could not or would not build the wilderness without the protection and security our flag gave them.

Under the flag of the United States of America, we have laws that we ourselves enacted. We established courts to protect the innocent and penalize the guilty. We have a Constitution of our own making, not dictated by royalty or dictatorship. We have established a military force equal to none, and unless our country is destroyed by traitors within, we shall enjoy the peace that Washington prayed for.

Under this flag we are free to choose our political leaders, though often we make horrible mistakes; and we are free to choose the means of earning a living—what, where, and when we please.

Our flag is a symbol of worship to God and no one can force us to love God any other way than our own and by this freedom we have loved liberty which God has planted in us.

But our flag is also a constant reminder that the United States of America cannot be the bulwark of liberty and independence unless its people continue to be vigilant and jealously guard its liberty and independence, in the schools, in the clubs, in the unions, in our governments, and particularly at the election polls, watching and exposing Communists or their stooges who would enslave us and make a satellite of our Nation within.

We, who have served, we who have offered our lives must continue on to live for our country, the archangel of peace, the lifegiver of the world, by being ready and willing to weaken or disintegrate our enemies and help our friends who love liberty; for our flag, the American flag, must wave forever.

A. L. Valencia, of the Manila Times, Comments on the U.S. Presence in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, one of the best explanations I have ever read, for the presence of several thousand U.S. troops in Asia, appeared in the June 3 Manila Times under the byline of A. L. Valencia. Unfortunately, it missed the wide attention it should have received, for Mr. Valencia points to one of the key factors in the rise of anti-Americanism in some quarters of Asia when he says:

To be able to talk back to the greatest power on earth is regarded as a badge of courage and patriotism.

This, I suppose, is a penalty that any nation can pay for being the "biggest kid on the block," but Mr. Valencia has put the issue in keen perspective and I call his remarks to the attention of my colleagues and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by asking that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. PRESENCE IN ASIA

(By A. L. Valencia)

WASHINGTON.—Beyond the crucial decisions posed by the war in South Vietnam lies an even larger, long-range problem for President Johnson and the American people.

It can be put in one stark sentence.

How far should the United States commit itself to the defense of freedom in southeast Asia?

If southeast Asia were united and enthusiastic in its desire for American protection, the question would be easier to answer. But that is far from the case. In fact, for his efforts so far, Uncle Sam has received far more brick-bats than bouquets—not a few from the Philippines, an area in which he least expected them.

FASHIONABLE

Among the angry young men of southeast Asia, it has become fashionable to attack America's actions and motives at every turn, and to applaud every American misfortune. To be able to talk back to the greatest power on earth is regarded as a badge of courage and patriotism.

But should not these critics—if they are honest men—also concede that their very liberty to dissent has up to now depended directly on American protection?

It is all very well to be in fashion—but how does fashion match up with fact?

For Filipinos, the fact should be clear: But for the United States, we might not be a free nation today. We would certainly not enjoy our present sense of security and well-being.

How can we remain so aloof from the turbulence all around us? How long do we really think we could maintain our freedom in an Asia dominated by Red China?

TWO FACTORS

Up to now we have relied on two factors for our safety and identity as a free people—the seas around us and the American presence.

In the air and space age, the widest ocean is no more a barrier than a ditch. If as a result of shrill demands for "Yankee Go Home," American power were to draw back in the Pacific, the Philippines—let's face it—would be virtually defenseless.

Even now, our Government admits anxiety about the larger ambitions of President Sukarno, of Indonesia, hence the angling for American money to build a new naval base in Mindanao. It is somewhat ironic that President Macapagal who, on taking office, lost no time in stamping his feet at Uncle Sam and then showed sympathy for Sukarno, should now be pressing Uncle Sam to defend him against an Indonesian threat.

It is a fortunate happenstance that Sukarno has so blotted his copybook with the United States that we will almost certainly get the Mindanao base. It is hardly a credit to Macapagal statesmanship and certainly no credit to our own brand of American baiters.

ASIAN PROBLEMS

We are always talking about Asian solutions to Asian problems. What is an Asian problem? And what is an Asian solution?

The world is shrinking so rapidly that anybody's problem is everybody's problem. If we insist on an Asian solution, it will be Asian all right, but it is most likely to be labeled "Made in Peiping."

When India, one of the arch apostles of Asian solutions, found herself suddenly attacked by Red China, her first call for help went to the West. Big India thought it no shame to seek non-Asian aid.

Thailand knows where its safety lies. Without the Americans, it is next on Peiping's list for conquest—and the Thai, who I am sure are not less patriotic than we are, are not shamed to admit it.

Even Cambodia's flamboyant Prince Sihanouk, who enjoys damning the United States, always keeps looking over his shoulder to see if Uncle Sam is still around.

LAOS TOO

Would Laos still preserve a semblance of freedom but for American support?

Malaysia could not hold off Sukarno and defend its new nationhood if it did not have the assistance of Britain. And Britain could not defend Malaysia if America allowed the dam to break.

Even powerful Japan, the most advanced nation in the East, is content to be almost totally dependent on the United States for its security. Japan is fully aware that if South Korea falls into Communist hands, it will have a dagger pointed at its belly.

How long could Taiwan exist as a free fragment of China, if it were not for the Americans?

STATEMENTS OF FACT

To make these statements of obvious fact, and to ask these questions to which the answers are equally obvious, is not to demean national prides.

It is merely to stress a decent respect for reality.

There is a trend today for people to scoff when any mention is made of a special relationship between the Philippines and the United States. But can anyone honestly say that such a relationship does not exist?

But what is the yardstick—dollars and cents or shared ideals? What of the deep emotions stirred by the memory of blood mingled on Bataan and Corregidor?

Does anyone seriously doubt that if the Philippines were attacked, the United States would not come to our aid?

FRICTIONS

Of course there have been frictions between the two countries. The relationship would not be healthy if there were not—since that is the way between freemen.

That most Filipinos understand is shown by the willingness of Filipino veterans to volunteer for service in Vietnam alsongside their former American comrades.

If there are millions of Asians who resent the American presence in Asia, there are many other millions of Asians who know that that presence is all that enables them to remain free.

The President Leads the Nation Toward Beauty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, last February President Johnson called upon this Congress to help preserve and protect America's wonderful natural beauty, and at the same time he called upon other Americans to do the same.

On October 1, the President released a report of 8 months of study on the parts of the Secretaries of the Interior, Commerce, and Health, Education, and Welfare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

This report outlines progress which has been made, and programs which are just beginning, and it offers many imaginative ideas for preservation of our beauty in the future. Some of its proposals are already reality—for example, the Highway Beautification Act was still pending legislation on October 1.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this report is excellent for the sense of direction it offers our Nation in an effort to preserve our irreplaceable natural beauty. I would like to have it appear in the RECORD, and include it with my remarks:

A REPORT ON NATURAL BEAUTY TO THE PRESIDENT

(A summary of the major beautification efforts of the Federal Government, which are designed to beautify our cities and suburbs, protect the American countryside, improve our water and waterways, enhance our highways and roads, repair the ravages of industry, mobilize public support, finance beautification, and redirect Government efforts.)

(From the Secretary of the Interior, Secretary of Agriculture, Secretary of Commerce, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Director, Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency)

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

I am releasing the results of the first 8 months of the Federal Government's efforts to preserve and improve the beauty of America. These efforts are of particular concern to me, because they will determine the kind of America my daughters—and all the children of America—will inherit.

Last February (1965) I sent to the Congress a message on natural beauty. I pointed out, as emphatically as I knew how, the threat of eventual blight to our God-given heritage of natural beauty.

In that message I called specific attention to the fact that our growing population is swallowing up areas of natural beauty with its demand for living space.

I noted with concern that the increasing tempo of urbanization is already depriving many Americans of the opportunity to live in decent surroundings.

I said that a new conservation would be required to deal with these new problems if we are to protect the countryside, save it from destruction, and restore what has been destroyed.

And I also said that this conservation must be not just the classic conservation of protection and development, but a creative conservation of restoration and innovation.

That message was only one of several instances in which I have attempted to convey my interest in preserving and renovating our heritage of beauty.

I spoke of my concern in the state of the Union message.

I reiterated my concern at the White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

I have since reemphasized it in other messages, in speeches, and in great detail in much of my correspondence.

My administration has made a number of proposals to bring the full resources of this Government to bear on the problem of dwindling beauty.

I am pleased to issue the first fruits of these proposals—a report from the Secretaries of Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Administrator of the Housing and Home Finance Agency.

This report summarizes the major efforts of the Federal Government to lead the way in keeping America beautiful. It is an encouraging report because it indicates that concrete progress is being made.

Among other things, it reflects the plans to make this Capital the Nation's showcase.

It outlines what is being done to beautify locations that range from such diverse areas as New York City to the great open spaces of the West.

It indicates in strong fashion that research and training are important tools to be used in giving natural beauty a foothold in both urban and rural environments.

It sums up what we have done thus far to promote natural beauty in the countryside, to retain and improve our scenic and historic sites, and to preserve our wildlife.

It notes the action we have taken to offer improved outdoor recreation to more of our people.

It details our activities to improve our water and waterways as useful and yet beautiful natural resources, and our plans for controlling pollution of streams and rivers.

It points up what we have done and what we intend to do to make our vast network of highways not only useful but beautiful.

There is much more. This report reflects action that ranges from schools and classrooms to local neighborhood projects, from the disposal of refuse and waste products to the use of trash and garbage as fuels for operating desalting plants.

And yet it is only a beginning. It is a first step. I have asked those who prepared this report to continue to report to me, on a regular basis, the progress which they have made in this all-important area. These reports will be available as they are made.

But I want you to know that this is more than just a report on action taken and action contemplated. It is also a request for help. The task of creating a more beautiful America, of making it a more pleasant place in which to live, is not and cannot be the job of the Federal Government alone. We must have the enthusiasm, the concern, and the cooperation of every level of government—States, counties, cities, and precincts.

I believe that the American people share our feelings. I believe that they want a beautiful country. And I believe that they will respond to the challenge which we have set—to make this the most beautiful Nation on earth.

THE CITY AND ITS SUBURBS

Here is the area of primary challenge—where nature's grass and greenery give way to man-made steel and concrete and where most of our people dwell under the double-barreled pressures of urbanization and industrialization.

Following are some of the Government programs underway to bring natural beauty to the people of our cities and suburbs:

The Nation's showcase

Extensive plans are underway to make Washington, D.C., the Nation's No. 1 showcase of urban beautification, including:

A major effort to create a "Potomac National River" similar to the national park concept. A national river would be a natural beauty and recreation resource for the people of the Great Atlantic Megalopolis that stretches from Boston to Richmond.

Improvement of all area parks. The National Park Service has completed floral beautification of 41 parks out of a projected goal of 119 areas in the National Capital region.

Master planning of the heart of the District. Architect Nathanial Owens has been engaged to help in the master planning for the center of the Nation's Capital. In addition, he serves with fellow architects Daniel Urbane Kiley, Edward Durell Stone, and Victor Gruen, as adviser to Mrs. Humphrey's Committee of Congressional Leadership Wives on the Beautification of the Capital.

Beautifying Federal buildings

Federal agencies have responded with enthusiasm to the President's desire that they beautify their buildings. Agency heads have issued instructions to put the President's beautification program into effect. Some results of this intensive campaign include:

Numerous requests to the National Park Service from Federal agencies for professional guidance and assistance of Park Service landscape architects.

General Services Administration (which operates more than 5,000 Federal buildings) has a vigorous building beautification program underway. All 10 GSA regions were active this summer in rehabilitating lawns, trees, shrubs, and hedges; increasing flower plantings; screening unsightly equipment and areas; and painting, repaving, and redecorating buildings and grounds.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare is insuring that good architectural design is part of its plans for hospitals, schools, and other facilities built under it 13 construction assistance programs. It asks recipient to cooperate with local and area planning authorities to make sure that the federally aided structures fit in with local and area development plans.

Helping to beautify New York City

The Federal Government has responded to New York City's request for help in developing a citywide outdoor recreation plan. It has prepared a systematic inventory of all Federal programs available to aid the city's outdoor recreation efforts. It is also helping the city to acquire new recreation lands, train unemployed workers in park maintenance, improve beaches and swimming places, and protect the scenic Hudson River. The Department of Interior and the Housing and Home Finance Agency are sharing the $100,000 cost of this work.

Improving federally aided housing

The Public Housing Administration is calling for more rehabilitation of low rent housing projects including the restoration and planting of grounds as well as building maintenance.

The Federal Housing Administration and the Community Facilities Administration have proposed up to 1 percent of project cost be devoted to sculpture and works of art.

Parks and open spaces

The Federal Highway Administration is encouraging States to take advantage of the Federal road funds which do not require State matching money to purchase land in cities for small roadside parks, green strips, and playgrounds.

The Department of Agriculture has increased its service to help homeowners, developers, and State and local governments preserve and restore natural beauty in the suburbs. For instance:

In the Chicago, Washington, D.C., and other suburbs, their soil maps and specialists are helping to select the best sites for residential and industrial areas, recreation, and nature study centers. Nationally, some 75 soil surveys are underway for areawide suburban development.

In Stanford, Conn., Agriculture Department technicians helped convert a swamp into a 30-acre recreation area for fishing, swimming, hiking, and just relaxing. Without their aid it might have been converted into a city dump.

The HHFA open-space program is being tailored to waterfront development, an application of great interest to many cities. In addition, the Agency's special study on park and open space needs of metropolitan areas will soon be completed, and this, too, is of great interest.

The Urban Renewal Administration's program of historic preservation is expanding, including the recent grant to aid reconstruction of the New Orleans French Quarter. (The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 makes it possible to relocate historic structures within renewal areas, and, for the first time, to sell them to nonprofit organizations interested in maintaining and restoring historic buildings.)

Research and training

Research and technological advance is helping give natural beauty a foothold in the urban environment. For example:

The Department of Agriculture is working on new ornamental plants, grasses, and shrubs especially adapted for urban conditions. It has developed a hybrid lily, the first of its kind, with bigger and more beautiful blossoms than any other lily now grown.

The National Arboretum in Washington serves as a coordinator for natural beauty programs for botanical gardens throughout the Nation, and develops, tests, and distributes new ornamental plants.

The National Agricultural Library is consolidating all research information on pest control and making it available to cities, real estate developers, and the general public to help them protect their natural greenery.

Agriculture researchers are breeding a new variety of elm resistant to the Dutch elm disease, which threatened to wipe out these shade trees. They have also developed a spray that curbs the disease.

Because improving rundown housing conditions causes good health as well as good looks, the Public Health Service plans a program of technical assistance to States and cities on housing code adoption and enforcement to serve this dual purpose.

THE COUNTRYSIDE

The American countryside—a tapestry of farmland, mountain, forest, and prairie—is three-fourths privately owned.

Here is what the Federal Government is doing to promote natural beauty in the countryside—largely the domain of private property:

Preserving wildlife

Last year, the waterfowl preservation program set a new record: 83,000 acres were purchased; 178,000 acres were protected against wetland destruction; 9 new wildlife refuges were activated.

Preserving the land

Federal programs designed to protect scenic and historic sites are:

Protecting the natural beauty of thousands of miles of free-flowing national forest streams that have been recognized as wild rivers. Their wild state has been restored where damaged.

Encouraging suitable natural development of private lands adjoining these streams.

Setting aside 9 million acres of national forest wilderness to preserve it in its natural state for public enjoyment.

Maintaining 5.5 million acres of national forest as primitive areas.

Expanding outdoor recreation

To make more sites of natural beauty available to the people, the Federal Government has—

Surveyed nearly 800 surplus military properties to see which can be used for conservation and recreation. It has scheduled detailed investigations of 132 surplus defense areas which have known conservation and recreation values.

Surveyed the national forest trail system and its accommodations for hikers and riders. Nothing spoils the beauty of the countryside more than overuse. So this surveying will determine if new trails are needed to handle the growing number of outdoor enthusiasts.

Completed a major study of the historic, wildlife, and other recreation resources along the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Required States to provide for natural beauty in their outdoor recreation plans and to give it special priority, if they want Federal financing through the land and water conservation fund.

Added nine new areas to the National Park System, and recommended 21 more to Congress for consideration.

Helped—with Area Redevelopment Administration funds—to improve State parks, construct artificial lakes, and develop ski facilities.

Research

The agriculture researchers are active in developing flowers, shrubs, trees, and turf that have maximum beauty and adaptability to varying soil and climatic conditions. They put greater emphasis on the esthetic qualities of new plants, and also are giving increasing attention to the economic aspects of natural beauty.

WATER AND WATERWAYS

Several departments have continuing programs to protect our Nation's water and waterways. Here is a summary of Federal activities designed to upgrade rivers and streams to the level of a vital, beautiful natural resource rather than a convenient means of transportation and waste disposal:

Cleanup programs

In the National Capital area, a Federal task force, under the Secretary of Interior, has the mission of making the Potomac a conservation model for the entire country. Its plans are carried out with the active participation of the District of Columbia and of the Governors of all States the river flows through. They will provide an office and full-time staff to work with the Federal agencies. Also in the District of Columbia an experiment will get underway to develop advanced waste treatment techniques that should be of great national interest.

Following the many floods this year, the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture has stepped up the cleaning of debris from streams. This activity will restore the fishing conditions, and the beauty of streams and landscape.

The Area Redevelopment Administration's work to develop port facilities at Cambridge, Md., and New Bedford, Mass., while done for industrial purposes, has helped to clear up and beautify the waterfronts of those cities.

Pollution control

A major breakthrough in treating of domestic sewage and thus cleaning up waterways may result from a process developed by the Rand Development Corporation under contract with the Interior Department. It involves filtering sewage through coal and has performed well on small-scale tests.

The U.S. Public Health Service is demonstrating and evaluating methods to control pollution from acid mine drainage. This program consisted of three projects and may expand to another three.

The Interior Department announced a more stringent "when in doubt do not use" policy on pesticides. Priority is given to nonchemical insect controls and objectionable chemicals are being phased out as soon as possible.

The Environmental Sciences Service Administration (ESSA) which unites the Weather Bureau and the Coast and Geodetic Survey, advises public and private agencies on anticipated water levels of streams and rivers, and the likelihood of runoff. This enables these agencies to gage the potential pollution and check it.

The Maritime Administration is helping to devise an economical process for taking oil out of ballast water before it is pumped overboard. Oil discharged from ships kills birds, fish, and ruins bathing beaches. The Maritime Administration is also studying ways to prevent pollution of the Great Lakes and of harbors from the discharge of untreated sewage from ships.

HIGHWAYS AND ROADS

The average American motorist spends an estimated 2 months of each year behind the steering wheel, plus vacation driving. The vista of this man in motion is the ribbon of roadway he traverses. It can be limited, monotonous, and ugly. But some improvement is underway.

The response of the States to the President's program has been encouraging. State highway officials have endorsed it. By mid-1965, 43 States were beautifying their roads at a cost of $25.9 billion; the Federal share was $20.6 million. Here are some actions the Federal Government is taking to make natural beauty an integral part of the trip.

Signs and billboards

The Interior Department is taking a close look at all commercial signs and billboards on land under its jurisdiction. It will remove inappropriate and offensive ones.

The Agriculture Department carefully controls signs to maintain natural beauty along the 194,000 miles of national forest roads.

Important legislation now before Congress (S. 2084) could prohibit billboards closer than 660 feet from highway right-of-way, and otherwise control them.

Landscaping

The Bureau of Public Roads has taken administrative action to enhance federally aided highway systems by—

Requiring landscaping—above and beyond the usual conservation and erosion control.

Increasing the use of Federal money for high-priority beautification such as screening junkyards, excavation scars, and other eyesores.

Encouraging States to use Federal funds which do not require matching State funds to purchase land adjacent to highways in order to preserve their natural beauty. Minnesota, Maine, and New York have already taken advantage of this provision.

In addition, it has requested State highway departments to establish long-range landscaping programs for their interstate and primary highway systems. Most States have already done so, and an analysis of these long-range programs reveals—

Adequate existing or authorized landscaping on about 25 percent of the Interstate System and 63 percent of the primary system. Landscaping is planned for construction on about 11 percent of the interstate and 3 percent of the primary mileage by mid-1966.

New screening is programed next year for about 16 percent of the unsightly areas along interstate and 8 percent of those on primary routes. Screening is not feasible on about 35 percent of the areas.

Scenic sights and amenities

The Bureau of Public Roads has taken steps to—

Double the number of safety rest areas on the Interstate Highway System, and increase the number on the primary road system to the higher Interstate Highway System standards.

Authorize the use of Federal-aid funds for the construction of scenic view points, scenic overlooks, and sanitary and other amenities of the road.

An analysis of State plans for interstate and primary routes revealed that:

Some 25 percent of the major safety rest areas have been completed or authorized along interstate routes and 51 percent along primary routes. About 21 percent of these facilities are planned for construction during mid-1966.

Some 26 percent of the smaller rest areas and scenic overlooks have been authorized or completed on the Interstate System and 65

percent on the primary system. About 15 percent will be constructed by mid-1966.

RESEARCH

The Commerce Department is completing work on a scenic roads and parkway study for the Recreation Advisory Council. The study will cover data on recreation, transportation, esthetics, and engineering.

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRY

President Johnson put it very well in his remarks to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, May 25, 1965:

"The technology which has given us everything from the computer to the teleprompter has created a hundred sources of blight. Poisons and chemicals pollute our air and water. Automobiles litter our countryside. These and other waste products of progress are among the deadliest enemies that natural beauty has ever known."

Here are some of the Federal programs that strike at the ugly underbelly of progress by controlling: Junkyards, overhead transmission lines, strip and surface mining, refuse and waste.

Junkyard control

The Bureau of Public Roads is giving high priority and increased funds to screen auto junkyards along Federal-aid interstate, primary, and urban highways.

The Commerce Department is trying to shrink the growth of junked autos—6 million a year. It is developing processes that would make it more profitable to use auto bodies for scrap steel.

The Interior Department is also undertaking a nationwide survey to determine the factors that influence scrap movement and to find ways of speeding it up. The study will focus on the auto wrecking and other industries that accumulate junked autos.

Interior's Bureau of Mines is attacking the problem through metallurgical research. It is developing a "magnetic separation" process for economically getting the steel out of auto bodies which also contain aluminum, copper, lead, and zinc.

Overhead transmission

The Federal Housing Administration has issued a new regulation. It requires homebuilders to put utilities underground where at all feasible and get rid of ugly overhead wiring. The Rural Electrification Administration is an advocate of underground utilities, particularly in new construction. Over two-thirds of all new REA-financed telephone lines to be constructed this year will be placed underground.

The Interior Department is ready to launch a research program to devise new methods of reducing the cost of underground transmission. It has reviewed and commented on legislation introduced on underground transmission (H.R. 10513, 10514, and 10515).

(The relationship between economic and natural beauty is nowhere better illustrated than in underground installation of utilities. Ten years ago underground installation cost 10 times more than overhead construction; today the cost ratio has been reduced to 1.5 to 1.)

Strip-and surface mining

The Federal Government has launched a nationwide study of strip and surface mining, under the Appalachian Development Act. Governors of all 50 States have been asked to cooperate. Federal field teams are now in Appalachia making several on-site surveys of surface and strip mine land. State laws and regulations will be reviewed in the light of their reports.

The Public Health Service has started a program to reclaim land disturbed by strip mining. The land will be rehabilitated by regrading, burial of acid-forming materials, adequate drainage, and forest cover.

The Interior Department is publishing new regulations on surface and strip-mining operations to insure that the mined land does not produce silt and pollutants in the water that drains from it.

Sixteen projects, costing almost $13 million, have been approved by the Commerce Department and the Appalachian Regional Commission to study the harmful effects of mining, such as surface caveins, erosion, siltation, and acid drainage.

Refuse and waste products

The Public Health Service will broaden its programs dealing with the problems of solid waste, which is generated at the rate of 160 million tons a year. With the Tennessee Valley Authority, it will build a full-scale overuse composting plant which will mix raw sewage and sludge with city refuse. TVA will determine if resulting composts can be sold as soil conditioners and fertilizers.

(Few States have specific legislation giving authority to State health departments to meet the solid waste problems. A "Solid Waste Disposal Act," which would carry out recommendations contained in the President's Natural Beauty Message, has been submitted to Congress.)

The Interior Department's Office of Saline Water is studying the use of trash and garbage as fuels for operating desalting plants. Because they contain more cellulose and paraffin-base materials, trash and garbage have higher energy value and can fill a need for cheap fuel.

The town of Hempstead, N.Y., for example, is now desalting 600,000 gallons of water a day, using urban trash and garbage incinerations as the heat source.

Hong Kong plans to construct a 3.6-million-gallon-a-day desalting plant which will use burning trash and garbage as its heat source.

Thus, garbage and trash, which normally produce smoldering rat-infested dumps, would be used to produce clean water—and beautification would be a byproduct.

The Area Redevelopment Administration which will continue its work in expanded form under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 has provided technical advice that should lead to the elimination of burning culm (coal refuse) banks in Pennsylvania.

The Commerce Department is working on a continuing basis with representatives of the construction industry to encourage them to clean up debris and conduct operations with an eye to preserving the natural appearance of construction sites.

The Interior Department is giving increased attention to the disposal of mine refuse in abandoned mine shafts. The objective would be to—

Prevent mine cave-ins and surface fall-ins that destroy the usefulness and appearance of the land above.

Eliminate pileup of ugly, water-polluting refuse heaps.

Some of the new work is also directed to burying huge quantities of spent oil shale which looms as a major problem.

The Bureau of Mines and Public Health Service are intensifying efforts to cut down air pollution resulting from sulfur emission from coal.

The Commerce Department helps anti-air-pollution organizations by providing them with forecasts of atmospheric conditions that result in heavy concentration of air pollutants. This information gives them time to reduce the amount of burning in their areas.

MOBILIZING PUBLIC SUPPORT

The Vice President mentions the President's beautification program in almost every major speech, particularly when he speaks to local government officials. And he never fails to get a warm response when he suggests that they might give out as many tickets for dirty alleys as for illegal parking.

People seem to be sold on natural beauty; they want to be told what to do to achieve it.

Here are some of the Federal programs that are directing their readiness.

Schools and classrooms

State directors of extension in all but three States have responded to the Agriculture Department's call for a national emphasis on beauty. The Cooperation Extension Service is stressing natural beauty in educational work with some 95,000 4–H Clubs, school groups, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, garden clubs, nursery associations, chambers of commerce, church groups, and county home demonstration councils.

(The administration's proposed title I of S. 600 could support this extension program legislation which would direct the resources of a university on urban communities just as they have long been focused on rural areas. Universities can help provide trained manpower and technical aid needed to keep natural beauty in our civic environment.)

Public information and promotion

The Forest Service is conducting an all-out antilittering campaign so that our Nation's forests and woods will provide clean campsites and uncluttered natural beauty for all visitors.

A nationwide "youth for beauty" campaign has been launched by the Federal Extension Service. Mobilizing the Nation's youth organizations in the cause of beautification, this drive is headed by Honorary Chairman Luci Johnson.

Meetings and conferences

The Housing and Home Finance Agency's major effort right now in behalf of beauty involves a model conference for a series that would be held later in other parts of the country. The model conference, a direct outgrowth of the White House Conference on Natural Beauty, brings together outstanding experts in architecture, landscape architecture, physical planning, urban conservation, and homebuilding, plus top Government officials. They will try to identify and explore the basic problems of improving the total environmental design in sprawling urban areas. They will prepare a formal report on the ideas generated.

The Secretary of Commerce and the Federal Highway Administrator discussed natural beauty with key executives of the American Association of State Highway Officials. They underscored the need to build highways that preserve and enhance the beauty of the Nation.

The National Advisory Committee on Highway Beautification, appointed by the Secretary of Commerce, held its first meeting in May, organized a series of working groups to carry out the President's beautification program, and will meet again in September.

The U.S. Conference of Mayors has commended and endorsed the President's program, in a resolution on urban beautification.

The National League of Cities has adopted policies supporting urban beautification, and created a 25-member committee on urban beautification. The cochairmen are Mayor James Kelly, East Orange, N.J., and Jerome Keithly, city manager, Palo Alto, Calif.

Community action

The Secretary of Agriculture has directed his personnel to help improve the beauty of privately owned lands. They will do it by stimulating soil conservation districts, local rural area development committees, cooperatives, farmer committees, 4–H Clubs, and other organizations. Once motivated, these organizations can do much to beautify America.

In 1964, 4–H members—from 9-year-olds to teenagers—completed more than 325,000 home beautification projects that ranged from planting small flower beds to landscaping entire estates.

The Commerce Department, through its 42 field offices, maintains continuing liaison

with businesses and is encouraging their support of Government beautification programs. This type of liaison has been successful in the past in advancing Government programs, such as the export expansion drive, the voluntary balance-of-payment effort, and the youth opportunity program.

The Bureau of Public Roads is encouraging States to enlist civic and garden clubs in efforts to improve the roadside beyond the highway right-of-way, through growth of native wild flowers.

HHFA plans a heavy schedule of meetings, seminars, and conferences aimed at educating the entire urban development and housing community on beautification.

FINANCING BEAUTIFICATION

Making America more beautiful requires the utmost in cooperation and innovation from the Government and its people. To this end the President has issued a call for "creative federalism," which implies "creative financing," for this program's popularity will depend on the heft of its payoff and the thrift of its price tag.

Here is a summary of the Federal programs that help pay for beautification:

Incentives to individuals

Many long-established Federal housing loan programs—Farmers Home Administration, Federal Housing Administration, and Veterans' Administration—contribute to the beauty of America's cities and countryside. By enabling farmers, suburbanites, and city dwellers to own and improve their homes they instill pride of ownership—a prime motive for attractive neighborhoods.

The Agriculture Department plans to make natural beauty an objective of all its assistance programs. The aim: To stimulate rural Americans to take advantage of the opportunities to improve natural beauty.

Federal cost sharing

Increased Federal aid funds have been made available to States for landscaping projects that give a high priority to natural beauty, such as screening junkyards, excavation scars, and other roadside eyesores.

States have been encouraged to use Federal funds that do not require matching to purchase strips of land which preserve a road's natural beauty. These nonmatching funds can also be used to buy land along urban highways for use as small parks, green strips, and playgrounds.

A new formula for making Federal grants-in-aid with land and water conservation funds gives growing urban populations special preference. Their need for natural beauty programs now get double weight.

The Federal departments and agencies are working with the Office of Economic Opportunity to unite beautification and antipoverty programs. Economic Opportunity Act funds are financing improvement projects that benefit—

Low income men and women, by providing needed jobs and useful work experience.

Communities, by increasing their total employment and restoring their natural beauty.

Antipoverty activities with beautification component include:

The joint OEO-NYC-HHFA neighborhood beautification program: This is designed to bring parks, playgrounds, and open spaces to urban poverty neighborhoods. First projects are slated in Atlanta, Ga.; Washington, D.C.; Detroit, Mich.; Miami, Fla.; and New Haven, Conn.

The Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC): During the spring, this program had 9,000 youths doing beautification work in 130 projects in 38 States. Several thousand more young people were engaged in beautification during the summer, helping to spruce up housing projects, municipal buildings, hospitals, airports, schools, parks, playgrounds, and picnic areas.

Community action projects: Nearly $600,000 has been approved for projects with a beautification component in California, New Jersey, New York, and Texas.

Approval of an additional $1 million is pending for projects in Missouri, Oklahoma, Washington, North Dakota, Arkansas, Kentucky, New Mexico, and Florida.

Here are some examples of specific projects:

In Arizona, some 1,000 members of the Neighborhood Youth Corps are as work cleaning up highway litter, removing leaves and rocks, trimming shrubbery, and collecting seeds from native plants.

In Florida, the State road board has hired some 100 youths, age 16 to 21, on a 6-month project that will give them on-the-job training in roadside maintenance.

In our national forests, the war on poverty is contributing to beautification. While learning new skills, young men of the Job Corps are sent to the national forest to plant trees, trim and prune timber stands, construct picnic and camp sites, and carry out landscaping projects.

In widespread sections of the country, 15 projects involving public welfare recipients are underway which will provide work experience and training and also enhance natural beauty. These include: 1,000 persons at work beautifying Rhode Island's secondary roads by removing brush and overgrowth; and 200 persons at work improving an Ohio county's roads by landscaping and tree planting.

REDIRECTING GOVERNMENT EFFORTS

The President's leadership has stimulated a special concern for natural beauty in the Federal Establishment. Departments and agencies are more sensitively aware of how their programs can help build a more beautiful America.

This awareness has been translated into administrative reality; the quest for natural beauty has been written into the operating rules and regulations of many Federal agencies. For example:

Heads of departments and agencies with buildings and facilities under their jurisdiction have issued internal instructions to put President Johnson's beautification program into effect. Others have instructed their staff to work closely with the General Services Administration or other agencies that control the buildings they occupy.

The Agriculture Department has redirected its established programs and begun new activities, all pointed toward natural beauty. Its news agency, the Rural Community Development Service, will coordinate natural beauty activities.

The land-administering bureaus of the Interior Department have issued policy statements and guidelines to carry out the President's beautification program. The Interior Department is also drafting a revised Executive order for the Recreation Advisory Council. The draft will make natural beauty a council concern, establish a Citizens Advisory Committee on Outdoor Recreation and Natural Beauty, and create a coordinating center for the interest generated by the White House Conference on Natural Beauty.

The Federal Highway Administrator has written directives and guidelines concerning beautification both to all Bureau of Public Roads field offices and to all State highway departments. To insure priority attention to the President's beautification program, the Bureau of Public Roads has established a special task force to review progress of the program.

The Urban Renewal Administration has issued two special technical bulletins that stress design review and design objectives in renewal projects. These guides will aid local developers to realize higher quality design.

In addition—

Through Presidential messages, speeches, and correspondence—the state of the Union message, special message on natural beauty, and remarks to the White House Conference on Natural Beauty—you have made your interest in natural beauty abundantly clear on an unprecedented scale. Presidential letters on the subject, for example, have reached out to all Congressmen, Cabinet members, mayors of cities with over 10,000 population, and county executives. (This is believed to be the first time a President has ever written directly to the heads of county-level governments.)

Your call to action has made a deep impact on the American people. As a result, they are alerted, responsive, ready to act.

STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary of Interior.
ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture.
JOHN T. CONNOR,
Secretary of Commerce.
JOHN W. GARDNER,
Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.
SARGENT SHRIVER,
Director, Office of Economic Opportunity.
ROBERT C. WEAVER,
Administrator, Housing and Home Finance Agency.

Conflict of Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. STROM THURMOND
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, the question of conflict of interest and what is involved when a businessman accepts a post in government has been a continuing recurring problem. Certainly it is one that deserves the constructive interest and efforts of Congress.

In the October 1965 issue of Dun's Review there appears an interview on this subject with Adm. Lewis L. Strauss. Admiral Strauss makes a very strong case for the requirement of disclosure to solve the problems which have so often plagued the nominees for government positions. I ask unanimous consent that this interview be printed in the Appendix to the RECORD. I would recommend that all Members carefully read the remarks and suggestions of Admiral Strauss.

There being no objection, the interview was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BUSINESS, WASHINGTON, AND CONFLICT OF INTEREST—A FRANK DISCUSSION OF THE MAJOR FACTORS THAT KEEP MOST BUSINESSMEN FROM ENTERING GOVERNMENT SERVICE

When a businessman decides to take the big step to Washington, he adds an incalculable new dimension to his life. At the same time, commonsense dictates that he had better be aware of the Capital's unique pitfalls. Of these, few are more treacherous and disconcerting than the conflict-of-interest muddle. Such situations, where an appointed official's reputation suffers simply because he could benefit himself by decisions made in the line of duty, arise all too often in the Nation's Capital.

In contrast, critics point out that Members of the Congress, who have the power to order the bureaucrat to divert or desist, are not themselves subject to this kind

of scrutiny. But while there is much talk about revamping the antiquated criteria used in judging conflicts of interest, so far no action has been taken.

To give its readers insight into this controversial question, Dun's Review's John Berry went to Washington, D.C., to visit a long-time businessman who has also spent many years of his life as a public servant: Adm. Lewis L. Strauss. On the walls of the admiral's office hang photographs signed by such noted figures as Winston Churchill, Dwight Eisenhower, and J. Edgar Hoover, and framed memorabilia collected during his lengthy and often controversial tenure of public office.

Named to the Atomic Energy Commission by President Truman in 1946, Strauss was made Chairman in 1953 and served in that post until 1958. At that time President Eisenhower appointed him Secretary of Commerce. When he was not in Government service, the admiral returned to Wall Street and his partnership in the prestigious investment banking firm of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. During World War II he helped create the Office of Naval Research and for his efforts rose up the ladder from Reserve lieutenant commander to rear admiral.

Although he spends most of his time on his Brandy Station, Va., cattle farm (he exhibits his livestock at President Eisenhower's annual show in Gettysburg), his work for the Republican coordinating committee and the writing of his second book demand that he commute to the city. His first book is titled "Men and Decisions."

Question. Admiral, as you know, there is a lot of dissatisfaction today in both Washington and business circles about the entire conflict-of-interest situation. Under existing statutes, which are around 100 years old, things are so indeterminate that businessmen coming into high Government posts have no clear idea of what attitude will be taken vis-a-vis their existing interests. They might be left pretty much alone, or they might be asked both to reveal their holdings and to dispose of them. Do you think that this confusion can be ended; and if so, how?

Answer. Certainly it could be ended. As I see it, the answer is an automatic public disclosure by appointed officials—and by elected public servants as well—of all their holdings. There is no reason why a man taking a public office, which is a public trust, should feel that his privacy has been improperly invaded by a requirement that he lay on the line his personal investments and the interests of his immediate family in private business.

Question. Could you spell out what you feel would be the advantages of complete disclosure?

Answer. Well, my belief is that full and prompt disclosure makes it unnecessary to try to draft a code to cover every conceivable contingency—even if that could be done, which I doubt. If complete disclosure were required of a man, he could retain his interests after being elected or appointed to public office. If he bought or sold securities thereafter, he would be required to note it in a public record as corporate officers do today under the Securities and Exchange control law. This would be effective. For example, let's say the head of a Government bureau—call it the Bureau of Left-Handed Monkey Wrenches—discloses prior to taking office that a major source of his income is stock in a plant making such tools. His obvious disqualification would be apparent. That, of course, is an oversimplification.

Question. Do you think there's a risk that businessmen might object to complete disclosure and turn down Government work in order to preserve privacy?

Answer. No; I don't think so. Certainly not as a general thing. Businessmen will accept this just as they long ago accepted the disclosure involved in the filing of income tax returns. And you remember how businessmen came to accept the disclosures that the Securities and Exchange Act required. Though at first unpopular, it is recognized today as a proper provision for the common good. Men who have the privilege of public service in whatever capacity should be willing to sacrifice as much of their privacy as is required in making their income and its sources public knowledge.

Question. Should a man be forced to reveal his holdings even when he can see no possible likelihood of conflict of interest?

Answer. Certainly. It would be a mistake to leave it to the individual to determine what he will or will not disclose. For one thing, one can never tell which holdings will become involved in a conflict of interest. Besides, to have a choice to withhold anything would defeat the whole idea of full public disclosure. We would be right back where we are today. We would have to rely on some inadequate procedure such as divestment by public officials through the establishment of trusts to hold their portfolios.

Question. Then you consider such trusts unsatisfactory?

Answer. Yes, I do. For instance, nothing prevents a friendly trustee from consulting with the maker of the trust and vice versa. It is not a clean break with ownership. Also, the public would still be in the dark as to the holdings of officials.

Question. What about divestment by sale?

Answer. I think that requirement is unfair. The men who are willing to sell their lifetime accumulation of equities and give up options if they have any are asked to go beyond the call of duty. It deprives a man of the fruit of his labor earned in the past. The example that comes to mind of their obvious inequity was when Charles Wilson was compelled to dispose of his General Motors stock as the price of Senate confirmation of his appointment to be Secretary of Defense in 1953.

Question. Charles Wilson, of course, was a wealthy man. What about the man who can't afford to hire expert financial advisers to help him with divestment?

Answer. He really suffers. Quite possibly, it is a deterrent to many men who are not as well heeled as was Wilson to enter public service, and it is a situation that needs relief.

Question. And the specific relief would be complete disclosure?

Answer. Yes. For then, having made his disclosure, a man should not have to worry about a Senator saying to him: "Well, Mr. X, we have heard testimony that you have a reputation as a good executive and a moral man, but we still do not feel confident that you will be able to resist the temptation of favoring yourself. So you have two choices: either get rid of your holdings or forget about serving your country."

Question. Companies have been encouraged by the Government to send their up-and-coming young executives to serve in the public sector for a couple of years or so. Do you think that the risks of conflict of interest make it worth while for either the companies or their men to accept such offers?

Answer. I heard this help-the-Government plan when it was put forward many years ago. It has been revived recently as something brand new. I have seen no figures but my guess is that very few companies and very few individuals have pursued it. But there are other reasons than possible conflict of interest for a junior executive to decide not to come to Washington under such an arrangement. A young man on his way up in a big company who leaves for a 2-year stretch in the great Government machine, usually finds that his seniority has been imperiled, no matter what assurance he has received. The next man down the line usually has a firm grip on his job by the time he returns. There is an exception in the case of young lawyers. A law firm that sends its juniors for a stint in Washington is on sound ground. It is like a young doctor's getting a tour of duty at the Mayo Clinic where he can see a great variety of cases. It broadens his experience. A young lawyer does gain from Government experience without the same threat to seniority or harassment by conflict of interest.

Question. What about the consultant who comes to Washington to advise the Government on matters that relate to his particular specialty? What rules do you set for this gentleman?

Answer. Primarily that he be a gentleman. Such a man is neither elected nor appointed subject to Senate confirmation. He is usually a contract employee engaged because of his special knowledge or experience. He does not make executive decisions or award contracts calling for the expenditure of money. In my years of experience in Government, I can recall no instance in which a consultant abused the trust reposed in him. On the contrary, I can recall a number of instances where a consultant has said something substantially to this effect, "Well, count me out on this question; I'll have to leave the room. I don't want to know what you're thinking about this because of where I come from." This happened in my hearing not infrequently.

Question. Would you suggest that a governing body be created to oversee disclosures of elected and appointed officials?

Answer. No, I don't think that would accomplish anything at all. It merely would move the responsibility along another step for it would have to be decided who would oversee the overseers. And how does one find 12 or 50 or a hundred men whose probity is so beyond question that they could sit in judgment on the morals of their fellowmen? Would their selection be subject to confirmation? I think the only answer, and I go back to what I said before, is complete public disclosure.

Question. Admiral, when he comes to Washington, a businessman finds that there are two sets of criteria on conflict of interest—one for himself as an appointed official and another for elected officials. What do you feel about this?

Answer. The idea of two sets of criteria—two standards—is tolerable to some observers. For my part, however, I feel that the elected and the appointed public servant should be governed by the same rules of conduct. The fact that officeholder A is elected by his constituents should not entitle him to immunity from the scrutiny to which appointed officeholder B is subject.

Question. Of course, those who stand in judgment over the businessman's so-called conflicts of interest are themselves beholden to no one but the voters, most of whom do not follow affairs in Washington in very much detail. This must be frustrating.

Answer. That's true. The legislative branch is an effective mentor over the morals of the executive branch. But our system provides no such auditor to check on the legislators. They come, of course, from the same backgrounds and are subject to the same temptations as the men who conduct the business affairs of Government. The legislative branch exercises autonomous control. The Bobby Baker case is an instance of the inadequacy of that kind of moral audit.

Question. There is no such audit, then, except the elected officials' constituents. Is that correct?

Answer. Yes. But it has long been a phenomenon of American public life that when a man acts in a way that should deny him the confidence of his constituency, his actions usually are only brought to the attention of the voters by his opposition. Therefore, the charges are discounted by voters as the hyperbole and exaggeration of political campaigning. In recent times men have been elected while in jail. There was the

instance a few years back of a legislator re-elected on his return from a prison term to which he was sentenced for evading the very taxes he had helped impose on his loyal constituents.

I feel confident that someday there will be one conflict-of-interest code that will apply to all Government employees. As President Johnson said in 1958, when he was majority leader of the Senate: "There is no room in a great democracy such as ours for any set of double standards." Three years later, President Kennedy sent a message to Congress on the same subject in which he said that high ethical standards can be maintained only if the leaders of Government provide a personal example. He went on to say that the dangers of abuse of Government positions exist in almost every decision of Government, and he cited especially "proceedings such as license applications for television or radio stations and similar requests for Government approval." Unfortunately, nothing ever came of that Presidential message, and the double standard still exists.

Question. Do you think the legislators will come around to this way of thinking? After all, in the final analysis they are the persons who must decide whether or not there will be full disclosure for all Government officials, whether appointed or elected?

Answer. Many of them are already in favor of a policy of full disclosure and have spoken to that effect in the Congress. More public expression on the subject should serve to accelerate action. We cannot afford a double standard of morals in the public service. It is a corrosive of good government, and great evils will come from it.

Annual Legislative Report, 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD RUMSFELD
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RUMSFELD. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom at the conclusion of each session of the Congress to report to the residents of the 13th Congressional District of Illinois on the activities of the Congress. The record of the 1st session of the 89th Congress certainly has been extraordinary, and it would be impossible to include a detailed account in such a report of each of the issues that have been involved. However, I have attempted to touch briefly on the issues of major interest to my constituents. The report follows:

ANNUAL LEGISLATIVE REPORT, 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

(By Congressman DONALD RUMSFELD of the 13th Congressional District, Ill.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The record-breaking 1st session of the 89th Congress has ended. House action included 13,798 measures introduced, 1,129 passed. Twenty-two rollcalls in 1 day shattered a record on September 13, and 10 days later, when the roll was called for the 308th time, it topped the mark of 307 set in 1951. At the final bell, the roll had been called an amazing 383 times.

This report, as in previous years, will comment on some of the problems which have come before Congress during 1965. Understandably, it can touch only the highlights. I welcome your comments and views on matters before Congress. Full details on any measure may be obtained by writing my office, 241 Cannon Building, Washington, D.C., 20515.

LEGISLATION SPONSORED

Part of a Congressman's responsibility is to identify problem areas and initiate action to resolve them. This year, I have introduced and sponsored various bills and resolutions, including proposals for:

Tax credits for education expenses: To permit individual tax credits for parents and others who are financing students in college.

Voting Rights Act of 1965: To implement voting rights by the appointment of Federal registrars. A composite bill has now been signed into law.

Human Investment Act of 1965: To provide a tax incentive for business to hire and train unemployed workers lacking the skills for available jobs.

Food Study and Coordinating Commission: To establish an 18-member Commission to plan the future U.S. role in the world food crisis.

Miscellaneous: In response to requests from our district, I have introduced bills to grant a Federal Charter to the Hadley School for the Blind, Winnetka; and to permit the Palatine Police Department to withdraw from social security coverage because of existing double coverage.

NEW LAWS

More than 86 major bills, and hundreds of lesser importance, became law in 1965. Some of interest were: Resources: water pollution control, water resources planning, clean air, highway beautification; Health: medicare, community health services, community mental health services, National Institute for the Deaf, Older Americans Act, drug abuse control, health professions education assistance, heart-cancer-stroke aid; Others: National arts and cultural development, excise tax reductions, voting rights, military and Federal pay increases, immigration reform, Federal Crime Commission, Appalachia program, Sugar Act, tobacco subsidies, Department of Housing and Urban Development, Presidential assassination, and Presidential inability and succession laws.

WAR: THE FAILURE OF FOREIGN POLICY

Vietnam, the Dominican Republic—name any trouble spot—the hard fact is that war represents a failure in foreign policy, a failure in communication and diplomacy. Potential trouble spots of the future are as numerous as there are countries which are of interest and attraction to aggressive nations. Testimony documenting activities of the Communist-trained agitators being sent throughout Latin America and Africa warns of future problems. U.S. policy today is determining in large part the seriousness of these situations in the future. Let us hope and pray that through sound foreign policy, the administration will evidence the will and foresight to prevent, before the fact, further breakdowns in diplomacy.

ON THE DOMESTIC FRONT

There are at least three areas to which the Government and the people must devote thoughtful attention:

Rising prices: The cost of living continues to rise. Inflation hits hardest those who can do least about it—elderly citizens living on fixed incomes. Government spending ($119.3 billion authorized for fiscal year 1966 alone) is an important factor in the wage-price spiral. At some point, Government must establish priorities in Federal spending.

Lack of information: All interested citizens are increasingly aware of the fact that the public is not being kept fully informed on the conduct of Government. The purpose of my bill, H.R. 5017, is to require Federal agencies to "make all records promptly available to any person," and to provide for court action to guarantee the right of access, with the exception of specified categories of sensitive information. Up to this point, the White House has vigorously opposed such legislation, and, as a result, it remains bottled up in committee. Hopefully, next year will see sufficient public interest in a freedom of information bill that will achieve favorable consideration. Pope John XXIII, in the encyclical Pacem in Terris, said: "By the natural law every human being has * * * the right to freedom in searching for truth and in expressing and communicating his opinions * * * the right to be informed truthfully about public events."

The law society: Conspiracies to undermine the military draft and the destruction of draft cards are bringing to a peak the trend toward disregard of law. Schools, churches, and the family have a principal responsibility to see that our young people are not misled into believing there is something wholesome in violating the law. The preservation of freedom is closely associated with the preservation of law and order. Without law and order, freedom would mean very little.

Excellence of 13th District's youth: The 13th District will be especially well represented at the U.S. service academies in the new classes of 1969. Ten outstanding men from our area started military careers this summer:

Air Force Academy: Thomas W. Collier, Jr., Golf, and Paul Demmert, Mount Prospect.

Military Academy: James S. Gavitt, formerly of Evanston, and Raymond D. Gruenke, Skokie.

Naval Academy: Peter S. Chalfant, Palatine; Michael E. Fitzsimmons, Skokie; Jay B. Jans, Wilmette; Francis Albert Roberts, Chicago; and George F. Schmoll, III, Northbrook.

Merchant Marine Academy: Barry L. Butter, Glenview.

Nominations for appointments are based on Civil Service examinations, physical tests, and leadership potential. Applications should be requested during a student's junior year in high school, and may be obtained from my Washington office.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS—SPACE AND GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

With the Gemini space flights and progress toward the Apollo moon landing, work on the House Science and Astronautics (Space) Committee continues to be a challenge. In January, I was selected for the Manned Spaceflight Subcommittee. Our committee has jurisdiction over NASA's $5 billion space exploration budget as well as the Bureau of Standards and the National Science Foundation. It is a privilege to be participating in these historic endeavors.

Also, I was selected to serve on the Committee on Government Operations, the chief House investigating committee, the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and Government Information, and as ranking minority member on the Legal and Monetary Affairs Subcommittee.

THE BUDGET BATTLE—A PROBLEM OF PRIORITIES

The year 1965 saw a sharp upturn in appropriations—$13.2 billions above last year's level. Totals are: 1963—$103.8 billion; 1964—$106.1 billion; 1965—$119.3 billion. This most responsive Congress gave the President all he requested and more. The Texas Democrat who chairs the House Appropriations Committee, Representative GEORGE MAHON, explains it away by saying: "It reflects the relentless growth—for better or for worse—of centralized government in response to the demand of a majority of the people. There is no ground swell of sentiment for fiscal restraint from across the country."

EDUCATION

It is estimated that during the year ending June 30, 1966, more than $3 billion in Federal funds will be channeled through the U.S. Office of Education to schools and colleges, teachers, students, libraries, and librarians in the form of grants, loans or con-

tracts. More than 10 new measures relating to education passed Congress this year. The most comprehensive direct aid passed this year involved: Elementary and Secondary School Act—a $1.3 billion, 5-year program for communitywide supplemental educational centers, purchases of textbooks and teaching aids, research, and aid for State education departments; and the Higher Education Act—a 5-year, $5.5 billion program to aid State support of community service programs of colleges, grants to their libraries for training and research, and acquisition of materials, and teaching fellowships.

EDUCATION BILLS NOT ACTED UPON

H.R. 9411 (RUMSFELD, of Illinois): To allow a credit against income tax to individuals for certain expenses incurred for higher education. H.R. 10696 (BROCK, of Tennessee): To return to States a portion of Federal revenues for use in public elementary and secondary education. S. 2619 (JAVITS, of New York): To share Federal revenues with States through a trust fund of 1 percent of the individual income tax base to be used only for health, education, and welfare.

A BUSY FALL

My wife Joyce, our daughters, Valerie and Marcy, and I will be returning to Illinois within a few days. I look forward to seeing many of you during the adjournment period at the various meetings which are scheduled. A few of the local groups with which I will meet during November are: Evanston Rotary Club; Northwestern University Mock Congress Seminar; Illinois Teachers College, Chicago; Wilmette and Winnetka Leagues of Women Voters; Little City Helping Hands, Palatine; the Men Off-Campus Club of Northwestern University; the North Town (Chicago) Community Council; the Purdue Club of Chicago; Golf Junior High School students, Morton Grove; the Evanston-Niles Council of Jewish Women; and others too numerous to list. Between meetings, I plan to be in my district office during this brief fall recess.

WHAT'S AHEAD IN THE SECOND SESSION?

While it is impossible to predict what the Johnson administration will offer in its legislative package in 1966, it is likely that efforts will be made to complete action on the President's three major pieces of unfinished business: Repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the rent subsidy program, and an increase to $1.75 in the minimum wage. Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD gave another clue when he said (and I fully agree but wish he had noticed it earlier in the year): "We have passed a lot of major bills this session, some of them very hastily. And they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners and, particularly, for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it."

Regrettably, there is justification to charges that the 89th Congress did not function as a deliberative body this year. Let us hope that the Congress will concentrate on improving and perfecting this legislation next year. Under our system of separation of powers, it is not healthy when the Executive totally dominates the Congress. We, as a nation, face problems and can settle for no less than the very best solutions to these problems. The best solutions come from debate and discussion, not dictation by an all-powerful Executive.

WE CAN DO BETTER

As 1965 draws to a close and one reflects on the progress made, it is difficult not to feel that we have fallen short of our goals. The power of the American system is great. Our system depends on both private and public effort—and the success of both depends directly on the interest and participation of each person privileged to live in this free society. It is the people of a democracy who must guide its efforts, determine the quality of its leadership, and shape its course.

I believe we can do better.

DONALD RUMSFELD.

Commendation to Forest Service on Flood Disaster Aid to Oregon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, on October 20, when the supplemental appropriation bill was before the Senate, I discussed the status of unobligated funds for forest roads in the Bureau of Land Management.

I also mentioned that, if the Forest Service had a similar record, it too, should take note of the admonition I directed to the Bureau.

It is with pleasure that I insert in the RECORD a letter dated October 22 from the Chief of the Forest Service which shows that the Forest Service has done an outstanding job of correcting flood damage. The letter speaks for itself, and I ask unanimous consent that it be inserted in the RECORD following these remarks.

At the close of fiscal year 1965, last June 30, out of a total obligational authority of $106,221,693 there was only a $750,000 carryover. This is less than three-fourths of 1 percent unobligated.

The Forest Service has made temporary repairs so that timber operations are not held up. This will cause some of the final repair work to be deferred into 1967 and will permit a more orderly program of permanent restoration of roads.

I am especially pleased that the Forest Service is taking action, wherever needed, to improve locations and designs to increase the resistance of facilities to future storms. We all know that man cannot control a rampage of nature, but by experience man can reduce the damage. One of the great lessons which the Forest Service has learned is that it must be on guard against disaster losses attributable to lack of foresight.

In fact, I trust that this flood will produce a greater awareness of the need to plan roads so that they will be within reasonable cost but still flood resistant. I suspect that far too often in the past not enough attention has been paid by either the Federal timber agencies or the timber industry to this vital consideration.

It would be interesting to have an analysis and review of the steps needed to build better flood resistance into road designs. Great soil losses, great monetary losses, great production losses and great employment losses can be avoided by building conservation principles into forest road construction.

Deserving of special tribute are the employees of the Forest Service who worked 7 days a week, 12 hours a day, to attain access to timber during the disaster of last winter. I trust that Secretary Freeman will keep close track of these dedicated efforts and give genuine recognition to those who have labored so in the public interest.

It is my hope that the Civil Service Commission and the Bureau of the Budget will take an "on the ground" look at how these dedicated Forest Service employees serve the public interest at great personal sacrifice when they reflect on proper levels of pay for Federal employees.

These men and women in the Forest Service have earned a high reputation because in emergency after emergency they have responded effectively. I am delighted to call attention to their outstanding public performance.

BUREAU OF LAND MANAGEMENT

Nor would I exempt, by the comparison of omission, the many splendid employees of the Bureau of Land Management. I am confident that their field employees, too, have given extra devotion to the public interest.

At the same time, I must reiterate my concern that the overall fiscal record of the two agencies on putting their funds to work stands in stark contrast.

On June 30, 1965, for the Forest Service out of a $106,221,693 total obligating authority, only $750,000—less than three-fourths of 1 percent—was in carryover to the 1966 budget year. For the Bureau of Land Management out of $23,366,495 there was a carryover of $9,674,706—41.4 percent of the total.

I want to see a well-planned, well-executed flood damage restoration program integrated with regular operations so that all needs can be met. I am not criticizing the operating officials who do their job within the limits of their authority. However, I want to make it absolutely clear that those responsible for operations must be judged on results.

There are clear tests for accomplishment which stand as examples. I call particular note to the fact that the Forest Service expects some of their flood restoration work will continue in fiscal year 1967. There is no doubt that this is because of the immensity of the problem. I trust that the Bureau of Land Management, too, will adopt a schedule that is equally realistic rather than trying to get all the money it thinks it needs early and have it sitting around unobligated.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
FOREST SERVICE,
Washington, D.C., October 22, 1965.

Hon. WAYNE MORSE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR MORSE: This is in reference to your remarks reported in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD (p. 22608, October 20) and to a request from Mr. Berg of your office for information about our progress in repairing flood damage to our road system in the Northwest.

In view of your well-known interest and support of funding the access road program for the national forests, we regret that we have not kept you more fully informed about our progress in restoring roads, trails, and

bridges damaged by the storm of the winter of 1964–65.

Your remarks in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD very adequately describe the disaster which struck the Pacific coast States. That disaster was one of three major catastrophies which struck the national forests in the years 1964 and 1965. These include the Alaska earthquake and the flood of June 1964 which struck Montana and Idaho. We mention these occurrences because we are working on all of them concurrently. Funds were shifted from regular programs and between special apportionments for disaster relief in order to cope with the most critical situations in each area.

As soon as rescue operations after the winter 1964–65 storm were completed, the Forest Service used available authorizations and appropriations to begin work. In some areas, contracts were negotiated with timber operators for men and equipment to restore access to timber sale areas. Where it appeared impossible to secure access in time to prevent mill shutdown, timber sales were prepared and offered in areas not cut off by flood damage. High priority was given to those actions which would keep logs flowing to purchasers of national forest timber. Except for a few relatively minor interruptions we have been able to do this. It could only have been accomplished with the cooperation of the operators themselves and by the heroic action of the States and the Bureau of Public Roads in opening main routes of travel.

While work was in progress, estimates were prepared of additional funds needed to accomplish the entire job. Many of these estimates were made from helicopter and from aerial photographs. In spite of the partial snow cover, these estimates were remarkably close to recent estimates based on more detailed inventory of work accomplished and work left to be done. (This recent inventory checked within 2 percent of original estimates.)

The Forest Service had organized an all-out effort to restore damaged roads. Men were detailed to the damaged area from other regions and forests—all parts of the country are represented. The majority of these men worked 7 days a week at 12-hour shifts until access had been attained. They are continuing to work overtime to meet planned objectives.

In addition to Forest Service people, contracts were negotiated with outside firms for engineering services.

Due to prompt action by the Bureau of the Budget and by Congress, this restoration work has not been interrupted on account of lack of funds. Initial work was started by reprograming funds already apportioned to the Forest Service. The Bureau of the Budget acted promptly to apportion authority from existing unallotted authorizations under the Federal Highway Act. Then finally, you and other knowledgeable people in Congress were successful in obtaining an additional authorization of $38 million for this work. All of this, we assure you, will be used only for this flood repair.

In fiscal year 1965 we were able to use all contracting authority made available to us for emergency operations. The attached table shows the source of contracting authority and obligations against it. You will note that $352,000 from authority allotted for the June 1964 storm was diverted to get immediate action on the winter 1964–65 storm.

To give you the present state of obligations for fiscal year 1966 would not be significant because many millions of dollars of contracts are now being advertised. Periodic checks are made of planned and actual accomplishment. It is our best judgment that we will have no trouble obligating apportioned contracting authority for fiscal year 1966. In fact we plan to ask for additional apportionments from the Bureau of the Budget for this fiscal year if we find ourselves substantially ahead of schedule next spring. As an indication of our capacity to get our work done, your attention is called to the record for fiscal year 1965 in the attached table. You will note that out of a total obligating authority of $106,221,693 we only had a $750,000 carryover.

You may ask why we have planned to extend this work into fiscal year 1967. This has been necessary because certain work must be done in sequence for best economy in the use of funds. This schedule of operations will not hold up timber operations. An example of work deferred to fiscal year 1967 is the replacement of very large culverts and massive fills which were destroyed. Temporary bypass bridges were immediately constructed so that logs could move. Permanent bridge replacements will be built by contract in fiscal year 1967.

We have been very careful to insure that both estimates and expenditures are in line with the intent of the administration and the Congress in making these funds available to us. Roads and bridges are being restored to be functional and equivalent to those destroyed. At the same time we have improved some locations and designs to increase resistance of facilities to future storms.

You will note that information contained here and in the attached tables is based upon the allocation of contracting authority and total obligation of that authority. Allocation of contracting authority is the key to planning for and execution of a program of this nature. The appropriation of the actual cash to pay the obligations as they become due has always been promptly handled by the Appropriation Committees of the Congress. There was a small supplemental appropriation in fiscal year 1965 and $22,500,000 in the first supplemental appropriation act recently passed by the Congress.

The information provided does not separate Oregon from the total program. A breakdown of such information by States is not readily available. We do know, however, that work in Oregon has progressed faster than has the total repair program.

We hope that this information will be adequate to acquaint you with our efforts to date.

Sincerely yours,

EDWARD P. CLIFF,
Chief.

By M. M. NELSON.

Forest Service—Emergency road and trail restoration

FISCAL YEAR 1965

Funding (contracting authorization):	
Alaska earthquake	[1] $300,000
Flood of June 1964 (Montana and Idaho)	[1] 6,700,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[1] 8,450,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[2] 2,650,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	[3] 2,113,000
Total	20,213,000
Obligations against contracting authority:	
Alaska earthquake	300,000
Flood of June 1964	[4] 6,348,000
Flood of winter 1964–65	13,565,000
Total	20,213,000

[1] Added apportionment by Bureau of Budget.

[2] Apportioned from Disaster Relief Act by Bureau of Budget.

[3] Reprogramed from regular funds.

[4] $352,000 reprogramed for flood of winter 1964–65.

Forest Service—Forest development road and trails—Total program

	Contracting authority
FISCAL YEAR 1965	
Balance brought forward	$730,430
Apportioned from authorizations	105,471,263
Total funds available	106,221,693
Total obligation	105,471,572
Unobligated June 30, 1965	750,021
FISCAL YEAR 1966	
Balance brought forward	750,021
Apportioned, Disaster Relief Act	20,350,000
Apportioned, regular funds	100,688,671
Total available	121,788,796
FISCAL YEAR 1967	
Residual, Disaster Relief Act	15,000,000
Apportionment, regular funds	[1]

[1] Unknown at this date.

Funds available for Pacific Northwest flood, 1964–65

[In millions of dollars]

Fiscal year	Amount absorbed from regular program	Prior Highway Act authority released from Bureau of the Budget reserve	Authorized by Disaster Relief Act of 1965, Public Law 89–41	Total program
1965	1.9	8.45	2.65	13.0
1966	1.0		20.35	21.35
1967			15.0	15.0
Total	2.9	8.45	38.0	49.35

Former Congressman Cites Interest Rate Cuts as Alternative to Government Subsidies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, much has been said for and against Government efforts to make decent housing available for every man, woman, and child in America. A recent example is the rent subsidy feature of the 1964 Housing Act.

I favor these programs, and always have, but I would be less than honest not to admit that Government subsidies in housing would be unnecessary if interest rates were not so exorbitantly high. That interest rates absorb a shamefully high percentage of the average citizen's take-home pay is now beyond dispute. This is just as wrong as it is unnecessary. If the Federal Reserve System was more concerned about long-term economic growth and less concerned about daily money market rates in Wall Street, the public would no longer be gouged by high interest and there would not be the current slump in the housing mar-

ket. Furthermore, in the current fiscal year, the taxpayers will have to cough up $12 billion just to pay the interest on the national debt, thanks to the Federal Reserve.

An interesting letter to the editor appearing in the Washington Post bears me out. The author is Byron L. Johnson, former Representative from Colorado and member of the Banking and Currency Committee, who is a world-renowned expert on housing and home-financing problems. His letter follows:

FOR AN INTEREST RATE CUT

Across the country our financial pages are publishing a chorus of statements that are calling for caution in bank mortgage lending and, I regret to add, endorsing "selected increases" in interest rates.

We need a cut in interest rates, not a hike, if America is to be well housed. In the years just ahead, there will be a sharp jump in the rate of family formation. It will require a 20-percent jump in housing starts. The war babies are finishing college, and getting married. They need homes, at monthly rents or charges they can afford. Yet interest payments are becoming almost 50 percent of monthly housing costs. Only the upper and middle income families are served at present interest charges on mortgage money. Rent subsidies and special low interest Government loans on housing for low income families are a poor substitute for lower interest charges.

The trend to ever higher interest diverts loanable funds away from productive investment in housing and public utility expansion, and from other public works, toward the more inflationary consumutive uses. The growth in consumer debt for short-term purchase loans is not stopped by higher interest. Nor are speculative loans stopped by higher interest. But housing is severely hampered.

Over the years that interest charges have been rising, Congress and the administration have tried to hold monthly housing costs down by lengthening the term of the insured loan. But this simply slows the rate of return of loanable funds, thus shrinking the rate of annual saving. If interest rates were lower, families could save money by paying off their loans more rapidly, increasing the rate and volume of savings available for new loans.

It is nothing short of tragic that all attention has centered on the interest factor in the loan transaction. Actually, the Federal Reserve and the banking system can manage the volume of lending so as to promote orderly growth without inflation, without raising interest rates, and even while lowering them. Not only can amortization periods be cut shorter, but higher down payments can be required, and stricter eligibility requirements imposed. Every economist knows that appropriate attention must be given to all four factors in loan transactions, for a healthy economy.

The needs for the lower-income groups for decent housing can be met without subsidy, if interest rates are lowered. If inflation were to threaten, the shorter amortization and higher downpayment requirement could correct the volume of new loans, without raising rates.

With total borrowing (governmental, business and consumer loans) now more than $1.1 trillion, each 1 percent on the average rate of interest adds $11 billion to the annual cost of money. The money doesn't do any more for us by reason of our paying more for it. If interest rates could be reduced by 1 percent during the coming year, the Federal taxpayer would save more than $2.2 billion a year, as the debt was refinanced; the whole economy would ultimately save $11 billion a year.

That money could be better spent to help raise the standards of our housing, schools, other capital facilities, and give greater productive employment to the still substantial number of unemployed persons in our society.

BRYON L. JOHNSON.

On Throwing Tantrums

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE MURPHY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, my mail and personal contacts with Americans throughout this great Nation indicate Americans are concerned and, in many cases, disgusted with the demonstrations against our country's policy in Vietnam.

Although our Constitution protects the right of free speech and the right to assemble, Americans across the Nation were shocked at some of the actions and protests against American policy in southeast Asia. These constitutional rights are vital elements of the precious American heritage that was acquired and preserved through the efforts of the American soldier. Right today, in the jungles of Vietnam, the American GI is fighting so that our children, too, will continue to enjoy these rights. Although the above constitutionally protected rights clearly include the right to dissent, these constitutional rights are not without their limitation. Illegal acts, like the burning of draft cards, should be answered with swift enforcement of the law. Other acts, such as interfering with the performance of duties by American servicemen and the obstruction of movement of military supplies, clearly cannot be tolerated. I joined Senator FRANK LAUSCHE in introducing S. 2482, which would make such actions a crime punishable by a 10-year jail sentence and/or $10,000 fine.

Ironically, while demonstrators march on the home front, allegedly for the purpose of peace, the American soldier on the war front answers aggression. These demonstrations, ostensibly for the purpose of peace are doing more to prolong the war. Peace will not return to that troubled area until the Communists understand our message, evidence by our build-up, that aggression, even if it takes the form of so-called wars of liberation will not be tolerated and will not be successful.

It is little wonder that these soldiers in Vietnam who daily place their lives in jeopardy are disheartened over the demonstrations here at home—demonstrations which can do nothing except encourage the Communist cause.

As resentful as these actions are, both to our troops in Vietnam and to the overwhelming majority of Americans, we must realize that these headline hunters, like juvenile delinquents, represent only a small segment of our people. For the vast majority of American feelings are revealed in the many counterdemonstrations by college groups, veterans, and civic and union organizations that have pledged their support to our Nation's effort in Vietnam.

The Wall Street Journal editorializes on these demonstrations, and I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ON THROWING TANTRUMS

Even after all the discounting is duly done, the current rash of youthful demonstrations against the Vietnam war must puzzle the mind and conscience of thoughtful men. Is it a case of young people failing society or the other way around? Or some of both?

Granted, the eruptions do not represent majority American opinion, including that of college students themselves, however disturbing may be the plain thread of extreme leftist instigation or encouragement. It is perhaps indicative of the general mood of the country that the purported pacifists are evoking counterdemonstrations in support of the administration's Vietnam policy. In any event, taking to the streets with a grievance is nothing new. Finally, it can be conceded that this is a peculiarly messy, disagreeable war, despite its broad objective of containing communism.

Still, the protesters, whether committing illegal acts like burning their draft cards or indulging in peaceful marches, are giving a certain amount of aid and comfort to the enemy. And all too evidently their behavior is part of a broader pattern of disrespect for law and order. While their conduct is not to be condoned, it is at the same time instructive to see where their elders have let them down.

For whatever reasons, this century has witnessed a decline in the disciplines of home, school, and church; indeed, in the attitudes of the courts and governmental officials. The atmosphere has been one of pervasive permissiveness, part of which is the notion that to impose standards of behavior on a child is somehow to stunt his development.

What too often turns out to be stunted, of course, is the child's sense of the importance of an orderly society. His view of his role is likely to become a self-centered arrogance to do as he pleases without regard to the consequences. Former President Eisenhower is among those who clearly understand this tendency toward erosion of the old virtues.

Without presuming to make a precise allocation of the blame, we think it beyond question that the contemporary liberal philosophy which has dominated the intellectual fashion of a generation has made a sizable contribution. For it is pre-eminently a philosophy of irresponsibility; that is, the individual is not regarded as particularly accountable for his actions. If he goes wrong or criminal or delinquent or otherwise antisocial, the society is presumed guilty. The curious cure recommended is for the society in the form of government to take over more and more of the responsibilities abdicated by individual, family, minister and teacher.

Given the prevailing winds, it seems to us equally undeniable that the civil rights movement has provided fresh impetus to the fad of disrespect for law and order. While most Americans sympathize with the aims of the movement, it has nonetheless brought a sort of status to mob action. More significantly, it has enshrined the doctrine that people are morally obliged to obey only the laws they think just and to disobey the rest—taking to the streets if they want until the offending auhority has buckled under.

A viewpoint more corrosive to a society conceived in the framework of both liberty

and order is hard to imagine. Not surprisingly, some of the same students and leaders and professors who have been foremost in advocating disobedience of laws they don't like are also the most vociferous objectors to the Vietnam war. Any cause, so long as it is anti-law and order, apparently will do.

By now this variety of "free speech"—which is devoid of intellectual content, invites no debate, tolerates no rebuttal, trades on emotion, bases its appeal on sheer numbers of demonstrators and beckons to exploitation—has become so accepted it is employed on the slightest impulse by dissatisfied groups of every description. In our opinion, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that most of the street action is not an expression but a debasement of honest public discussion of the issues, Vietnam or anything else, and in fact of the whole constitutional concept of free assembly.

Probably in many cases the youthful pacifists will outgrow their enthusiasm for nose-thumbing. Far more disquieting than their antics of the moment is that we the adults have done so much to foster the childish idea that anyone can have his own way just by throwing a tantrum.

Free Speech and the American College Student

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, during the past several months the Nation has viewed with alarm the student protest demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam and against a strong U.S. foreign policy in southeast Asia.

These student demonstrations have moved from peaceful teach-ins to riotous street demonstrations. The burning of draft cards in flagrant violation of Federal statutes, the deliberate blocking of troop and supply convoys and trains, the dissemination of materials giving college students information on how to supposedly legally avoid the draft, the distribution of pamphlets calling former Ambassador to Vietnam Maxwell Taylor an American version of Goebbels, and a myriad of other alarming actions have become the order of the day during these protests.

The Vietnam Day Committee—VDC—demonstrations on many college campuses on October 16–17, 1965, led by members of the Students for a Democratic Society—SDS—and leaders of the May second movement—M2M—and a host of other leftwing student groups, carried the student protest demonstrations to a point of national concern.

Mr. Speaker, I do not believe that these demonstrations are representative of the true student consensus on the Vietnam question. These agitators represent only a well-organized and a well-vocalized minority.

The responsible American college student is taking steps to counteract the leftwing student protests. Members of Young Republican clubs, Young Americans for Freedom—YAF—chapters, and some Young Democrats are leading demonstrations in support of winning the war in Vietnam. These groups are launching drives to donate blood to be flown to American fighting men in Vietnam, sending food and clothing to Vietnamese refugees and orphans fleeing from the war-torn areas, circulating petitions in support of a strong U.S. policy in Vietnam, sponsoring lectures and debate-ins on college campuses, and a number of other constructive programs.

Mr. Speaker, a constituent of mine from Logansport, Mr. Tom Charles Huston, the recently elected national chairman of the YAF, has written an interesting article on the first amendment rights of college students.

During his teen years Tom served as the chairman of the Governor's Youth Advisory Council in Indiana. As an undergraduate at Indiana University he was very active in campus affairs. For 3 years he served as a member of the student senate. He was president of Phi Kappa Psi Fraternity and the Indiana University Conservative League. He was a member of the board of Aeons, a 12-member student advisory board to the president of the university. Upon graduation in 1963, he was named to membership in Phi Beta Kappa and selected as the outstanding graduating senior. He is presently a third-year law student at Indiana University and at the top of his class. After serving an apprenticeship as the national vice chairman of YAF, Tom stepped into the top position at the National Convention of YAF here in the Nation's Capital in late August of this year.

As a law student and as the national spokesman of a political organization which operates on the college campus, Tom is vitally concerned with the first amendment rights of the university students. He recently authored a searching and well-documented analysis of this question.

Mr. Speaker, at this point in the RECORD, I include this article, and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues:

THE FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

(By Tom Charles Huston)

THE INTEREST AT STAKE

It is often argued that a student does not have a right to attend a college or university; at the most he has a privilege and this privilege comes not from Federal sources but is given by the State. In the Federal courts today the distinction has become meaningless; the courts holding that the pursuit of studies in an institution of higher education is an interest which is entitled to legal protection.

The courts have taken judicial cognizance of the fact that education is a vital interest of great value to the student. As noted in *Dixon* v. *Alabama State Board of Education:*

"It requires no argument to demonstrate that education is vital and, indeed, basic to civilized society. Without sufficient education the plaintiffs would not be able to earn an adequate livelihood, to enjoy life to the fullest, or to fulfill as completely as possible the duties and responsibilities of good citizens."

Adopting the rationale of the *Dixon* case, the court in *Knight* v. *State Board of Education* rejected defendent's argument that the interest which the plaintiffs had in attending a State university was a mere privilege and not a constitutional right:

"Whether the interest involved be described as a right or a privilege, the ract remains that it is an interest of almost incalcuable value, especially to those students who have already enrolled in the institution and begun the pursuit of their college training. Private interests are to be evaluated under the due process clause of the 14th amendment, not in terms of labels or fictions, but in terms of their true significance and worth. The court cannot resist the conclusion in the present case that to describe the interest of the plaintiffs in continuing their education * * * as a privilege rather than a right, although perhaps accurate for some purposes, is a mere play on words insofar as the present case is concerned."

The Federal court's willingness to protect the interest of a student in continuing his education extends only to public institutions, except in cases where State courts will intervene to prevent an abuse of discretion or an arbitrary discrimination. The shocking statement that "one may question whether any school or college can ever be so private as to escape the reach of the 14th amendment," fortunately has not found support in the decisions of the courts, the rule being that "a private educational institution is not in a business so essential to the public in its nature as to render a corporation so engaged subject to public control." Thus, the rights of the student vis-a-vis a private institution are contractural in nature, and not subject to review by the courts unless so arbitrary or unreasonable as to constitute a breach of contract.

GENERAL POWER OF THE UNIVERSITY TO REGULATE ACTIVITIES OF STUDENTS

The State legislatures are generally in control of the public colleges and universities of the State and have a right to legislate for their welfare and to enact measures for their discipline. In all cases, however, the authority to make rules and regulations is broad. As the Ohio Appellate Court observed:

"The term 'government' incorporates a trinity of functions: the enactment of laws, rules, and regulations; the judicial construction of same as applicable to their suggested violation, and their execution. This term 'government' is broad enough in its scope, as applied to university or college, or school, to include administrative rules and regulations affecting scholastic procedure as well as disciplinary measures affecting only moral conduct and order."

The student who enters a public institution does so subject to the reasonable rules and regulations promulgated by the proper administrative authority. As the Indiana Supreme Court noted: "Every student, upon his admission into an institution of learning, impliedly poses the duty on the trustees of each of the institutions to see that the requirements of the legislature are enforced. A State may also adopt such measures as it deems necessary to its duty of supervision and control of its educational institutions, including rules regarding the activities of students attending those institutions.

In most States the authority to determine the rules and regulations for the colleges and universities is delegated to a board of trustees or regents. Some States provide that the rules shall be made by the board and the faculty jointly; others provide that only the faculty shall make the rules; while still others allow the board the option of delegating this responsibility to the promises to submit to, and to be governed by, all the necessary and proper rules and regulations which have been, or may thereafter be, adopted for the Government of the institution."

These rules and regulations may provide that the student must not belong to any fra-

ternal group, or at least not to one affiliated with a national, must live in university-owned housing, must participate in military training, and must submit to a vaccination or an X-ray examination prior to admission. The Indiana Supreme Court has held that there is a distinction between the power of the university to enact rules regarding admission of students and rules regarding their control once admitted—the power in the latter case being largely one of discretion, while in the former, the power being limited by "well established rules." As the dissenting Justice noted, the distinction seems to be meaningless since the student's right to continue his education once admitted would be contingent upon his adherence to rules promulgated by the authorities, which most likely would include those specified initially as a condition for his admission.

UNIVERSITY POWER TO DISCIPLINE STUDENTS

The authorities of both public and private institutions have broad powers to discipline students for violation of the university regulations. The rule with regard to private schools is that the courts will not consider whether the rules are wise or expedient but whether they are a reasonable exercise of the power and discretion of the college authorities. The Federal rule with regard to public schools is much broader. While granting that a State college or university must have a very wide latitude in disciplining its students and that this power should not be encumbered with restrictions which would embarrass the institution in maintaining good order and discipline among members of its student body, nevertheless, "the authorities uniformly recognize that the governmental power in respect to matters of student discipline in public schools is not unlimited and that disciplinary rules must not only be fair and reasonable but they must be applied in a fair and reasonable manner."

It is implied in the student's attendance at a university that he will not be guilty of "Such misconduct as would be subversive of the discipline of the college or school, or as would show him to be morally unfit to be continued as a member thereof." The New York Appellate Court held that while "misconduct" perhaps referred more particularly to demeanor within the walls of the institution or in connection with the ordinary activities of student life, "the implied stipulation of good conduct, variable in its meaning and incapable of precise definition as that term must always be, is not to receive the restricted construction that the student's conduct may be the subject of control only insofar as it relates to his actions in his capacity and status as student. The term 'morally unfit' * * * mut be given a broader meaning and should be construed as comprising any conduct that may interfere with or injure the university, or lessen its proper control over its student body, or impair its influence for good upon its students and the community."

The court in *Carr* v. *St. John's University* declared that "when a university, in expelling a student, acts within its jurisdiction, not arbitrarily but in the exercise of an honest discretion based on facts within its knowledge that justify the exercise of discretion, a court may not review the exercise of its discretion." While this rule is generally accepted, the Federal courts are, nevertheless, tending to take a close look at the facts upon which the exercise of discretion was allegedly based in order to ascertain whether there was actually "some reasonable and constitutional ground for expulsion." If there was not, the Federal courts "would have a duty to require reinstatement." Although no where has the court said so, such language implies a constitutional standard of substantive due process. It is not enough that the rule be fairly administered, the rule must in and of itself be fair. It appears that we are on the threshold of a constitutional advance of great significance. Although carefully skirting the issue, the court's logic in both the *Dixon* and *Knight* cases leads one to the conclusion that a substantive due process requirement is slowly evolving. This should not be surprising, for as Mr. Justice Frankfurter pointed out so eloquently in *Wolf* v. *Colorado:*

"Due process of law * * * conveys neither formal nor fixed nor narrow requirements. It is the compendious expression for all those rights which the courts must enforce because they are basic to our free society. But basic rights do not become petrified as of any one time, even though, as a matter of human experience, some may not too rhetorically be called eternal verities. It is of the very nature of a free society to advance in its standards of what is deemed reasonable and right. Representing as it does a living principle, due process is not confined within a permanent catalog of what may at a given time be deemed the limits or essentials of fundamental rights."

THE CASE LAW AND SUBSTANTIVE DUE PROCESS

Freedom of speech: Petitioner in *People ex rel. Goldenkoff* v. *Albany Law School* was summoned before a committee of the faculty of the law school where the dean said to him:

"Goldenkoff, it has come to the attention of the faculty that you are in sympathy wtih the doctrines of the Socialist Party and that you are disseminating offensive propaganda about the school, converting students to the cause. What have you to say? Or would you prefer to hear what these boys have to say?"

Goldenkoff replied that he would gladly hear what the boys had to say, and they proceeded to report how he had patronized with the Socialist members of the New York Legislature who had been evicted from their positions and publicly sympathized with them. Although it was alleged that he advocated a Socialist or Communist government, called for the speaker of the State assembly to be hanged, and read a book entitled "Socialism, Sovietism, and I.W.W.-ism," the primary complaint seemed to be his support of, and friendship with, the Socialist members of the legislature. He alleged in his petition that "the dean and faculty were very bitter against the Socialists who were expelled from the legislature and the fact that petitioner did not approve of this expulsion was the real and only cause of his expulsion from the law school."

At the conclusion of a recital of charges against him by his fellow students, Goldenkoff told the dean that he was 100-percent American, an enrolled Republican, and his opinions in regard to the Socialist trial were the same as those expressed by Gov. Charles Evans Hughes. After several questions were asked him, the dean said to him:

"I find that your offensive propaganda in favor of socialism and your views make you an undesirable and further connection with this school is denied you. You may no longer enjoy the benefits of the institution."

In an affidavit filed for the trial, Dean Fiero elaborated on the factors which prompted his decision "that this petitioner, Jacob M. Goldenkoff, while a student at such school in the year 1920, made disloyal statements with regard to the United States, and held that and had repeatedly expressed to his fellow students views with reference to the established government of this country and its laws which were inconsistent with and contrary to sound morals and good citizenship; that he had been guilty of radical, socialistic, and seditious utterances and propaganda calculated to injure the standing and reputation of said school, and detrimental to its best interests, and had attempted to proselyte fellow students to a disregard for law and order and our form of government, and thereby became and was offensive to the faculty and the student body of said school, and because thereof petitioner's fellow students were unwilling to attend said institution during the petitioner's continuance as a member thereof."

It may be assumed that the university had the right, if not indeed the duty, to expell from its law school one who advocated disregard for the laws of the United States or who advocated the overthrow of the Government by force and violence. On the other hand, it seems equally clear that a student ought not be summarily dismissed from a public institution simply because he possesses unpopular ideas and gives expression to them. The maintenance of a proper degree of discipline and decorum does not require that a student abandon his right to exercise those liberties guaranteed to him as a citizen under the Constitution of the United States. Granting that a student may not disrupt the university by the exercise of those liberties, it nevertheless seems only reasonable to assume that so long as he maintains a proper respect for the faculty in his dealings with them, conducts himself in a reasonable and decorous manner, complies with the scholastic requirements, and abides by the rules and regulations promulgated for general disciplinary purposes, the student should be free to enjoy his constitutional rights without fear of expulsion from the school.

The mere fact that the petitioner sympathized with the evicted Socialist legislators and fraternized with them during the course of their trial at the capitol does not suggest that he engaged in acts "contrary to sound morals and good citizenship." University administrators, particularly in public institutions, must be cautious in applying the standard of "good citizenship." After all, good citizenship does not require conformity with prevailing political opinion. Neither does it seem enough that petitioner attempted to proselyte his fellow students, so long as his activities did not disrupt the regular academic activities of the school. The mere fact that his opinions were offensive to the faculty and the student body appears totally irrelevant. Ideological conformity is not necessary to the training and preparation of competent lawyers.

The case seems to suggest vividly the need for a high standard of due process. The proof of such serious charges ought to consist of more than unsubstantiated allegations. Where a student is to be dismissed for exercising those rights guaranteed by the Federal Contitution and given special protection by the courts, a different standard should be applied than that found adequate in most cases of expulsion for improper conduct. A student should not be forced to waive his basic rights as a citizen in order to secure an education.

In *Samson* v. *Trustees of Columbia University*, the plaintiff was expelled for participation in off-campus political activity which allegedly involved the university in "undesirable notoriety." Samson had attended an Emma Goldman meeting in downtown New York at which he said: "We have no love for the Kaiser; but, as much as we hate the German Kaiser, we hate still more the American kaiser." He also predicted that there would be a draft revolution. His speech was reported in the New York Times and the New York World. It is not clear from the case whether either paper identified him as a student at Columbia University.

The court viewed the problem from the perspective of the university whose function was to "instill and sink deep in the minds of its students the love of country," asking whether the conduct of the plaintiff rendered it impossible for the university to effectively carry out this important educational duty. The court concluded that the

conduct of the student rendered him a menace to the morale of the Columbia student body and a blot on the good name of the famous and honored university. In the court's opinion, his close contact with impressionable young men of his own age who might "thus be inoculated by him with the poison of his disloyalty" constituted such a menace that the university was well within its rights in expelling him.

Nowhere, in the opinion of the court, is there evidence that Samson made any attempt to convince his fellow students of the merits of the position he had taken at the meeting. The only allegation is that he made the statement, it was reported in the papers, and it resulted in "undesirable notoriety" for the university. There is no explanation of how this notoriety was brought about.

To say that the student's remarks were intemperate is grossly to understate the case. America was at war, and to brand the President of the United States a greater tyrant than the Kaiser of Germany was a rash, if not disloyal, thing to do. Although the court explicitly refused to consider whether the activity of the plaintiff amounted to sedition or treason, there is no doubt as to the personal opinion of the judge. Considering the emotions of the times, it is not difficult to understand the university's concern about such a public statement by one of its students. Yet, the question still remains: Should a student be responsible to the university for his political conduct off the campus?

The cases indicate that the power of the university over its students does not cease absolutely when they leave the campus. Conduct away from the campus may subject a student to disciplinary action if it directly affects the "good order and welfare of the school." It appears that there must be some direct relation between the conduct of the student and his status as an enrollee of the school. It surely is not enough that he is a student. Often administrators use the criterion of whether the acts emanated from the campus, i.e., did the student leave the campus, engage in the conduct, and then directly return to it? Sometimes the criterion seems to be whether the university was "implicated" in the conduct of the student off campus, i.e., did he, by his conduct, so associate the name of the university with his activity as to characterize himself as a representative of the institution. Perhaps more often, the university simply determines whether it approves of the conduct, and if it does not, brands it as contrary to the good order and welfare of the school.

It is this writer's opinion that the exercise of a student's political liberties is entitled to special protection, and a university ought not be allowed to discipline a student for the exercise of those liberties unless it can make a showing of substantial violation of reasonable university regulations designed to maintain order and insure the general welfare of the university. The courts should examine carefully any suspension which is based upon the student's off-campus political activity to insure that a proper showing of injury to the university is made. It should not be enough that the university was inconvenienced or even embarrassed, unless some disruption of university affairs resulted as a direct consequence of the student's activity.

Freedom to protest: Three recent cases involved student participation in the civil rights movement: *Dixon* v. *Alabama State Bd. of Educ.*, *Knight* v. *State Bd. of Educ.*, and *Due* v. *Florida A. & M. Univ.* A university regulation in the *Due* case provided that disciplinary action would be taken against any student involved in misconduct while on or off the campus, including conviction for violation of any criminal or civil law. The regulation of Tennessee A. & I. University involved in the *Knight* case provided for the automatic expulsion of any student convicted of a criminal charge "involving personal misconduct." In the *Dixon* case a regulation provided that pupils might be expelled for conduct prejudicial to the school and for conduct unbecoming a student or future teacher in the schools of Alabama.

The plaintiffs in the *Due* case had been convicted of contempt for demonstrating against racial discrimination at a theater in violation of a court injunction. The students involved in the *Knight* case had been convicted of a charge of disorderly conduct resulting from an attempt to integrate a bus terminal in Mississippi. In the *Dixon* case, the students had conducted a sit-in at a publicly owned lunch grill located in the basement of the county courthouse in Montgomery and had conducted a subsequent demonstration at the courthouse to protest the trial of one of their fellow students.

In each case the court refused to consider the substantive question of whether it was a legitimate exercise of university discretion to dismiss the students for this off-campus activity. The problem is a terribly complex and troubling one, and it is no wonder that the courts declined to grapple about with it. The violation of law by a student certainly is a serious matter with which the university must legitimately concern itself. No university should be expected to open its doors to those who have only scorn for law and order and who disregard the obligation of every citizen to observe the law. However, the problem in these cases is not so simple, since the laws violated were those used to maintain a system of racial discrimination.

The court in the *Knight* case took this fact into consideration, and a careful reading of the opinion by Judge Miller suggests that he was largely motivated to order the reinstatement of the students by the fact that they were convicted of violating a statute which was vague and was utilized to perpetuate a socially undesirable situation. He placed great emphasis on the fact that the university's regulation provided for dismissal when the misconduct of the student resulting in his arrest reflected dishonor and discredit upon the institution. He seemed to conclude that quite possibly conviction for disorderly conduct in Mississippi while protesting racial discrimination would not reflect dishonor or discredit upon the institution. He makes it quite clear that any regulation which required dismissal for conviction of any law, however insignificant, e.g., a traffic violation, would be arbitrary and unreasonable and violative of due process. He concluded that the particular conviction of the students was of a sufficiently doubtful character as to merit at least a hearing. Although he placed his decision upon procedural due process grounds, his reasoning is uniquely along the lines of substantive due process and is, perhaps, a precursor of things to come.

The court in the *Due* case refused to examine the merits of the contempt citation or the reasonableness of the university regulation authorizing expulsion for conviction of violating a criminal or civil law. The judge simply asserted that on its face the contempt citation was valid, and since the university had provided notice and hearing to the students prior to their expulsion, the action of the disciplinary committee was likewise valid.

The students in the *Dixon* case had been expelled upon order of the Alabama State Board of Education. The president of the university testified at the trial before Judge Johnson in the district court that he did not know why the students were expelled. The notice of expulsion assigned no specific reason for expulsion, referring only to "this problem of Alabama State College" and quoting the rules regarding grounds for expulsion.

The court based its decision on the grounds that the students had not been given any notice or hearing before being expelled. Thus it placed its decision upon the denial of procedural due process. However, one cannot fail to get the impression from the testimony cited by the court in its opinion and in the footnotes that the court was bothered by the fact that the plaintiffs had not been warned that their conduct was unbecoming of a student, that is, that the State board of education had ordered their expulsion simply because the board members disapproved of the social or political objectives of the group, Governor Patterson's disavowal to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless, the court did not direct itself to this aspect of the case. However, the court in *Knight* did consider whether the regulation of the university was aimed at prohibiting students from engaging in civil rights activities and found that it was not. The court's evaluation of the rule is not wholly convincing, but it does suggest that the court took the matter into consideration.

The specific problem presented in these cases, that is, whether university regulations providing for the expulsion of students who are convicted of crimes while participating in civil rights activity are reasonable, has seemingly become moot. As a general policy, it is not unreasonable for the university to expel a student convicted of violating a law. In most cases, such action is definitely desirable. However, when the laws violated are those generally regarded as unjust, for example, laws used to perpetuate racial discrimination, the matter is not so easily determined. Protest movements are part and parcel of contemporary student political expression. Frequently they result in arrests. A regulation automatically providing for expulsion of a student convicted of violating any law is, as Judge Miller pointed out, unreasonable. Yet, in this area, university administrators must be given broad discretion to balance the seriousness of the crime against the legitimate interests of the university.

Freedom of religion: A recent Florida case involved a graduate student enrolled at the University of Miami where he was working to secure a teaching certificate in secondary education. When he enrolled he listed himself as an atheist. Arrangements had been made for him to do intern teaching at a public school when the principal of that school called the attention of the university to a letter which the student had written to the editor of a local newspaper dealing with the subject of atheism. A university committee met with the student, and as a result of that meeting determined that he was "fanatical" in his beliefs on the subject of atheism and was likely to communicate those beliefs to his students. The committee, therefore, recommended that the university cause the student to withdraw from the education program. The recommendation was adopted and the student was dismissed. He was, however, allowed to enroll in other courses at the university.

A university regulation provided that the school reserved the right to ask a student to withdraw at any time. The court held that under these circumstances the university could dismiss him without furnishing a reason or cause so long as it acted in good faith and not arbitrarily or from malice. The court did not, however, rely solely upon this rule of law. It considered the substantive merits of the student's case, concluding that "it must not be overlooked that the appellant was a student who was being prepared by the university to become a teacher in our public schools. It seems obvious that a university should consider itself under a duty and obligation not to graduate, and release with the stamp of its academic approval, a new teacher having attitudes or fanatical ideas, such as with refer-

ence to atheism, which if imposed on impressionable minds of the young with whom he must come in contact, would be calculated to operate to their detriment and injury."

With deference to the Florida court, it appears to this writer that the legitimacy of the university's action is not quite so obvious. The appellant in his testimony stated that he would not teach atheism, but that if he were asked questions regarding the subject, he would be required to answer truthfully, meaning in accordance with his beliefs, and that he would not be willing to limit his after-school activities with reference to public statements and writings relating to atheism.

It is true that teachers have no right to work for the State in the school system on their own terms. It is equally true that there is no requirement in the Federal Constitution that a teacher's classroom conduct must be the sole basis for determining his fitness. Yet, to say that a person does not have a constitutional right to employment as a teacher is only to say that he must comply with reasonable, lawful, and nondiscriminatory terms laid down by the proper authorities. Although fitness for teaching depends on a broad range of factors, these factors must be reasonable and may not impinge upon the protected rights of the individual seeking to teach in the public school system.

In an important series of cases the Supreme Court has held that no person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or nonattendance. The free exercise clause of the first amendment protects the right of the individual to refuse to practice religion as well as the right of the individual to enjoy his religious convictions. There must not be any discrimination by civil authorities on the basis of religion. The Supreme Court recognized over two decades ago the right of the individual to possess unpopular religious views and to be free from discrimination because of them: "* * * freedom to differ is not limited to things that do not matter much. That would be a mere shadow of freedom. The test of its substance is the right to differ as to the things that touch the heart of the existing order.

"If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein."

The action of the university in excluding a student from a course which would have enabled him to teach in the public school system solely because of his beliefs seems to this writer to violate the standard established by the Supreme Court and required by the first amendment of the Constitution. The university's action was more than a mere exercise of discretion by a private corporation. It was intimately linked with action by the civil authorities of Dade County, Fla., that is, the board of public instruction. Its consequence was to deny the appellant the opportunity to teach in the public school system, solely because he possessed unpopular religious ideas which the university and public school officials were afraid he might communicate to impressionable young students. Such a fear, however sincerely felt, is nevertheless an unconstitutional basis for excluding an individual from qualifying for a position as a teacher in the public school system. The student is entitled to his own views on matters of religion, regardless of their unorthodoxy. To exclude him from the university, or a division of it because officials of the State do not like his religious views is to deny him a constitutional right of incalculable value. The Federal courts should not hesitate to intervene to prohibit such action.

A more difficult case is *Carr* v. *St. John's University*. There the petitioners had been dismissed for participating in a civil marriage ceremony contrary to the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church. Although admission to St. John's was open to qualified applicants regardless of religious faith, the school was operated by the Catholic Church and 94 percent of the student body was of the Catholic faith.

The university had a regulation which provided that "in conformity with the ideals of the Christian education and conduct, the university reserves the right to dismiss a student at any time on whatever grounds the university judges advisable. Each student by his admission to the university recognizes this right." The university officials decided that the actions of the students, all members of the Roman Catholic faith, were contrary to ecclesiastical law, making it gravely sinful and a source of public scandal, and thus subject to the regulation regarding grounds for student dismissal.

The New York Supreme Court conceded the university's right to adopt regulations to effectuate a particular religious faith. The court noted, however, that the rule of reasonableness requires that regulations be certain as to their meaning; i.e., they must be sufficiently explicit to inform those who are subject to them what conduct on their part will render them liable to its penalties. The court held that the provision regarding "the ideals of Christian education and conduct" was so vague and indefinite that men of common intelligence must necessarily conjecture as to its meaning and differ as to its application. Such a regulation in the view of the court could not rightly be used as a basis for dismissing the students.

On appeal, the appellate division held that to the Catholic students and authorities at the university, "Christian education and conduct" meant "Catholic education and conduct." The court pointed out that the students had not claimed that they understood it to mean anything else, nor did they claim that they did not understand then what they were doing or the consequences of their act in the eyes of their church. The Court reversed the decision of the supreme court and upheld the dismissal of the students.

In a dissenting opinion, two justices argued that the university was a public institution, chartered by the State, open to persons of all religious faiths, and engaged in providing a secular learning leading to a general academic degree. In the dissenters' opinion, such a university may not enforce against a student an ecclesiastical law, the breach of which is not immoral according to the standards of society in general, or which the university does not enforce equally against all students at the university, whether Catholic or non-Catholic.

It is the human element and not the law which makes the Carr case difficult. The judge in the lower court was obviously attempting to stretch the latter to accommodate the former, and the appellate court was doubtless correct in reversing. The argument of the dissenting justices of the appellate court regarding the public character of the university is not convincing, and was expressly rejected in the landmark Dartmouth College decision and in the recent Tulane University case. The equal protection argument appears to have some merit, yet the precedents are against it also. It is the opinion of this writer that a student in a private, church-related university must accept the rules and regulations of the school, including those embodying the religious doctrines of the church. The same amendment to the Constitution which limits the power of the State or its administrative adjuncts to require religious conformity, guarantees to private groups and institutions the free exercise of religion. If the student does not wish to participate in that religious exercise, or be bound by the rules promulgated as a corrollary to that exercise, he may enroll in a public university where he will be free to do as he chooses with regard to religion.

CONCLUSION

The student in a public institution should not be required to waive his rights under the first amendment of the Constitution. He should be free to engage in off-campus political activity, as long as his activities do not interrupt the affairs of the university. He should be free to speak, to associate, and to practice or refuse to practice religion. The authority of the university, broad as it is, should be exercised with restraint. The university should extend to the student more liberty than the courts could require. Education in our time is more than an exercise in rote-learning; among its essential purposes is preparation for more effective participation in the life of the community. The student of this generation is seeking more and more education, which means that he spends more years in residence at the academic institution. Although he is in training, that is, he is there to learn, not to teach, he is not there to isolate himself from the world.

Student political activity has become increasingly significant during the past decade. The contribution which students have made to the betterment of our society and the realization of its highest ideals is obvious. It is incumbent upon the universities to encourage students to think for themselves and to give free expression to their thoughts. Where university administrators insist upon acting as censors of the thoughts and deeds of the student body, the courts must move to guarantee that the first amendment rights of the student as a citizen are protected. Freedom of speech, of religion, of association, and of assembly are too valuable to be held in escrow by the university. There is no suitable trustee for the political liberties of the citizen, whether student or teacher. Freedom is indivisible, and it is incumbent upon the courts to insure that a high standard of substantive due process is required before a university may discipline a student for exercising those rights to which he is entitled by his birthright.

Senate Joint Resolution 110: Freedom Sunday and Freedom Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, I have received a resolution adopted by the District of Columbia Legal Secretaries Association, a chapter of the International Legal Secretaries Association, stating its support for the joint resolution (S.J. Res. 110) introduced by Senator BENNETT and myself.

I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Resolved, That the District of Columbia Legal Secretaries Association adopt and support the resolution, further identified as

"Senate Joint Resolution 110," introduced by Senator BENNETT of Utah, and supported by Senator SIMPSON, of Wyoming, wherein a Freedom Sunday and Freedom Week, occurring in the calendar date of February 22, immediately preceding, be proclaimed by the President of the United States annually.

Wall Street Journal Sharply Criticizes Federal Banking Agencies in 1965 Failure of $54 Million San Francisco National Bank; Depositors Stand To Lose $30 Million

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in a feature article on the front page of the Wall Street Journal written by Mr. Donald Moffitt, it is asserted that the activities of the Federal banking agencies in protecting the banking public leave much to be desired.

I am glad that a financial newspaper with the excellent news gathering reputation of the Wall Street Journal is echoing what I have been saying for years.

What is so shocking in this case is disclosure that the Comptroller of the Currency, James J. Saxon, knowing that San Francisco National was insolvent, took possibly illegal steps to keep the bank open and kept knowledge of its true condition from the public.

This is a very serious charge against Comptroller Saxon because it worked a deception on new customers making deposits in a failing institution.

These startling revelations raise the question of Mr. Saxon's fitness to hold such a high public office as administrator of all our national banks and the custodian of almost all the Nation's circulating currency.

The article follows in its entirety:

BANK-FAILURE IMPACT—EVIDENCE MAY PUT NEW LIGHT ON FEDERAL ROLE IN CALIFORNIA CLOSING—BIG DEPOSITORS LAY LOSSES TO FAILURE OF REGULATIONS TO BARE BANK'S TROUBLES—$30 MILLION-PLUS MAY BE LOST

(By Donald Moffett)

SAN FRANCISCO.—The controversy stirred early this year by the San Francisco National Bank's sudden failure may prove mild compared with what's to come.

It's not that the furor created by the bank's collapse hasn't been in the news. Last January abrupt closing of the bank—opened only 3 years before—already has touched off a Senate investigation and led to indictment of the bank's president on 79 counts of criminal violation of national banking laws. But new evidence, likely to be made public in bits and pieces in the weeks ahead, may point up these startling and hitherto unpublicized facets of the failure:

One, the enormity of the failure and of potential losses to depositors. Over the past 30 years, depositors in banks that were closed on the average recouped 95 percent of their funds from the assets of the closed banks. But private indications from Government sources are that more than $30 million, or 56 percent, of San Francisco National's assets—valued at $54 million on paper—may have been improperly used, mistakenly loaned, or otherwise placed beyond immediate chance of recovery by creditors.

Two, the extent of Uncle Sam's role in the unsuccessful effort to keep the faltering bank alive. It is finally becoming clear that Government officials took an active part in attempting to secure large deposits from the bank and otherwise tried to compensate for mismanagement—in one case, allegedly going so far as to withhold from the Justice Department evidence of criminal violations of Federal law.

Even if the activities of the Government officials prove legally justified—and they are being tested in court—the situation is casting considerable doubt about the effectiveness of the Nation's bank regulatory system. Many San Francisco National depositors question in just whose interest this regulatory authority was being used. They charge that it was directed at helping allegedly fraudulent management out of a tight spot, rather than at informing and protecting depositors and the general public.

NO REPORT YET FROM FDIC

The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Government agency that is liquidating the bank, has yet to make a public report on its progress, 10 months after the closing, and it may not make one before the end of the year, if at all. But figures made available show that the FDIC has been able to raise no more than $20,500,000 in cash or Government bonds from bank assets that, on paper at least, were valued at $54 million.

Of that amount, about $15 million already is pledged to secured creditors principally the Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco, which had advanced the ailing institution $9,260,000 and taken its higher quality loans as collateral, and the State of California and the city of San Francisco, which together had $7,785,000 on deposit. That leaves, at the moment, $5,500,000 in cash and Government bonds to satisfy some $30 million in claims against the bank.

Says an FDIC official: "This has been the most difficult liquidation we've ever experienced."

The major difficulty, these sources say, is that most of the cash attracted as deposits to the bank was lent to borrowers now either unwilling or unable to pay it back. Some of these borrowers have gone into bankruptcy. Others have simply moved, often to an unkhown place. Still others are seeking court orders annulling their debts because they claim they were defrauded by Don C. Silverthorne, the bank's cheerful founder and president. Such charges brought Mr. Silverthorne's indictment by a Federal grand jury on the 79 counts of criminal violations of national banking laws, charges that he vigorously denies.

Some of these borrowers contend that part of the money they received in loans from the bank was given back to Mr. Silverthorne as a form of kickback. They allege that other funds they borrowed were used, at Mr. Silverthorne's suggestion, to purchase San Francisco National stock, often at inflated prices. This stock is now selling at 25 cents a share after once hitting 94. Whatever the case, as much as 80 percent of the loans may be unsecured by collateral that Government liquidators could seize or sell when borrowers fail to pay.

DEPOSITORS FILE A SUIT

With the prospect of losses so staggering, 41 unhappy institutional depositors of the bank, mainly California savings and loan associations but also eastern credit unions and other investors, are trying to get first crack at the bank's dwindling assets in order to cut their losses. It's this legal fight that is raising all the questions about the role of Government regulators in the failure.

In a Federal court case, these depositors charge that Federal bank regulatory agencies, knowing San Francisco National was "insolvent or in imminent danger of insolvency," took unusual steps "to keep the bank open and to avoid disclosure of its true condition to the public." Consequently, the depositors complain, they were lulled into keeping in the bank deposits of some $9 million, much of which they currently stand to lose.

In ordinary bank failures, noninsured depositors and other unsecured creditors, including the FDIC, have equal claims to the remaining assets. The leftover cash is prorated among the claimants in proportion to the amounts owed them. But if San Francisco National's institutional depositors win their case, the FDIC stands to lose all of the $8 million claim it holds against the bank's assets. This represents payments by the FDIC to insured depositors after the bank closed.

Among other things, the institutional depositors maintain that neither the dismal loan picture nor the bank's dependence on large cash advances from the Federal Reserve was reflected in the bank's published financial statements. The Federal agencies, the depositors say, permitted the bank to publish these statements, which convinced the depositors that the bank was a safe place to put their money. In addition, the depositors say, the Comptroller of the Currency encouraged them to deposit funds in the bank in a vain effort to prevent its failure; and Federal agencies, it's further claimed generally, silently acquiesced to solicitation of time deposits for the bank by outside brokers.

The institutional depositors are pinning their case partly on sworn depositions taken by lawyers in pretrial discovery proceedings over the past weeks.

"We're finding out everything that went on in that bank," says a lawyer closely connected with the proceedings, "and it's utterly beyond belief." Privately, both sides agree the disclosures reach far beyond those elicited by the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee that probed San Francisco National's failure last spring. The subcommittee's report, due out early next year, is expected to be critical of the U.S. Currency Comptroller's office.

Testimony in the Senate hearings, and additional disclosures that have already been filed in the current litigation, spell out much of the Government effort to save San Francisco National.

The Comptroller's office so far has refused repeated requests for comment on the situation.

FDIC'S COUNTERCOMPLAINT

The charges of the suing depositors actually come as a countercomplaint to an FDIC suit that further complicates the tangled litigation. The FDIC suit claims it doesn't owe the usual $10,000 in insurance to each of these depositors because the bank paid them, through money brokers, for making the deposits. The broker payments themselves aren't illegal, but combined with ordinary interest, the FDIC contends they exceeded legally permissible rates that banks can pay on deposits; so the deposits, according to the FDIC, must be classed as unfinished loans or investments.

The depositors, however, not only question the legality of the FDIC position, but also insist that the Government cooperated with bank management to lure their depositors into the bank.

The agency, with major regulatory responsibility over the affairs of San Francisco National before it failed, was the office of the U.S. Comptroller of the Currency, headed by James J. Saxon. Arnold E. Larsen, regional comptroller of the currency in San Francisco, dealt directly with San Francisco National during most of its brief history.

There's no argument that Mr. Saxon and his subordinates tried energetically to pre-

vent San Francisco National from failing. From May 1964, when Mr. Saxon first learned of the true seriousness of the bank's affairs, until it closed 8 months later on January 22, 1965, the Comptroller's office was involved continually in efforts to shore it up. "By saving it," Mr. Saxon explained in testimony last spring before Senator McCLELLAN'S investigating committee, "a lot of people who otherwise would have been hurt would have been protected."

A DIRECTORS' MEETING

A look at some of the efforts the Comptroller allegedly took suggest just how desperate the situation was. For example, the minutes of a San Francisco national directors' meeting held on December 14, 1964—only 39 days before the bank closed its doors—indicated that the Comptroller had approved the use of bank funds to buy time deposits through money brokers to boost the bank's badly depleted reserves.

In part, the minutes read, "Chairman J. W. Ehrlich reported to the board that verbal approval had been received from the Comptroller of the Currency which, if approved by the board, would permit the bank to withdraw funds from the bank's undivided profit account for the purpose of purchasing time deposits for the bank in order to strengthen the reserve position."

Mr. Silverthorne was permitted to remain as president for 5 months after bank examiners allegedly found that portions of the proceeds of some loans to bank borrowers were winding up in his personal bank account. "He (Silverthorne) did have a following," Mr. Larsen explained to the Senate subcommittee. "If a man of his stature, at the time, at least, were to be summarily removed, there is always the risk of a run on the bank which, of course, could hasten its demise."

Victor del Tredici, a national bank examiner working under Messrs. Saxon and Larsen, wrote a report June 22, 1964, detailing apparent violations of national banking laws by Mr. Silverthorne. The report, addressed to the Justice Department, was sent first to Mr. Larsen, then to Mr. Saxon. Not until February 26, 1965, was it submitted to the Justice Department.

Directors of the bank itself weren't told, either, that Mr. Silverthorne was "receiving commissions in connection with loans" made by the bank, according to a deposition by Regional Comptroller Larsen. Asked why, Mr. Larsen replied: "Well, I think we were concerned that anything like this might have resulted in the immediate ouster of Mr. Silverthorne. We felt at the time he was probably in a better position to collect these sticky loans than anyone else."

DROPPED FROM REPORT

The Federal Reserve Bank of San Francisco claims it was kept equally uninformed. The portion of Mr. Del Tredici's bank examination report containing the startling information about the management was omitted from the examination reports regularly given to the Fed by the Comptroller; officials told the Senate subcommittee it was omitted because it actually was a work paper not properly part of a bank examination report.

Unaware of the information in the work paper the Federal Reserve bank in August 1964 made the first of a long series of multimillion-dollar advances to the bank to help tide it over what Fed officials thought then was only a temporary cash squeeze.

Despite daily doses of cash from the Fed, though, the bank's affairs worsened steadily during the late summer and autumn of 1964. The Comptroller's Office began to search for another way to ease the bank's predicament—merger. "Ultimately, as time wore on," Mr. Saxon testified, "and we had the examiner in there every day, day in and day out, to check the developments in this institution, we sought to see if a merger of this bank could not be arranged with one of the more substantial institutions in that area."

A QUICK REJECTION

None of the four banks approached was as sanguine about the prospect as the Comptroller's Office, though. In one case, the directors of Central Valley National Bank, Oakland, signed a letter of intent to merge with San Francisco National; but Central Valley officers, after spending only half a day poring over the bank's lending records, quickly backed out of the deal.

Right up to the bank's final dramatic day of existence, January 22, the Comptroller's Office was still pressing hard to save it. Lytton Savings & Loan Association had previously notified the bank it wouldn't renew a $1,500,000 time deposit in the bank maturing that day. U.S. Regional Comptroller Larsen, aware that the withdrawal would affect the liquidity of the bank substantially, called Lytton's chairman, Bart Lytton, and asked him to renew the deposit. Mr. Lytton refused.

In a deposition, Regional Comptroller Larsen said that earlier the same day, A. B. Merritt, vice president of the San Francisco Federal Reserve Bank, was asked whether the Fed could extend further credit to the bank. "He said as matters stood then, he did not think so," Mr. Larsen asserted. Within several hours, however, the Fed did make an advance to the bank of $1.3 million, he said. He added that he couldn't say why the Fed apparently reversed itself. Asked whether the bank could have paid off Lytton's $1.5 million deposit without funds from the Fed, Mr. Larsen responded, "No."

Lytton's withdrawal dealt a severe blow to Mr. Saxon's hopes of keeping the bank open. Figures that bank examiners worked up that afternoon showed the bank—if it opened the next Monday—would fall short by more than $1 million the amount of cash it needed to pay maturing time deposits and other obligations. So Mr. Saxon ordered it closed.

Summary of Activities of Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. A. S. MIKE MONRONEY

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONRONEY. Mr. President, pursuant to permission granted on Friday, October 22, I submit for printing in the RECORD a summary of activities of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, 1st session, 89th Congress:

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES OF COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE, 1ST SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

The Committee on Post Office and Civil Service lost the services of its distinguished chairman, the senior Senator from South Carolina, Olin D. Johnston, on April 18, 1965. Senator Johnston presided over the committee during the 81st, 82d, 84th, 85th, 86th, 87th, 88th, and 89th Congresses. He served as a Member of the Senate for more than 20 years and was one of its most distinguished and respected Members.

Senator Johnston's illness and untimely death delayed the committee in its performance of legislative activity. Senator A. S. MIKE MONRONEY was appointed chairman of the committee on April 22, 1965. Senator DONALD S. RUSSELL, of South Carolina, was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Senator Johnston.

COMMITTEE BUSINESS

Nominations

The committee held hearings on the nominations of four persons to hold high offices in the executive branch. All nominations were reported favorably to the Senate and all were confirmed. The Honorable John A. Gronouski was nominated to continue as Postmaster General on February 17, 1965; the Honorable John W. Macy, Jr., was nominated for a full 6-year term as Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission on March 1, 1965; the Honorable A. Ross Eckler was nominated to be Director of the Bureau of the Census on July 14, 1965; and the Honorable Lawrence Francis O'Brien was nominated to be Postmaster General on August 30, 1965.

The committee received 1,456 postmaster nominations for consideration during the session. Of these, 1,288 were favorably reported to the Senate and were confirmed; 11 were withdrawn by the President; and 157 were pending at the time of adjournment.

Legislative activity

During the session, 89 Senate bills, 2 Senate resolutions, 2 Senate joint resolutions, and 25 House bills were referred to the committee.

The committee reported to the Senate five Senate bills and nine House bills. Ten bills reported by the committee were passed by both Houses of Congress and became public law. Four Senate bills are pending before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Public hearings on 12 legislative subjects were held by the committee and its subcommittees on 20 different days. These included hearings before an ad hoc subcommittee on railway postal service. All hearings were printed by the committee and are available for public distribution. The full committee held 13 executive sessions and its subcommittees 5 executive sessions.

The most outstanding achievement of the committee in 1965 was the consideration of H.R. 10281, the Federal Employees Salary Act of 1965 (Public Law 89–301). The full committee held 8 days of public hearings on this bill and met in executive session on six occasions. The bill as reported by the committee and approved by Congress resulted in a 3.6-percent increase in Federal employees' salaries, a new severance pay program for separated employees, and new overtime pay provisions for postal employees.

A second major legislative achievement was the enactment of a substantial increase in the annuities of retired Federal employees. H.R. 8469 (Public Law 89–205) provided for more than a 6-percent increase in annuities for persons retired since 1956 and 11 percent for those who retired prior to the 1956 Retirement Act.

Other measures favorably considered by the committee, each of which has been signed into law by the President, include the following:

1. H.R. 1732, amending the Advance Pay and Allotment Act of 1961 to include the Government Printing Office (Public Law 89–47).

2. H.R. 1771, establishing a 5-day workweek for Postmasters (Public Law 89–116).

3. H.R. 1782, amending the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act with respect to Government contribution for expenses incurred in the administration of the act (Public Law 89–45).

4. H.R. 2594, clarifying the application of certain annuity increase legislation (Public Law 89–17).

5. H.R. 6165, repealing obsolete statute relating to the appointment of women to clerk-

ships in the executive departments (Public Law 89–261).

6. H.R. 6622, exempting the postal field service from the numerical restrictions on permanent employee positions of the Whitten amendment (Public Law 89–114).

7. H.R. 11420, providing free mailing privileges for members of the Armed Forces in combat areas (Public Law 89–315).

8. S. 2572, extending the cutoff date of this year's retirement annuity increase. (The Senate passed H.R. 11303 in lieu of S. 2572.) (Public Law 89–314.)

The following are the four bills favorably reported by the committee which were passed by the Senate but are still pending before the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service:

1. S. 390, extending second- and third-class bulk mailing rates to volunteer fire companies.

2. S. 1495, permitting variation of the 40-hour workweek for Federal employees for educational purposes.

3. S. 1496, repealing the provisions which prohibit the detailing of employees from field positions into the District of Columbia except for the performance of duties in connection with their respective field offices.

4. S. 2393, authorizing additional GS–16, GS–17, and GS–18 positions for use in agencies or functions created or substantially expanded after June 30, 1965.

The Case of Edward Partin, a Government Witness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RICHARD L. ROUDEBUSH
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROUDEBUSH. Mr. Speaker, I have just completed the reading and study of the remarks made by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] on October 22, 1965. I must commend my friend and colleague for bringing these facts, unknown to me, to the attention of the House.

It is difficult for me to comprehend the reason and extent of the action of the Justice Department in the case of Edward Partin, a Government witness. Certainly, the seriousness of these charges made by the gentleman from Illinois concerning the arrest records and the favored treatment of Partin by the Justice Department should be a matter of interest to every Member of Congress. It, undoubtedly, gives emphasis to the action of the House Committee on the Judiciary to look into the matter of procedure by our Justice Department.

I am not concerned with the particular defendant in this case. I question only the reliability of the testimony of the witness, Partin.

Assuming that my friend, the gentleman from Illinois, is correct in his assertion before the House, then such witnesses could be used to either convict or acquit a wrongdoer. Or in a more reprehensible sense, a witness so motivated could be used as an instrument to convict one entirely innocent of charges.

Our great judicial system depends on availability of witnesses, this I must admit. However, the reliability of those available to testify is of equal importance.

A Special Report to Constituents of the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ODIN LANGEN
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LANGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD a special report of the 1st session of the 89th Congress which will be forwarded to my constituency.

The report follows:

YOUR OFFICE IN WASHINGTON

(By Congressman ODIN LANGEN, Seventh District, Minnesota)

As this session of Congress comes to a close, I am completing my seventh year as your Representative in Washington. For this privilege, I am deeply grateful. I feel that one of my responsibilities to the people is to give them factual information as to the affairs of their Congress. For that reason I am submitting this brief report of actions and concerns expressed during this session. Because of space limitations, it is in the form of a factual account rather than a personal analysis or expression of opinion.

The bunting was barely down from January's reviewing stand when we received the first of many messages from the President on the goals of his administration, followed by the actual bills to implement them. Over 15,000 bills and resolutions were dropped into the legislative hopper this year. All did not receive action, but most major ones did.

This Congress enacted major changes in our social security system, including a health plan that provides hospital care and nursing home care. A supplementary, voluntary health plan requires the payment of a small premium. Regular social security benefits were increased by 7 percent, and new programs for child health care were added. These additional benefits require additional deductions from pay checks. A pamphlet outlining the benefits is available by writing to my Washington office. (Caution: Do not cancel your existing private medical insurance. The new Federal programs do not go into effect until next July.)

Cost-of-living increases were approved for civil service retirees and salaries were increased for postal and other Federal workers. Pay increases were approved for our men in military service and a group life insurance plan was approved to give servicemen a chance to carry insurance without war exclusion clauses.

NEW ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

This Congress enacted legislation to provide Federal assistance to State, area, and local governments to a degree never before attempted. For instance, an Appalachian assistance program was enacted to help 11 Eastern States. The Economic Opportunity Act was then passed to provide similar assistance for other areas of the Nation. Incorporated into this legislation were the old Area Redevelopment Administration and accelerated public works programs.

As program after program rolled through Congress, many Members came to the conclusion that too much was being attempted in too short a time. The feeling developed in both political parties that hastily enacted programs too often resulted in waste and poor administration. The poverty program perhaps received the most public criticism. You undoubtedly noted news reports of $20,000 salaries, $100 a day fees, money for flowers, tuxedo rentals and expensive motel rooms at plush resorts where the planners relaxed in comfort while contemplating the problems of the poor. Such public criticism points up the need for greater planning if programs designed to help the poor are to really accomplish their objectives.

WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?

When many new programs become law, money is needed to pay for them. Just before adjournment, the Congress approved more than $4.6 billion for new programs and expenditures, and we expect to get a request for at least another $4 billion in January. And we don't even know how many billions the Defense Department will need to finance the war in Vietnam. All of this occurs after we have already appropriated over $100 billion this year. The House Appropriations Committee on which I serve, trimmed budget requests by over $2.4 billion, but even this may be wiped out when pay raises and added personnel for new programs are included in the budget.

This session of Congress also saw enactment of a voting rights bill, and the first major changes in our immigration laws, and a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. A billboard and junkyard control bill was passed. Legislation was enacted to control water and air pollution. Rural communities will be aided in setting up adequate sanitation and water facilities.

This Congress also created a new Cabinet post, that of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. A housing bill estimated to cost $7.8 billion was passed, including a section that some have termed a "rent-a-care" program to provide Federal funds with which to help middle- and low-income families pay their rent.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTIONS

These temporary, wartime taxes on products and services were a nuisance and should have been taken off the books years ago. I was naturally pleased that the final bill incorporated most of the suggestions I made in my own excise tax repeal bill.

MILITARY AND OTHER INSTALLATIONS

We were successful in amending the military installations bill to include a clause that will give Congress advance notice when military or other Federal installations are to be closed. The amendment was aimed at preventing situations such as the one early this year that almost saw the Fargo regional Veterans' Administration office closed. This badly needed office will now remain open after a number of us from the area vigorously protested.

A foreign aid bill was passed with a $3 billion plus price tag. The bill to increase minimum wages, and extend coverage to farmworkers and small businesses was laid over until next year, as was the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act.

AGRICULTURE, NOW AND IN THE FUTURE

This was a session that found your Congressman faced with additional responsibilities. I served as usual on the Agriculture and Legislative Subcommittees of the Appropriations Committee, and was honored to have been chosen by my colleagues to serve as chairman of the minority task force on agriculture and as a member of the minority task force on budget reduction.

The agriculture task force found us deep in research on the problems facing the farmer and the consumer. We heard many prominent people in the field from all over the

Nation and have benefited greatly from their views. We have made a number of recommendations, including a new look at agricultural trade policies with the rest of the world. Recently, we recommended and introduced a bill to set up a bipartisan U.S. World Food Study Commission to plan the future U.S. role in the approaching world food crisis. The plan, which has received widespread support, is aimed at bringing a new health and economic vitality to American agriculture while putting food into the hungry mouths of the world.

FARM BILL PASSES

A new farm bill was agreed upon that extends the National Wool Act, removes the necessity for dairymen to produce surplus milk in order to preserve their individual participation in the markets for milk for fluid consumption, extends the authority for leasing tobacco acreage, and institutes a new acreage reserve program.

The bill continues the feed grains program and the one-price cotton program. It also provides for full parity for wheat used for food here at home, or about $2.57 a bushel at current prices, on about 45 percent of the crop. Another 35 percent of normal wheat production would be under export certificates of an unknown value and the remaining 20 percent would get the going price, or $1.25 a bushel. For those participating, the program is expected to establish a national average blend price of $1.84½ a bushel. This compares to a blend price this year of $1.69.

NEW SUGAR BILL

Congress passed a sugar bill that increases the domestic quota by 580,000 tons so that stocks now on hand can be marketed. This was sugare our growers raised at the request of the Government when there was a world sugar shortage. This increase does not provide any opportunity for our U.S. sugar-beet farmers to increase production or for new growers to enter the field. This bill again favors the foreign sugar interests.

EDUCATION BILLS

The National Defense Education Act was implemented with a bill to permit classroom construction, help universities buy books, assist extension programs, help new schools strengthen facilities and faculties, and set up a new Federal scholarship plan. Another bill assists medical schools and other helath schools, along with student assistance. Vocational rehabilitation was added to the present vocational school programs. Perhaps the most far-reaching assistance program in education was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which puts the Federal Government in direct contact with local school systems for the first time. It provides for around a billion dollars for assistance to schools with children of low-income families. The method for distributing these funds has already come under fire by a number of Minnesota educators who say funds are going to schools that don't need them while the needy schools fail to get what they require. My own bill to allow personal income tax deductions or credits to parents with children in college is still under consideration and hopefully will be favorably reported next year.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

I have spent considerable time this year in protesting the curtailment of needed postal services in rural America and the apparent waste of money in the Department. We have already seen one positive result of our probings in that the Post Office Department will now use competitive bids in contracting for the printing of stamped envelopes. The saving to the taxpayers will be about $6 million.

MRS. LANGEN'S CORNER

Lillian spent a long and busy year in Washington, as you've noticed if you receive our monthly newsletter. She lists as highlights her work this year on the Congressional Wives' Prayer Breakfast, the luncheons she helped arrange for the First Lady and the wife of the Vice President, the thrill of greeting our visiting astronauts, and the annual Congressional Wives' Club Bazaar where she again extolled the virtues of Seventh District products.

Her church work has gone on as usual, a most rewarding experience for her.

In her club work, she was chairman of the ways and means committee, the group that has to think up ways of raising money. And they are not allowed to tap the Federal Treasury.

She was honored this year by the executive board at the Wives' Club, which voted to add her name to a plaque listing the names of members who have contributed outstanding service.

Daughter Lois visited in Washington between quarters at the University of Minnesota last spring, which is always an event for both of us, and our few trips home this year provided us with those rare opportunities to see Lynden and Wayne and their families as well as many others of you throughout the district.

Accompanying me to various functions in the Capital City, including the White House, completed Lillian's social season as we met many interesting people including the Crown Prince of Norway, Madam Chiang Kai-shek, and other world-famous personalities. Lillian's only regret is that she never runs across a lutefish dinner or a smorgasbord here in Washington.

CONCLUSION

As we face the next session of Congress, one thought comes to mind—that we must strive to analyze the maze of programs that have already been enacted, try to improve upon them, and move with the utmost caution if we are to avert a tragic upheaval of our entire fiscal system.

It will be a year of continued problems in our international balance-of-payments account. It also will be a year when the patience of America will be sorely tried on both the international and domestic scenes. But whatever the future holds, we face it as free Americans.

As Lillian and I travel across our vast Seventh District, it is hoped that we get to visit with most of you. But since there is such a short time before we have to be back on the job of serving you in Washington, perhaps this brief report to you will suffice for those we do not see. May the coming holiday season and the new year be happy and fruitful for each of you.

Kenya's Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ADAM C. POWELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress will have adjourned when Kenya celebrates the anniversary of her independence on December 12. We wish to take this opportunity therefore, to extend warm felicitations in advance to His Excellency Jomo Kenyata, President of the Republic of Kenya; and to Kenya's Ambassador to the United States, His Excellency Burudi Nabwere.

Kenya with its vicissitudes and triumphs, its variations in recent political history, and its more hopeful future is symbolized, in a way, by its topography. Its soaring mountain peaks, beautiful Mount Kenya and Mount Elgon with their permanent patches of ice and snow, furnish a northern backdrop to the land of contrasts which is Kenya. The wasteland stretching from Uganda and the Sudan to the low-lying plain along the seacoast lined with coconut palms and noble mango trees and pleasant conditions for villas and hotels for holiday makers, the magnificent natural harbor which makes possible the great port of Mombasa, the rise to the inland plateau which is broken by the Great Rift Valley with volcanoes rising from its floor, the westward stretch of land dropping down to the shores of enormous, magnificent Lake Victoria—hill and valley, plain, and plateau, farmland, parkland, and desert—with these may be compared the ups and downs, the struggles and successes, the periods of stress and of relative calm, the violence and the victories along Kenya's road to independence.

The second anniversary of that independence we hail this December 12, 1965.

The fact of that independence and the adoption of the Constitution are the more remarkable because the population of Kenya, like the landscape and the fauna—the most varied in the world—is not only multiracial, among the races there are very considerable differences. While the Europeans, Asians, and Arabs constitute only 3 percent of the population, their presence and their activities have been and are of great importance; and among the 97 percent Africans there are over 40 tribes, each with its own culture, customs, and prejudices—as in all societies—leading to rivalries and suspicion. Largely because of the suspicion between tribe and tribe, the 1962 constitution was drawn up so as to allow considerable local autonomy to the regional authorities. Since the country became independent on December 12, 1963, it has gone far to allay that suspicion and build a Kenyan society in which the different tribes and communities will live together with no need, and no wish, for safeguards against the domination of any of them by any others.

The country of Kenya today, multiracial and multitribal as it is, is not the country of strata that it used to be. The people show their determination to live together in friendliness and mutual helpfulness, each group adding its significant contribution toward the forging of a strong and prosperous country.

And progress they have made. Education is expanding. More and more Africans are able to speak and write English, the official language.

Transportation by road, rail, and air is being developed at a rapid rate. Nairobi's new international airport is a major continental terminus for international services from Europe, Asia, and other parts of Africa. The principal towns of Kenya and other east African centers are linked by internal scheduled services operated by East African Airways Corp.

Growing communications provide a comprehensive range of postal, telegraph, and telephone facilities. Radio and tele-

vision are operated by the Kenya Broadcasting Service, which is responsible for all English, Asian, and African broadcasts, and has a potential audience of 1½ million.

There is a growing and valuable tourist trade and a rapidly increasing industrial development, including the refining of sugar, the milling of flour, and the making of clothing from imported fabrics.

Agriculture is, however, of the utmost importance to Kenya's economy. Agricultural production accounts for some 90 percent of Kenya's exports. Scientific study and planning are increasing the yield, particularly for forest products. The World Health Organization is lending a hand in this as well as in Kenya's efforts to improve the health of her people. And Kenya is also fighting ignorance and poverty with comparable determination.

On this second anniversary we congratulate this young and promising country and wish it well.

Federal Money for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the September 1965 issue of the publication American Education contains an article entitled "Federal Money for Education." The tables incorporated in this article, covering as they do many facets of activities pursued under the various authorities administered by the Office of Education, will, in my judgment, be of great interest to many of my colleagues. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article and tables to which I have alluded be printed at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the article and tables were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FEDERAL MONEY FOR EDUCATION

One way in which the Federal Government promotes better education is through programs aimed at improving teaching.

Last year, for instance, the U.S. Congress amended the National Defense Education Act of 1958 to include another title—title XI—which authorizes the U.S. Office of Education to make grants to or contracts with colleges and universities for short-term or regular-session institutes for advanced study for teachers, supervisors of teachers, school library employees, and educational media specialists. Most of the subjects of the secondary school curriculum are affected; history, geography, modern foreign languages, reading, English, and English as a foreign language. Because French and Spanish are the foreign languages most often offered in U.S. secondary schools, many of the first programs sponsored by title XI for language teachers are in these languages.

The National Defense Education Act also supports the improvement of language instruction through centers for language and area studies and research and studies. The centers provide for instruction in languages not usually taught in U.S. schools and for area studies; that is, the geography, history, politics, and customs of the countries or the countries or areas in which the languages are spoken—Asia for instance.

Language and area centers, which are conducted at both graduate and undergraduate levels in colleges and universities, are supplying the Nation—government, the professions, business, and industry—with badly needed talent. Today American students are learning some 80 non-Western languages, and at least some of these students will become teachers of foreign language in U.S. schools and colleges, which will further increase the supply. In the meantime the centers are cooperating with secondary schools by lending professors of rarely taught languages for off-hour instruction.

The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 authorizes a program to improve the teaching of handicapped children. The program supports short-term and regular-session institutes to train teachers of the handicapped and supervisors of teachers of the handicapped. The Office of Education has allocated about $3.5 million for the program for academic year 1965–66.

Sometimes a program aims more at preventing the deterioration of education than at improving it; for instance, the program known as school assistance in federally impacted areas. Under this program, the Office of Education gives financial aid to local school districts to compensate for an undue strain placed on the district by a Federal activity. About 30 percent of all pupils in public schools since the law went into effect over 15 years ago have attended schools assisted by the program.

For teachers and supervisors of teachers of handicapped children: Academic year 1965–66

	Grant
Alabama	$76,250
Alaska	30,000
Arizona	61,465
Arkansas	64,900
California	109,700
Colorado	66,014
Connecticut	$72,085
Delaware	37,700
Florida	86,905
Georgia	80,500
Hawaii	45,300
Idaho	45,795
Illinois	98,673
Indiana	83,522
Iowa	72,933
Kansas	68,519
Kentucky	75,063
Louisiana	75,200
Maine	52,100
Maryland	75,500
Massachusetts	84,800
Michigan	94,180
Minnesota	77,500
Mississippi	67,440
Missouri	81,713
Montana	45,700
Nebraska	60,130
Nevada	31,083
New Hampshire	43,403
New Jersey	89,265
New Mexico	52,800
New York	110,000
North Carolina	83,496
North Dakota	43,623
Ohio	98,360
Oklahoma	70,672
Oregon	64,600
Pennsylvania	100,000
Rhode Island	50,237
South Carolina	70,650
South Dakota	46,400
Tennessee	78,572
Texas	98,944
Utah	52,320
Vermont	33,700
Virginia	81,100
Washington	73,200
West Virginia	64,072
Wisconsin	80,450
Wyoming	30,800
Total	3,437,334

For the construction of schools in federally affected areas—Public Law 815, fiscal years 1955–64

Fiscal year	Projects reserved		Classrooms provided		Pupils housed		Appropriations [1]
	Cumulative total	Annual increase	Cumulative total	Annual increase	Cumulative total	Annual increase	
1955	2,886	450	26,190	3,662	767,312	123,473	$118,500,000
1956	3,215	329	28,535	2,345	811,576	44,264	33,900,000
1957	3,720	505	34,379	5,844	998,893	187,317	108,508,000
1958	4,067	347	41,946	7,567	1,225,467	226,574	98,650,000
1959	4,462	395	47,671	5,725	1,381,478	156,011	75,400,000
1960	4,670	208	49,489	1,818	1,444,517	63,039	61,135,000
1961	4,988	318	53,409	3,920	1,554,755	110,238	63,392,000
1962	5,269	281	56,299	2,890	1,639,294	84,539	54,850,000
1963	5,454	185	58,167	1,868	1,694,049	54,755	70,778,000
1964	5,525	71	58,874	707	1,714,657	20,608	23,740,000

[1] Since some projects are not started in the same fiscal years as the funds are appropriated and others not completed in the same year as they are begun, the appropriations column is only a general indicator of the amount of activity the Congress intended.

For the maintenance of schools in federally affected areas—Public Law 874, fiscal years 1955 to 1964

Fiscal year	Applicant districts			Percent of total expenditures financed by Public Law 874 funds
	Number of eligible districts	Net entitlement	Total current expenditures	
1955	2,683	$71,606,560	$1,450,700,000	4.9
1956	2,825	80,874,345	1,754,530,000	4.6
1957	3,321	106,051,520	2,156,450,000	4.9
1958	3,343	116,641,127	2,578,486,000	4.5
1959	3,757	156,870,444	3,083,668,609	5.1
1960	3,797	184,840,145	3,534,582,784	5.2
1961	3,926	208,291,465	3,999,469,697	5.2
1962	3,998	238,876,792	4,419,718,387	5.4
1963	4,182	259,095,492	4,940,646,390	5.2
1964	4,076	283,700,000	5,314,625,139	5.3

For African and Asian language and area centers in U.S. colleges and universities—Academic year 1965–66

State and institution	Language and area center	Grant
Arizona: University of Arizona	Oriental	$40,000
California:		
University of California—Berkeley	South Asian	88,510
University of California—Los Angeles	African	90,000
University of Southern California—Los Angeles	Asian-Slavic	44,311
Stanford University	Chinese; Japanese	87,200
Connecticut:		
Yale	East Asian	44,000
Do	Southeast Asian	63,999
District of Columbia:		
The American University	South and southeast Asian.	22,000
Howard University	African	11,999
Florida: University of Florida	African	17,652
Hawaii: University of Hawaii	Asian	69,999
Illinois:		
Northwestern University	Sub-Sahara African	35,000
University of Chicago	South Asian	121,368
University of Illinois	Asian	25,000
Indiana:		
Earlham College	East Asian	25,257
Indiana University	African	35,079
Iowa: State University of Iowa	Far Eastern	34,947
Kansas: University of Kansas	East Asian	50,000
Massachusetts: Harvard University	do	129,072
Michigan:		
Michigan State University	South Asian	25,015
Do	African	65,000
Michigan—Continued		
University of Michigan	Far Eastern	$41,872
Do	South and southeast Asian.	34,974
Oakland University	East Asian	20,000
Missouri: University of Missouri	South Asian	22,000
New Hampshire: Dartmouth College	East Asian	25,000
New Jersey: Princeton University	do	35,717
New York:		
Columbia University	do	129,000
Do	African	42,000
Cornell University	East Asian	59,000
Do	Southeast Asian	97,000
Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart	East Asian	15,163
University of Rochester	South Asian	19,950
North Carolina: Duke University	do	36,112
Ohio:		
Oberlin College	East Asian	22,007
Ohio University	African	20,000
Pennsylvania:		
University of Pennsylvania	South Asian	119,917
Bucknell University	Japanese	16,981
Duquesne University	African	34,999
Lincoln University	do	15,733
University of Pittsburgh	East Asian	38,970
Rhode Island: Brown University	do	22,000
Texas: University of Texas	Asian	35,908
Washington: University of Washington	Far Eastern; Russian	111,000
Wisconsin:		
University of Wisconsin	African	34,944
Do	South Asian	75,000

For NDEA institutes for advanced study of French and Spanish—Summer 1965

State and institution	Language	Grant
Alaska: University of Alaska	French	$83,374
California:		
Chapman College	Spanish	86,330
Pomona College	do	79,159
Sacramento State College	do	73,948
San Jose State College	do	80,034
University of the Pacific	do	81,789
University of Southern California	do	101,396
Colorado:		
Colorado State University	French	67,291
University of Colorado	Spanish	154,308
Connecticut: Central Connecticut State College	French	80,976
District of Columbia: Howard University	French; Spanish	97,238
Florida:		
Florida State University	French	81,579
University of Florida	Spanish	77,615
Georgia: Woman's College of Georgia	French; Spanish	89,532
Illinois: Knox College	Spanish	120,648
Iowa: Coe College	French	75,909
Kansas: Kansas State Teachers College	do	62,456
Kentucky: University of Kentucky	do	79,341
Maine: University of Maine	do	77,830
Maryland: Goucher College	do	70,884
Massachusetts:		
Assumption College	do	63,786
Tufts University	do	73,360
Michigan: Kalamazoo College	Spanish	99,239
Missouri: Webster College	French	64,046
Montana: Montana State University	do	79,495
Nevada: University of Nevada	do	73,563
New Hampshire: St. Anselm's College	do	89,411
New Jersey: Rutgers—The State University	French; Spanish	116,543
New York:		
Colgate University	do	91,946
New York—Continued		
Elmira College	French	$67,896
Hamilton College	do	81,249
Iona College	French; Spanish	94,129
College of New Paltz (SUNY)	Spanish	89,505
St. Lawrence University	French; Spanish	92,810
Wells College	French	73,236
North Carolina:		
Appalachian State Teachers College	do	88,734
East Carolina College	Spanish	62,588
Ohio:		
Kent State University	do	79,225
University of Akron	French	74,933
Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma	French, Spanish	119,254
Oregon: Lewis and Clark College	French	83,281
Pennsylvania:		
Bucknell University	French; Spanish	69,812
Gannon College	Spanish	59,108
University of Pittsburgh	French	66,750
South Carolina: Furman University	Spanish	64,845
Tennessee: University of Tennessee	French	73,581
Texas:		
Our Lady of the Lake College	Spanish	59,308
Rice University	do	84,058
Texas Southern University	French; Spanish	80,670
University of Texas	Spanish	76,118
Vermont: University of Vermont	French	63,663
Virginia:		
Hampton Institute	do	72,837
Washington and Lee University	French; Spanish	105,598
Washington: University of Puget Sound	Spanish	83,925
West Virginia: West Virginia University	French; Spanish	106,596
Wyoming: University of Wyoming	Spanish	72,951

DISCRIMINATION PROHIBITED

Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states: "No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." Therefore all programs cited in this article, like every other program or activity receiving financial assistance from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, operate in compliance with this law.

Twenty Years After

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. REID of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will pause to remember the signing of the armistice that marked the end of the First World War. The occasion is one of joy at the peace which followed this agreement, and one of sadness at the thought of the Americans who lost their lives in that war and in the subsequent conflicts in which the United States has been engaged.

In fact, this year is the 20th anniversary of the conclusion of the Second World War. The minister of my church in Rye, N.Y., spoke eloquently and mean-

ingfully to mark that occasion on Memorial Day last May. As we remember on this Veterans Day the men who have done battle to preserve our peace in the past and those who are fighting today to keep our peace for the future, I would like to share with my colleagues the enlightening and pertinent thoughts of the Reverend Joseph N. Bishop, of the Rye Presbyterian Church. His address follows:

TWENTY YEARS AFTER

Twenty years ago this summer we came to the conclusion of the Second World War. On this Memorial Day of 1965 it would seem not inappropriate for us to ponder very briefly the main strands which compose the pattern of our period as it has evolved in these past two decades and to search out together the insights of the Christian faith which help us to understand our time.

It will be apparent at once that no consideration of the forties, fifties, or the sixties can fail at the outset to recognize the development of a technological competence which has given to contemporary man a mastery of nature as well as a fantastic efficiency in the arts of communication and transportation. By the aid of science, time has conquered space, with the consequence that ours is a shrunken globe both in space and in time. This greater intimacy and interdependence has not, however, created a world community. Instead it has created the possibility of enlarging every area of conflict which exists.

In short, our supersonic flights, our explorations of matter, our Early Bird satellite have provided us with new dimensions of human togetherness, but at the same time they have provided us with the possibility of new dimensions of manipulation and tyranny. Whatever the future holds, we may be sure that it will unfold against the background of a fantastically successful technological culture in which more and more peoples of the earth will participate.

History has a way of surprising men and making their judgments foolish. I can remember the day not too long ago in the past couple of decades when everyone thought that an armament race on the level of nuclear weapons would lead inevitably to war, even though such a war would mean almost total annihilation. But in recent years it has become apparent that this grim and ironic community of power has become the only real source of hope that war may be prevented. The old dogma that armament races would inevitably lead to war has been challenged, and the hope of the scientist, Nobel, the inventor of dynamite, that the destructiveness of modern weapons would prevent war seems to have been belatedly justified, after history almost seemed to make sport of such a hope. We have lived, it would seem, in Sir Winston Churchill's phrase, amidst "a security which is the child of terror and a survival which is the twin brother of annihilation."

Another reality we cannot ignore in reviewing these two decades is the unmistakable development of international communism. Since the conclusion of the Second World War we have seen the fall of two Soviet dictators and the outlines of power in the Soviet Union at the moment are still obscure. But the overall fact about international communism is that it has managed to combine national ambitions with the ancient immemorial dream in the human heart for equality and decency in such a way as to have fastened with tenacious power upon the imaginations of millions of people on the face of this globe. It would be almost impossible to determine the proportions of illusion and cynicism which are combined in the Communist imperialism. Not a little of Communist power is due to the fact that we are confronted with an enemy which avails itself of every possible political and economic as well as military weapon in order to obscure the unscrupulous quality of its methods and to espouse the idealistic pretentions of its dogma.

The single new fact about communism to emerge recently is that it can no longer be dealt with as a single monolithic enemy, but that it has many heads and must be approached differently in Asia than we approach it in Europe; differently in Latin America than we approach it in southeast Asia. Its methods of conspiracy and insurrection and subversion and outright attack may be everywhere observed, but it employs these methods differently in different parts of the world. And we have begun to realize, as time has given us the opportunity to do so, that these differences may be exploited to the advantage of the Western World.

There is another reality we must recognize and it is that since the conclusion of the Second World War American influence has risen from the ground like a giant casting his influence across the entire globe. At the end of the Second World War we were the only nation with sufficient economic power to sustain the military force that was required to police the world and at the same time help the impoverished economies of Europe so that they would not fall prey to the virus of communism. History probably records no more rapid transformation of a national attitude than that which took place among us during the Second World War and in the decades that followed. There is no responsible thinking person of my acquaintance who advocates an isolationism which bears even the vaguest resemblance to the isolationism to which most of us in this congregation clung in the 1930's.

The rise of mature American leadership in the facing of our global responsibilities is a fact of immense importance in the history of the world. When the books are written about the period in which you and I have lived you may be sure that one of the truly outstanding observations which will be made is that we went into the Second World War propelled largely by what the President then called "an act of infamy" at Pearl Harbor and we came out of the war a colossus prepared to accept responsibility commensurate with our power. To be sure this was not accomplished without immense leadership and effort, but it was accomplished largely through the cooperation of the vast majority of the American people.

There is a last observation that we must make about our period in the last two decades and it is that these decades have seen the development of revolutionary ferments of an unprecedented character in the Asian and African continents. One has only to think of the proliferation of membership of the United Nations in the last decade to get some idea of the scope of what has happened in South America, Asia, and Africa.

But as the African leviathan rouses from his slumber to shout his resentment against the tyranny of his former colonial masters and of the white man, he knows that at the same time he is overwhelmed by the necessity of striding—in a mere decade—from a condition of primitive illiteracy into a technological culture which is unbelievably complex and sophisticated. He has neither the time nor the desire to develop the political institutions on which government, or the consent of the governed, can be based. Regardless of the time or the complexity involved, however, he is determined—be he Asian or African—to take his place under the sun.

Every reflective person knows that this general situation we now face is one in which there will be no clear-cut victory for our cause, no immediate fulfillment of our fondest wishes, nor any release, for many decades to come, from the burdens as well as the anxieties which we must bear. It is a measure of our growing maturity as a people and as a Nation that by and large the majority of us have come to recognize this harsh reality.

In such a condition we need desperately the resources of our religion. It is a sobering and strengthening thing to realize that our faith has always taught us to know that man is a creature whose freedom is always hedged and limited, and whose actions are always mixed, but who must, nevertheless, act and decide. Our faith has taught us to know ourselves as creatures of sin as well as of innonence, of hope as well as of despair. Such a realization inevitably teaches us that human ends can never be fulfilled as we would wish them to be. Our faith has taught us to know that responsibility and guilt are always intermixed.

It is one of the sources of the Communist evil that communism represents a secular faith which attempts to complete itself in history. When utopianism is made the basis of a political program it becomes extremely dangerous for it is a demonic expression of man's pretensions to be something more than a creature.

We who count ourselves in the company of the Judaeo-Christian tradition believe that faith in a sovereign God "who bringeth princes to naught and maketh the judges of the earth as vanity" is a source of immense and incalcuable wisdom. A nation which knows that there is a Lord whose majesty dwarfs the pretensions of even the most powerful nation is a nation which may not be destroyed by its own vanity. The most perennial problem in the light of mankind is the worship of the nation as if it were God. The history of Babylon, Rome, Egypt, Nazi Germany, and Fascist Italy are eloquent with witness as to what happened to a nation when its people make partriotism into a religion.

Foster Dulles once wrote, "To great masses of mankind the personification of the state is in effect their god. It represents the surpreme object of their devotion. Its power and dominion are to them sacred and to subtract therefrom is akin to sacrilege. Years ago in New England a group of Christains, comprising the Massachusetts Peace Society, appointed a committee to study the causes and results of war. They found, among other causes, what they referred to as an infatuation and a delusion by which individuals identify themselves with the nation to which they belong and invest this personified entity with god-like attributes. With respect to this cause of war, they said, should the increase of mortal light in the ages to come be in the ratio of that in the past, we predict that this attitude will be regarded by posterity as one of the most childish and absurd of the present age." "Unhappily," concluded Foster Dulles, "it would appear that moral light has not increased as expected. A delusion which they expected would be quickly dissipated has on the contrary grown, until today it is the most powerful and dangerous force in the world."

There is a last insight that I want to mention which the Christian faith offers to our time and it relates to the impressive wealth which American society enjoys. Our opulence, our standard of living, is due primarily to the high degree of efficiency which American industry has developed with the advantage of an economy contained within a continent permitting mass production and lowered costs on an unprecedented scale. The world abroad looks at us, especially from South America, Africa, and Asia, and the parable of Abraham and Lazarus becomes at once vividly meaningful.

We must learn to use our wealth—as we have sought to do in the last two decades—for the benefit of the world community, but in a way which is frank to recognize that our obligations to the world around us arise

not only out of our impulses of generosity and responsibility but also out of our recognition that it is in our own national interest to raise the standards of the world in which we live. We must be generous, not in the sense of sharing our wealth, but in the sense of supporting a community of nations which is designed to preserve the health and the growing influence of freedom and justice. Let us be mature enough, not to make claims to generosity, nor to expect gratitude from any quarter. Anything we offer to Asia or to Africa will not seem like generosity to them, when the chasm between our societies is so great.

The plain truth is that the complexities of our wealth and the world's poverty are so immense that all simple moral judgments are almost irrelevant. However, in a society of such affluence as our own, we need to be reminded of our obligations as a nation of tremendous wealth and we need to be worried over and over again that the more intensely we concentrate upon the goods of life the more rapidly will we forget about the goals of life. Let us hope that our wealth can be dedicated to the task of giving strength to the free community of nations and to the expansion of that community everywhere. Our heavy burdens under considerable taxation simply provide our country with an opportunity to make our wealth at least sufferable to our consciences and perhaps tolerable to our friends.

On this Memorial Day 20 years after 1945, let us remind ourselves of the Christian understanding of our creatureliness as well as our obligation to God from whom all things are given as sacred trusts.

Let me conclude by telling you a favorite story of mine which I have told once before. In the Connecticut Legislature in colonial times there occurred the following episode: The legislature was in session on a hot summer day. A severe electrical storm began to gather and the heavens became so dark that it became impossible to read in the legislative chamber. Many of those present feared that the end of the world might be at hand. Some even knelt to pray. It was suggested that the legislature be adjourned. It was then that the speaker arose and pronounced himself as follows: "Gentlemen," he said, "either this is the end of the world or it is not. If it is not, I see no reason to interrupt our labors. If it is, I prefer to be found doing my duty. I order that the candles may be brought at once."

That, it seems to me, is the attitude which any Christian must take who is faced with the dimensions of our period. No matter what happens, let us be found doing our duty and it may be that just such quiet reflection as we have engaged in, even so feebly and inadequately this morning, is that which provides the candles.

Travesty of Justice—I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom has brought an outpouring of condemnation by the editors of many newspapers around the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that a cross-section of southern editorial opinion on this tragic event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Nashville (Tenn.) Tennessean, Oct. 1, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE, ALA., TELLS THE WORLD

Under the American system of justice a jury is charged with the responsibility of determining the guilt or innocence of those charged with crimes.

And a jury of 12 white men in Hayneville, Ala., has judged Special Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman not guilty of manslaughter in the death of Mr. Jonathan M. Daniels, a ministerial student who was doing civil rights work in Hayneville at the time he was slain.

The jury cleared Special Deputy Coleman but across the land the system of justice in Alabama stands indicted and convicted of maladministration in the minds of those who have hoped for reason and decency to prevail in areas of the deep South.

The sentiment is strengthened by the words of Mr. Richmond Flowers, Alabama attorney general who sought to have the trial postponed because his chief witness—a priest wounded when Mr. Daniels was killed—was still in a Chicago hospital.

The attorney general believed—as did many others in Alabama and across the Nation—that the feeling of the people of Hayneville was "slanted" against the prosecution and in favor of the defendant. Mr. Flowers had tried to get an indictment for murder, rather than manslaughter. But the grand jury indicted on the lesser charge and the trial jury deliberated only 2 hours before clearing the special deputy.

Two witnesses came to testify they saw—or thought they saw—a knife in the hand of the young victim and a gun in the hand of the priest who was wounded. This testimony apparently was reason enough for the jury to excuse Special Deputy Coleman for firing two shotgun blasts which cut the men down in front of a grocery store.

And so Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that State to promote equal justice for all citizens do so at the risk of their lives. There are those in Hayneville who may be laughing tonight. But those who hope for decency to prevail—in Alabama and across the land—weep for the cause of justice.

[From the Lakeland (Fla.) Ledger, Oct. 3, 1965]

THE FRIENDLY ALABAMIANS

Perhaps Gov. George Wallace was right when he insisted that Alabamians are a friendly people. Events in Haynesville, Ala., on Thursday would tend to bear out his contention. John Herbers, writing for the New York Times wire service, told of the testimony of Leon W. Crocker, a domino-playing companion, who had been called as a witness in behalf of Thomas Coleman.

Coleman, a 55-year-old member of the local white gentry, was accused of gunning down a ministerial student and a Roman Catholic priest, killing one and wounding the other, on August 29.

But the defense testimony of Crocker made it appear that the two men of the cloth were actually armed and dangerous troublemakers. He said the slain student, Jonathan Daniels, was carrying a knife and that the Chicago priest, Father Morrisroe, critically wounded and still in the hospital, was brandishing a gun. The reason no weapons were found on the bodies, Crocker explained, was because some unidentified Negroes quickly removed and made off with them.

The two civil rights workers were gunned down by Coleman as they emerged from a little grocery store in Haynesville. They had been buying soft drinks. Prosecution witnesses said the ministers both were empty-handed except for the priest, who had a dime in his right hand.

Ah, but one question remains unanswered, and probably will be unanswered for all eternity. If Thomas Coleman did fire in self-defense against two armed and desperate clergymen, why is it that the priest was shot in the back as he sought to run? That would indicate Coleman had engaged in a most cowardly act of shooting a defenseless person in the back.

Oh well, those little mistakes will happen, even in the friendliest of communities, such as Alabama. The real character of Thomas Coleman is revealed in the description of him by his lawyer, Joe Phelps, in the closing argument to the jury. The priests, Phelps said, were merely "false prophets in sheep's clothing," and he went on to say that "We ought to thank Almighty God we have got a man such as Tom Coleman in our midst."

And as the jurors filed out of the courtroom to begin considering the evidence, one of them, in the words of the New York Times reporter, "winked at the defendant."

To nobody's surprise, the jury brought in a verdict of acquittal Thursday morning.

This is further evidence of the friendliness of Alabamians who are quick to show that they bear no grudge against anyone—except, perhaps, the evil troublemakers who come heavily armed and try to buy soft drinks at a grocery store.

[From the Roanoke (Va.) Times, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE SHAME OF LOWNDES COUNTY

In the same Alabama courthouse where a few months ago a jury failed to reach a verdict in the slaying of a woman civil rights worker, another jury has acquitted a part-time deputy sheriff of killing Jonathan Daniels, the New Hampshire seminarian who was also engaged in civil rights activities. Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers calls the acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman in Lowndes County "a mockery of law and order." Certainly he has sound basis for this judgment of a case which reflects sadly upon the quality of justice in Alabama.

Mr. Flowers sought to delay the trial long enough to obtain an indictment for murder and assumed personal direction of the State's case. A continuance would have permitted appearance as a prosecution witness of the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, not yet recovered from the shotgun wound suffered at the time of the killing of Mr. Daniels. But the trial judge refused to grant a delay and removed Mr. Flowers and his staff from the case where they refused to prosecute the defendant on the lesser charge.

And so in a community where "outside agitators" are hardly regarded as entitled to protection of the law the victims rather than the defendant appeared to be on trial. Defense lawyers made a travesty of the affair with introduction of extraneous matters aimed at prejudicing the jury. The jury chose to believe the vague references of defense witnesses about weapons in the hands of the clergymen although no weapons were ever found, and prosecution witnesses denied the clergymen were armed.

The proceedings and the verdict were shocking. For the real verdict is that in an American community it is possible for justice to be so callously thwarted.

[From the Huntsville (Ala.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE REAL VERDICT

The verdict is in. And it reads that in Lowndes County there has been mistrial, that there has been contempt of the American system of justice.

The verdict comes, of course, from the conscience of men and women across the breadth of a Nation.

The statement of the 12 Lowndes County inhabitants which was read in a courtroom in Hayneville yesterday was not verdict. That more closely amounted to an attempt to license men to take the lives of other men without penalty.

For days to come, the voice of outrage understandably will continue to reverberate, and none in Alabama can do anything more for Lowndes County that plead nolo contendere.

The Times feels that the greatest single block placed in the path of the State's honest and hampered attempt at prosecution resulted when the State was forced to go into court without its major witness, who lay at death's door. Furthermore, it was required to proceed without time to establish whether there was or was not evidence to indicate that the victims of the tragic assault possessed even token weapons.

The hearing at Hayneville was conducted in a vacuum. The facts necessary for rendering a considered judgment were missing—even if the temper and desire for considered justice had existed there.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) Times Herald, Oct. 4, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM

From indictment to verdict, the case of the special deputy charged with manslaughter in Alabama was shocking to most Americans. The entire handling of the procedure and the manner in which the case was rushed along repelled our sense of justice. We must, however, measure our reaction to the situation.

This type of trial is one price we pay for the jury system. The system has failings, but it is basic to our democracy. We must not scrap the system in reaction to a case such as this.

The Alabama case was a setback for justice. The verdict will always be questioned because of the way the trial was handled. Something must be done to more fully guarantee justice in these cases, to guarantee a fair trial for both sides. Justice may have to be forced on some States, but we must be careful we do not destroy more than we create.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE PATTERN CONTINUES

The jury in Lowndes County has given its verdict in the slaying of Jonathan Daniels, and, by the book, the judicial process has been followed—arrest, indictment, trial by jury of peers, and acquittal.

It remains, however, a part of a pattern in Alabama and the Deep South that somehow doesn't leave a convincing picture of justice, equal justice for all in the American tradition.

In bombings, midnight slayings, the toll in the conflict that covers the South has been a gruesome one, and there have been in some cases arrests and indictments and trials.

But—the pattern again—no one yet has had to pay seriously for the death of one of those people. It is a sad commentary, too, that so many think that justice reserved for only a portion of us is true justice, and that justice denied any one of us does not erode justice for all.

[From the Durham (N.C.) Herald, Oct. 4, 1965]

CONTEMPT FOR A VITAL SAFEGUARD

Alabama has delivered another blow to the proud traditions of American justice.

That a special deputy sheriff was found not guilty in Lowndes County court of slaying a young civil rights worker is not surprising. In Lowndes County, Ala., people may have convinced themselves that this man armed with an automatic shotgun did kill the young seminarian and wound a priest in self-defense.

What is shameful and sickening about this case is not the expected verdict of innocent but the air of travesty that marked the case throughout. There was no prosecution, there was no trial worthy of the name.

The only visible purpose of the proceedings was to provide the defendant with a quick acquittal on the least onerous charge possible. In what must stand as an astonishing development even in the selective justice common to racial cases in the Deep South, the State attorney general's attempts to provide the trappings of a genuine trial were thwarted by the trial judge.

Reasonable motions on behalf of the attorney general for a delay in the proceedings were denied. Warnings against perjury and connivance by prosecution witnesses to aid the defendant were ignored. And finally the attorney general was ordered out of the case.

Perhaps there is some solace in the fact that Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers at least tried to have a serious trial on a serious charge. But this is cold solace at best. One brave man alone cannot uphold the ideals of justice when he is so clearly alone as was Mr. Flowers in Lowndes County.

A whole county and its legal system readily warped the entire process of justice to fit a base prejudice. The result was not just another example of the double standard in southern justice but of an open contempt for the even-handed justice essential in protecting men of all races and persuasions from tyranny.

[From the Dallas (Tex.) News, Oct. 6, 1965]

RESPECT FOR LAW

The Alabama man who killed a seminary student and wounded a priest has been acquitted on a manslaughter charge by his fellow townsmen. Defense attorneys conceded that he had shot the men, but claimed that the churchmen were armed with a knife and a pistol.

It is but the latest southern court case in which men who have been charged with killing civil rights workers have been freed under questionable circumstances. Such cases bring not only the South, but the concept of law and justice, into disrepute.

Civil rights advocates have used deliberate disobedience of the law as a weapon and the News has deplored the tactic, for we feel that it strikes at the very core of civilized society. But even more reprehensible is the use of law itself as a weapon of vengeance, or to condone or excuse acts of brutality.

Law enables us to live together in America in peace only if it has the respect of those who are ruled by it. If it is to have that respect, it must not only be obeyed, it must be administered with justice and without regard to the race, creed, or causes of the persons involved.

If these verdicts have been reached by the juries in sincere belief that the evidence dictated them, then they are not to be faulted. But if they have made their decisions because they did not have the courage or the honesty to say that a crime against a hated outsider is nevertheless a crime, then they have dishonored the law of man and sinned against the law of God.

[From the Newport News (Va.) Press, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE VERDICT OF HAYNEVILLE

According to Alabama's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, the acquittal of Tom Coleman at Hayneville on Thursday represented "the democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law."

That was the comment of a frustrated public official, one who had been balked at every turn in an attempt to see that Alabama's name should not be besmirched by improper handling of this case involving the slaying of a civil rights worker. He objected to Coleman's having been charged with first-degree manslaughter instead of first-degree murder; he sought a postponement until the State's chief witness could be in condition to testify, and he protested that the atmosphere in the town would not permit a fair trial. In addition it was argued that the Alabama public safety director had refused to cooperate in the State's case against Coleman.

But the judge refused to postpone the trial, and the upshot of it all was (1) that Flowers and his assistant were removed from the case, and (2) Coleman was acquitted in short order.

Now it may be that the self-defense plea entered for Coleman in the slaying of a young Episcopal seminarian would have stood up if the State's chief witness had been permitted to testify, and if the trial had been removed to other surroundings. But the important fact is that the authorities in Hayneville did not do everything within their power to provide for a full hearing of this case, and that the atmosphere was, by all accounts, most favorable to the defendant.

The reaction of Alabama's attorney general indicates he, as well as a great many other Alabamians, are just as aghast at the way this case was handled as are those who have written columns of critical comment for newspapers, north and south. It was a high-handed example of how not to serve the cause of justice.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution, Oct. 7, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE VERDICT REINFORCES DEMANDS TO CHANGE JURISDICTION IN SUCH CASES

All across the land have come reverberations of shock, even horror, over the outcome of the trial last week in Hayneville, Ala., which grew out of the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels. As shown on this page today, cartoonists, editorial writers, and columnists almost as one have registered indignation, disappointment, and shame based on the known facts of the case and the trial.

Columnist Max Freedman today concludes his article on a note which can be described as the consensus of most comments.

"Jonathan Daniels will not be forgotten," Freedman writes. "The memory of his death, and of this contemptible trial, will stir and stimulate many people in all parts of the country to see to it that equal justice shall never again be so easily mocked and its principles outraged by courtrooms that have degraded themselves deliberately into temples of injustice."

These words are echoed in an editorial in the Birmingham News which declared in part:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers."

It is not necessary to define the pattern since everyone knows it. A double standard of justice is not new to the southern scene but recent evidences of it, never more dramatically demonstrated than in the Hayneville episode, have indeed brought on growing clamor for Federal courts to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts. As with the Civil Rights Act and other Federal legislation disliked by the South, our own failures to exercise responsibility make such measures inevitable. The Nation cannot survive unless standards of justice apply equally to all.

Already a strong move is underway for passage of such legislation by Congress in

1966. The National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization representing more than 100 church, union, and civil rights groups, is pushing for a Personal Security Act in 1966. Following a meeting shortly after the Hayneville verdict, its counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, declared that passage of such an act "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966." He added that the legislation would, in effect, take civil-rights-connected cases out of the States hands and into Federal courtroom.

"If we cannot assume that the police and courts are going to look out for us," another spokesman is quoted, "you and I are going to go around with guns. * * * It isn't a question any more of a person getting a vote, it's a question of whether he lives or not."

There will be outraged cries against more "Federal encroachment," but the weight of evidence is on the side of those demanding such legislation.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Oct. 8, 1965]

BY REQUEST

Hayneville, Ala., possibly asked for it in the recent acquittal of the killer of the young ministerial student there. Still neither civil rights nor anything else would be well served by a proposal that all civil rights-connected criminal cases be taken out of the hands of State courts and put into the Federal courts.

The Haynevilles, however, are responsible for advancing demands in the civil rights field. Indeed, no people have so served the swiftening pace of change in racial relations as those who angrily and violently offered stubborn defiance.

Those who resisted the rights of Negroes at lunch counters in stores where Negroes were invited to spend for everything else, were chiefly responsible for the Public Accommodations Act of 1964. The flagrant discrimination in voting rights brought the voting rights bill in 1965.

Evident disregard of justice in Alabama courts could—and does—create support for Federal court trial of every affray involving whites and Negroes. That would put the processes of local justice into courts over which there would be little local control. Of course, where local courts are controlled by local prejudices this might seem preferable to some. It would constitute nevertheless such a danger of distant justice as that against which Americans protested when they set up their rights.

This proposal should be promptly rejected. Also the Haynevilles and the Hayneville kind of justice should be recognized as responsible for its suggestion.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

JUSTICE WAS THE THIRD CASUALTY

Tom Coleman, so they say, comes from one of the best families in Lowndes County, Ala.

Members of the jury which absolved him yesterday from charges of manslaughter aren't classified.

But today there is very little difference between Coleman and his peers insofar as the rest of the country is concerned.

He killed; they condoned it.

Technically, he was freed following a plea of self-defense.

Coleman is the "special deputy" who last August turned a shotgun upon two civil rights workers—Father Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest, and Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student. Daniels was slain. Morrisroe is recuperating in a Chicago hospital from his wounds.

It was obvious from the beginning that justice might be the third casualty in this incident. First, a Lowndes grand jury refused to indict Coleman for murder. He was charged with the lesser crime of manslaughter. Second, trial judge, T. Werth Thagard, rejected a motion by the attorney general of Alabama to delay the trial because of the absence of key witnesses and threats to others.

The trial went on as scheduled with the attorney general and his staff removed as prosecutors by Thagard when they refused to go to court under existing conditions. The county solicitor took over the State's case which was made all the easier by a defense admission that Coleman pulled the trigger of the murder weapon.

But, in the eyes of the defense, Coleman was the victim, not the aggressor. The priest "was running toward him" and the seminary student "reaching for a knife" when Coleman shot.

Defense attorneys even produced one witness who thought he saw a "bright, shiny object that resembled a knife" in Daniels' right hand.

And where was the alleged weapon? A Negro grabbed it right after the shooting and ran off, said the defense.

Apparently, this explanation could not be swallowed even by all members of the jury. It deliberated for 1 hour and 43 minutes before bringing in a verdict of acquittal. The delay, slight as it was, suggested the presence of at least one "doubting Thomas." Or was it simply a matter of form that an immediate verdict of acquittal was not returned?

We may never know. But it doesn't matter. The damage is done. And all those who love the South must apologize for Lowndes County, Ala. The shabby charade of a trial certainly fooled no one. This is not justice; rather it is a clear and deliberate announcement that dual standards of law and morality exist in Lowndes. The stamp of approval has been placed on murder when it is committed against outsiders who espouse locally unpopular causes.

This attitude is no different from that of the agitator, Martin Luther King, who insists upon the right to reject all laws he regards as improper or unjust. Lowndes County cannot suspend the statutes against murder without similarly placing itself above the law.

It isn't enough to argue that the civil rights workers invited violence by enflaming local opinion. We have yet to hear of a law of man or of God in which simple anger justifies the taking of a human life.

Lowndes County has produced one more incident which the decent, honorable South must overcome in its fight to retain rights of local determination and freedom from the stifling domination of federalism.

But who can argue for local determination when the Tom Colemans of the South are granted license to kill? Where is the bedrock of responsibility upon which local determination can be anchored?

Fortunately, Lowndes County is not typical of the entire South. It is a backwater, a stagnant pond, murky and dark, but shallow, too. Still, it is there. And the South will be judged by its presence while more noble achievements go unnoticed.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Oct. 13, 1965]

FOR FAIRER JURIES

The outcome of the trial at Hayneville, Ala., of Thomas Coleman for the slaying of Jonathan Daniels, a civil rights worker, has aroused more heated and emotional reaction than reasoned consideration.

The Chronicle, after the trial, pointed to the always present difficulty of judgment without access to all facts presented during a trial, yet expressed "bewilderment and complete disapprobation" as to the not guilty verdict. The information carried by press service reports was such as to indicate to us "a gross miscarriage of justice. It strains credulity to the breaking point to accept the jury's findings."

Since that time, other—and in our opinion emotional—responses have been heard from some quarters. This has run the gamut from northern tendencies to indict the entire citizenship of the fine State of Alabama for the actions of a few, and demands for Federal intervention, to one reader's letter expressing "disgust" with the defense of Daniels' character by U.S. Senator NORRIS COTTON, Republican, of New Hampshire, a close friend of the Daniels family. The letter unrealistically suggested Senator COTTON was "out for the Negro vote" (in New Hampshire?) or that he might "have Communist leanings."

In between these extremes have come a number of thoughtful comments. Among them is a reminder from Marvin Wall, of the Atlanta Constitution, that too many counties by their procedures disregard an 1875 Federal law which provides that neither Federal nor State courts may disqualify an otherwise qualified citizen from grand jury or petit jury duty on the basis of race. The Chronicle, while never wavering in its insistence on the right of freedom of association in any private area of life, has consistently championed the equal rights of all Americans in public affairs controlled by the laws. The selection of juries is such an area, and to the degree that counties fail to provide an approach to jury selection free of discrimination, to that extent does the county penalize its own citizens and provide an incitement to complaints.

Interesting but less valid is the plea by the Right Reverend John E. Hines for a change in the method of jury selection. Bishop Hines proposes, as an alternative to Federal intervention, "the mounting of a jury selection process which reduces to an absolute minimum the cultural and emotional pressures in localized areas."

Exactly what the presiding bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church has in mind we do not know. What we do know, however, is that if his proposal involves a screening of lists so as to limit prospective veniremen to only those whom someone else thinks will act as they should act, then a weapon is introduced by which all justice may be perverted. A man given the power to tamper with the jury list may, in his own mind, operate from the purest of motives. This does not prevent the possibility that from other people's viewpoint he is stacking the deck against their best interests. It does not prevent, furthermore, the establishment of a system whereby other less high-minded arbiters of jury eligibility may gain an upper hand and overtly make juries a completely factional tool.

The present system is subject to abuse, but it is the abuse and not the system which is at fault. Every trial attorney has the right to question, challenge, and have discarded those potential jurors whom he believes would be prejudiced.

If, in spite of this precaution, prejudice still enters the jury box as a thirteenth member, the fault may be charged to the institutions of a society which has fallen short in its duty to educate all citizens to the high responsibilities of the courts and the juries.

Let's not stack the juries in any mistaken notion that justice will automatically be protected. Let us, rather, seek to make every qualified citizen a good potential member of any jury on which he may be called to serve.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Journal and Guide, Oct. 16, 1965]

SELMA, AND NOW HAYNEVILLE

Decent white people the Nation over—and there are millions of them—must have sickened at the stomach upon reading about the travesty on justice concluded last week in Hayneville, Ala.

It is beyond the comprehension of those who respect law and order, who pay even token allegiance to the precepts of justice and fair play, that almost the whole white popu-

lation of Lowndes County would not only permit, but would participate in or encourage others actually involved in such a performance.

We like to think and we often say that ours is a Government of laws, not of men. But in the final analysis the task of administering the laws devolves upon men. If they lack the decency to uphold the system on which our democracy rests, then injustices are certain to follow.

Perhaps the Hayneville mockery was necessary to arouse the conscience of America and spotlight the cesspool of inhumanity that still exists in some States. Perhaps Jonathan Daniels, the 26-year-old Episcopal seminary student, had to die to create a groundswell of revulsion.

Bear in mind that there had to be a Selma, Ala., before Congress would pass a voting rights law. Maybe now it is possible to get some new laws to protect the lives of those who protest the established order of the Old South. Perhaps now is the time.

[From the Spartanburg (S.C.) Herald, Oct. 5, 1965]

BLINDNESS OF JUSTICE GETS ANOTHER TEST

Justice, they say, is blind.

Which means its due is meted out to all alike. The ideal is rarely reached to perfection, but it should be forever sought.

The acquittal last week of a man in Alabama, charged with shooting down a crusading seminary student, has brought assorted cries of accusation.

Civil rights leaders, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the like charge corruption of justice. The latest to join the chorus is a representative of the National Council of Churches, who declared it an obscene miscarriage.

Indeed, the manner of the trial has caused disturbance in many of us.

Another case of an entirely different nature now goes before the court to test the impartial blindness of justice.

One wonders whether these same champions of legal fairness will speak out for it now.

South Carolina is challenging the constitutionality of the new voter registration law. It requires this State to register illiterates for voting, but does not so require any State outside the South.

Ironically, a citizen of New York is magnifying the South Carolina position in his challenge of a special section of the same law. He is asking the Federal courts to throw out a provision which grants voting privilege to Spanish-speaking people.

New York State has a law disqualifying anyone who cannot speak English and that law has never been tested in the court. Under this statute, New York has denied the ballot to many thousands of Puerto Ricans with high school education.

Now that Congress has taken care of the Puerto Ricans in New York, one wonders whether the court will take under its wing the illiterates of the North.

An the advocates of pure justice will be put to the test themselves. Will they be as fervent in demanding the protection of New York illiterates as they are for those in the South?

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Oct. 20, 1965]

MATTERS OF JUSTICE

The Daniels murder verdict in Hayneville, Ala., and the current second trial in the Liuzzo case make especially timely the report issued Monday by the Southern Regional Council and the Atlanta office of the Civil Liberties Union.

The report well documents the fact of double standards in the courts of too many Southern communities.

With the example of the Whitmore case in New York City, other areas could do their own studies indicating definite needs along this line as well. But in Chattanooga, where there is a relatively sharp contrast with some other Southern areas, the issue nevertheless commends itself insistently to the people.

The bar associations of the South all should be concerned, for instance, when a Warren Fortson in Americus, a Charles Morgan or a Paul Johnston in Birmingham actually lose their law practices with respected firms because they undertook to defend Negroes in civil rights cases.

Or when a Richmond Flowers, attorney general of Alabama, is placed in fear of his life for his courageous attempts to get justice in the Daniels and Liuzzo cases.

The report urges refinements in the selection of juries; a broader public defender system to assure Negroes of fair trials; more attention to the racial attitudes of those named judges; correction of cash register justice wherein poor Negroes are sent to jail for want of money to pay the minor fines whites often can afford; more presentencing reports so that judges have more time to consider cases in their full perspective.

The civil rights movement has brought sustained trouble and even agony to the South. But it is yet a fair question the report asks: "Why is it possible under the American judicial system for a white man to murder a Negro without fear of serious retribution?" We put aside the question at the expense of despair and increased radicalism by Negroes. These are trying days, and the report touches a truth when it says, "White people sometimes complain that they are weary of being constantly reminded of the Negro revolution." But it adds: "Their weariness is nothing compared to the Negro's."

First National City Bank Files Questionable Application With Securities and Exchange Commission for Exemption From Conflict of Interest Provisions for Its Mutual Fund Operation

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal bank regulatory agencies have gone wild all of a sudden, permitting commercial banks to engage in all sorts of nonbanking businesses. Just a few examples are: equipment leasing, credit cards, insurance, travel services, and mortgage and real estate brokerage. Wherever a dollar is to be made, let the banks make it, so say our Federal agencies, regardless of the harmful effect of unfair competition on small, independent businessmen.

The latest gimmick that the big banks have come up with is to move into the mutual fund business. Mutual fund shares are investment securities and commercial banks have been kept out of investment banking by a law we passed in 1933, growing out of abuses and other misconduct leading up to the 1929 stock market crash. The big banks have been jealous of the growth in the mutual fund industry just as they are jealous of the growth in the savings and loan industry. They want it all to themselves and the Federal banking agencies are going all out to help them get it.

On October 18, in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, I criticized an almost unbelievable ruling by the Federal Reserve Board approving the proposal by First National City Bank of New York, a $14 billion banking giant, to set up a mutual fund. Sections 21 and 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 are crystal clear that Congress wants commercial banks out of securities operations and investment bankers out of commercial banking. The Federal Reserve Board's Vice Chairman, in testifying this year before our Banking and Currency Committee, of which I have the privilege of being chairman, strongly opposed a bill to expand bank underwriting of State and local bonds—H.R. 7539. Vice Chairman Balderston forcefully stated that such a move would turn the clock back over 30 years and raise again the question of conflicts of interest, self-dealing, and abuse of trust which characterized bank operations in the securities field. The Federal Reserve's flip-flop on this question is indeed mystifying, and my request for an explanation is still unanswered, including the reason why the Federal Reserve kept its approval secret for 6 months.

But, Mr. Speaker, regardless of the Federal Reserve's green light, Comptroller Saxon's willing acquiescence to FNCB's wishes, not to mention the FDIC's go-along attitude, there is just a little bit more to the story.

First National City Bank plans to register its mutual fund with the Securities and Exchange Commission under the Investment Company Act of 1940, just like all other funds must do. However, this financial titan is asking the Commission to excuse it from the conflict-of-interest prohibitions contained in that act. This exemption would be an extremely drastic decision for the Commission to make, both with respect to the best interests of the investing public, as well as the matter of fundamental fairness to other mutual funds not enjoying such special treatment.

Although FNCB calls its proposed mutual fund a "commingled investment account" to be registered as a "diversified, open-end management investment company" with the SEC, it would actually amount to the very first collective "managing agency account" permitted under Comptroller Saxon's regulation 9 which sets out national bank trust powers as permitted by a bill before my committee and which became Public Law 87–822 in 1962. That law permits national banks "when not in contravention of State or local law to act as trustee, executor, administrator, or in any other fiduciary capacity in which State banks, trust companies are permitted to act." So it is clear that this law permits national banks to maintain investment accounts only in a true fiduciary capacity as a bona fide trustee.

Furthermore, Comptroller Saxon's applicable regulation under that law (12 CFR 9.18(a)(3)) permits, among other things, collective investment, where not

in contravention of local law, of funds held by a national bank as fiduciary under a managing agency agreement expressly providing that such moneys are received by the bank in trust.

Yet, contrary to the clear requirements of both law and regulation that collective investment funds may only be received in trust, FNCB has not the slightest intention of operating its "commingled investment account" as a trust. Not only are ordinary mutual funds not fiduciary accounts under traditional trust law, but in its application to the Federal Reserve for an opinion on possible violations of the Banking Act of 1933, FNCB affirmatively stated that investors contributions to the fund would not be received "in trust."

To put it simply, FNCB is just not permitted by law or regulation to operate a collective investment fund except in a fiduciary capacity. What the bank is proposing to do in registering the account as an investment company is clearly illegal—entirely apart from the serious question of violating sections 21 and 32 of the Banking Act of 1933 flatly prohibiting securities operations. To submit to the Securities and Exchange Commission a proposal clearly illegal under other statutes is possibly a fraud upon the Commission. The application appears to be tainted and illegitimate.

The question is: Will Comptroller Saxon conveniently publish a new ruling just in time to bail out FNCB, reversing his rule that a bona fide trust is necessary, at the same time subverting the will of Congress as expressed in the 1962 trust law?

Travesty of Justice—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom has brought an outpouring of condemnation by the editors of many newspapers around the Nation. I ask unanimous consent that a cross-section of Southern editorial opinion on this tragic event be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) World, Oct. 13, 1965]

ALABAMA'S "NOT GUILTY" VERDICT

In Lowndes County, Ala., an all-white male jury has returned a "not guilty" verdict in favor of a defendant accused of a serious crime. The circumstances surrounding the incident are now of international magnitude and universal moral discussion.

The activities which led up to the tragic event are worth reviewing. Some white religious leaders from the East were in several Alabama Black Belt counties helping Negro citizens to find solutions for their problems and support for their cause. It was an uncommon thing to see persons of such quality and concern working with distressed, deprived, and disadvantaged citizens.

In a number of the Alabama Negro-disfranchisement counties, negativist organizations like the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Council and the John Birch Society seem to have set the moral tone, polluted the political streams, and befouled the atmosphere. The negativist spirit breeds negative fruits.

The trial worked through the machinery of justice and the processes of democracy. Yet such machinery and such a process depend for their success upon those who administer them. It is in the administration of the law and its process, in particular instances, where the foul would seem to be. There could be those who are surprised by the "not guilty" verdict and others who would applaud it.

What has happened in Lowndes County tends to light up the task facing up in this State and Nation. The helping power of publicity, the cleansing influence of discussion, the forcing out into the open this question of justice, morality, and fairplay, all are to the good. No jury can release a man from his conscience.

The jury which heard the case has rendered its decision, regardless how one may feel about it. But no jury can say how long and strong what they did will be discussed and evaluated by mankind generally. There is a cosmic process of justice beyond the power of man to weigh or direct.

What has now occurred in Lowndes County should serve to awaken anew the conscience of good men and women. It should serve to spur voter registration, to what the desire for education and to build a determination to get into politics to help provide the kind of leadership needed. There is no punishment as harsh as man's conscience. It is written in the Golden Book that one should not kill.

[From the Tampa (Fla.) Tribune, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALABAMA PHENOMENA

The acquittal of Thomas Coleman in the Hayneville, Ala., slaying of a white civil rights worker suggests it's time for Gov. George Wallace to sponsor another guided tour of his State, or at least Lowndes County.

At his invitation, 49 editors and reporters from across the Nation spent several days last June (at their own expense except for State-provided buses) seeing the "true Alabama," whose "image," the Governor said, had been badly distorted in news accounts of civil rights disturbances and the slaying of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, of Detroit, in that same Lowndes County.

Those who made the trip came away impressed with Alabama's industrial and education gains and the material progress of its Negroes, but largely unconvinced that Wallace and the white power structure were committed to granting Negroes equal rights or equal justice.

Coleman's acquittal, although expected, leaves Alabama's image worse than it was last spring.

A new tour, however, might be better made by representatives of the Nation's courts and bar associations interested in the processes of justice, or by scientists competent to study visual phenomena.

Justice should be a two-way channel, protecting the rights of victim, defendant, and society as a whole. In Hayneville it was society that suffered the greatest injustice.

State Attorney General Richmond Flowers, a moderate who has aroused Wallace's ire with public statements that "segregation, as we know it, is gone," had tried to get Coleman's trial postponed.

For one thing, the principal witness, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest shot down at the same time Episcopalian seminarian Jonathan Daniels was slain, was still hospitalized in Chicago and unable to testify. For another, Flowers was convinced the grand jury which had indicted Coleman only for manslaughter had acted on the basis of perjured testimony, and he wanted to present the case anew in hopes of obtaining a first degree murder indictment.

But Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard not only refused the delay, he threw Flowers and his assistant out of the case and turned it over to local prosecutors.

So Coleman was tried, without the Reverend Morrisroe's presence, by a jury of 12 men openly described by the defense as "his friends and neighbors" and reminded in closing argument that they had thought enough of the defendant to name the local high school football field for him.

The defense argument was that Coleman had fired at the seminarian and the priest in self-defense. Witnesses, one a cousin and another the lifelong friend of Coleman, testified that Daniels advanced on the defendant with a "switchblade knife" open in his hand, and the Reverend Morrisroe (who was shot in the back as he fled) with "something shiny that looked like a pistol."

The weapons were not put in evidence; two witnesses told of seeing a pair of unidentified Negroes slip up and remove the knife and pistol from the hands of the shooting victims as they lay bleeding on the ground.

So, the defense argued, Coleman "did what he had to do * * * what you and I would have done * * * he defended himself and he defended that lady in the store"—the building to which Father Morrisroe said he and Daniels and a group of Negroes just released from jail with them were going to try to buy food.

Alabama's image, it occurs to us, would benefit from a study by outsiders of what exists there that could move an Episcopal seminarian to carry an open switchblade and a Catholic priest to advance, gun in hand, on a public street—or what it is in the atmosphere there that could so distort the vision of a number of witnesses that they would testify, and 12 jurors would believe, that such was the case.

Governor Wallace should invite studies of these phenomena. And the American bar, so often concerned with circumstances which it fears might prejudice the right of a defendant to a fair trial in his own community, should initiate its own study of the matter of granting society, where circumstances are prejudicial to the prosecution's case, the same right to change of venue that a defendant has.

[From the Memphis (Tenn.) Commercial Appeal, Oct. 1, 1965]

AN ALABAMA VERDICT

"He did what he had to do," the defense attorney pleaded and the jury at Hayneville, Ala., agreed.

And so the case has ended for now, with no one adjudged guilty of the slaying of a New England seminary student who died on the doorstep of a country store from the charge of a shotgun fired at short range.

For the people of Lowndes County in Alabama, this verdict may seem to have closed the case. They have gone back to doing the things they were doing before this "incident" focused attention upon their community, and thinking the same self-righteous thoughts they had been thinking.

But the Nation and the world have not forgotten what happened there last August 20, and will not forget what happened in the courtroom at Hayneville this week. For the shame of Alabama now is not alone what was done by one man to another, but that none in that community had the honesty, the courage, the common decency to admit that a wrong had been done.

The verdict in the court room was "not guilty"—not guilty of even lesser charges than murder. But if the perpetrator of that crime thinks that he walks free, if those people of Lowndes County who condone this decision think their consciences now are free, they are mistaken. They are caught now in the confines of moral judgment which will weigh more heavily upon them each day as time passes for by their failures they have violated more than mere laws of man.

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 5 1965]

CLERGY ON HAYNEVILLE

Over the past weekend several clergymen spoke on a subject profoundly disturbing some Alabamians. Perhaps many are disturbed; it is difficult to determine. But the outspoken clergymen apparently believe that there is a need to emphasize the basis for concern. This newspaper underscores such need.

Bishop C. C. J. Carpenter and Bishop Coadjutor George M. Murray, of the Episcopal Church, issued a joint statement in which they said in part:

"We * * * call upon all Christian people in Alabama to get on their knees and pray earnestly that the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove and that the importance of the Christian doctrine of the infinite worth of human life shall not be diminished."

They pointed out an especial cause for concern: "We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'they had it coming to them,' or 'they had no business being here.' "

Bishops Carpenter and Murray warned of the dangers in "the widespread impression that there is a failure in the administration of justice within our State."

In a sermon Sunday the Rev. Julian L. McPhillips of St. Luke's Episcopal Church in Mountain Brook reminded that "the very fact that for years we have allowed so much flagrant injustice and discrimination against some of our people is the very thing which has brought so much trouble and interference into our State."

He said that "we seem to be caught in a trap," that we resent interference, we resist outsiders trying to change conditions, we tend to place blame elsewhere at the same time that we want things fair and just. He said that in our troubles, we "try to rationalize and find excuses."

Men of God are supposed to emphasize to their congregations, and to the people generally, dangers in our confusions and our sometimes misguided efforts—or failures to take correct action. The cloth is and must be concerned with the lay life, for spirituality is not a once a week matter.

Alabama has suffered before. The many good things in this State seem at times to be lost as particular events occur.

But we shall always, in a finality, be judged by how much each of us individually addressed himself to the reality of shortcomings.

One should not need to spell this out. Every thinking man or woman—and some even younger—has experienced recent shock. Will we allow it to fade away while we busy ourselves with temporal avenues of escape?

Love among and regard for mankind has a price. It is repetitively uncertain how many truly are willing to pay it.

[From the St. Petersburg (Fla.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

DISGRACING THE BENCH

No realistic person was surprised at the verdict of acquittal in the Hayneville, Ala., civil rights manslaughter case.

Not after the way the stage had been set by Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard.

Tom Coleman, a prominent Hayneville citizen, was on trial for the slaying on August 20 of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian earlier engaged in a civil rights demonstration.

At the same time Mr. Daniels was killed, Father Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest, was shot in the back and is still hospitalized from the wound.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers of Alabama was so incensed at the grand jury indictment charging only manslaughter rather than murder that he personally assumed charge of the prosecution.

The State's principal witness was to be Father Morrisroe. Because his serious condition made it impossible to be present at this time, the State requested a postponement of the trial.

This Judge Thagard refused. The State then moved to nol pros (dismiss) the case, intending to seek a new indictment later when its key witness would be able to testify.

Judge Thagard not only refused this also, but in a high-handed action unprecedented in Alabama's history he removed the State's highest legal officer as prosecutor and ordered the circuit court solicitor to proceed with the case.

Forty minutes later an all-white, male jury had been seated, without any of the jurors having been questioned as to their prejudices or other possible disqualifying factors.

Two white witnesses, one Coleman's cousin and the other his longtime friend, testified that the seminarian and the priest had things in their hands which "resembled" a knife and a gun. On cross-examination they admitted they could not say positively that either was armed, and Negro witnesses flatly denied that either had a weapon. No weapons were found.

Nevertheless, although he admitted shooting Daniels, on a plea of "self-defense," Coleman was acquitted.

The jurors, of course, were parties to this farce. But in accepting the shaky evidence of a white man favoring another white man as against much more potent testimony of Negroes against the white man, they were simply reacting in accordance with attitudes bred of a blighted environment.

It is the judge's conduct which was scandalous.

Although jurists in Alabama, as in most States, are political creatures elected to their posts, one expects elevation to the bench to endow judges with higher ethical and moral standards than are demanded of other officeholders.

But Judge Thagard's refusal of a perfectly reasonable request by the prosecution, and his arrogant treatment of Alabama's attorney general, leave no doubt as to the bias and prejudice with which he approached this case.

If there ever were a perfect example of why judges should be removed from the political arena, and insulated against the pressures of having to be vote seekers, the trial at Hayneville has provided it.

[From the Raleigh (N.C.) News and Observer, Oct. 1, 1965]

INCREASING CONVICTION

Alabama justice has turned a killer loose and added to the conviction of the world that perjury is approved in that State to justify murder.

This may be unjust to the people of Alabama. In the courthouse in Lowndes County the defense presented an oily smooth case. It undertook to show that the murdered Episcopal ministerial student, and his Catholic priest companion, attempted to enter a small store after they had been told it was closed. They seemed, so a defense witness said, to be armed. They were killed, glib witnesses said, when they approached the store in which the killer had no property interest.

Despite other testimony that the two clergymen were unarmed and despite the showing that the wounded priest was shot in the back, the Alabama jury accepted the defense story. The killer goes free. But Alabama does not. Millions of people everywhere will be convinced that there in aftermath and cold blood in a jury room perjury was accepted to protect murder.

Once again, this may be unjust to Alabama. Possibly in the furies of that State, fears have been so aroused that citizens are ready to believe that religious men come as robbers. Certainly that presumption was pressed upon a jury apparently eager to find a plausible excuse for a not guilty verdict. Significantly, however, Alabama does not come into the court of public opinion as a frightened defender of its doors but as a State in which unpunished killings in the dark have more than once taken place. And unpopular as may have been there the cause of the dead young man and his wounded associate, all know that they were religious men incapable of violence and crime. They were the last men to go armed with anything but their faith and convictions.

The defendant in this case as in others goes free. But in the minds of millions of people the verdict like the crime will pile up the conviction of Alabama's guilt. The view will grow that there are dark areas in the South ready to throw away honor after humanity. Far from a victory for "white supremacy," the not-guilty verdict in this case will be widely taken as evidence that not merely white discrimination but white barbarism, even in its courts of supposed justice, prevails in Alabama.

[From the Anniston (Ala.) Star, Sept. 16, 1965]

CITIZENS VIEW HAYNEVILLE

Now, Hayneville is the scene. A raging man steps outside and fires his shotgun, leveled at the stomachs of the two men who represent something he rejects. One dies. The miracle of surgery saves the other.

In this case, both of the victims are young. One is a Catholic priest. The other, had he lived, would have been an Episcopal minister.

The scene had shifted throughout this dreadful summer. It has been the main street of Anniston, where two men were wounded. It has been a quite side street where a prominent Anniston man was beaten. It has been Highway 202 where a simple working man was murdered on his way home from work by a shotgun blast in the back of the neck.

It does not matter where it happens. The scene is not important.

It is important that it happened. And, it is of crucial importance how Alabama citizenship responds.

It is important because each citizen in a very important way is the custodian of the law.

If the citizen in his role as a member of a grand jury or as a part of the panel which tries a criminal case fails to apply the law out of prejudice or fear, then the law means little in that part of America.

Without trying the case and, admittedly from some distance, we can make the qualified judgment that the law means little in Lowndes County.

Special Sheriff Tom Coleman, member of a family prominent in the county, was seen by several witnesses firing what has been described as unprovoked shots into the stomachs of the two men.

Yet a Lowndes County grand jury Wednesday indicted him for manslaughter. Manslaughter.

We do not believe in vigilante justice. We reject the idea. But when the facts speak so plainly, the act is witnessed by so many,

how can a grand jury bring in an indictment less than murder?

We are attempting to make no social point any deeper than this:

A life has been taken. A miracle saved the second. Justice demands the villain, no matter how prominent, be made accountable.

If he is not, as is apparently the case in Hayneville, the law means nothing. Anyone can gun down any other person as long as public opinion is on his side.

Can we say the so-called outsiders are misguided when they call this savagery?

One wonders what charge the grand jury would have returned had the "outsider" slain the "insider."

[From the San Antonio (Tex.) Light, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm of Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Father Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in hospital.

The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a travesty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him.

The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law, and must be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News, Sept. 17, 1965]

GRAND JURY RESPONSIBILITY

Action of a grand jury in Hayneville in indicting a local man for manslaughter and assault and battery in an attack on two white civil rights workers from other States raises extremely serious questions.

Was the action of the grand jury proper, under the circumstances? Or did members of the jury let prejudice against "outsiders" affect their action?

We cannot answer those questions with certainty now because little information has been given on the double shooting at Hayneville last August 20. And we do not know, of course, what testimony the members of the grand jury heard from witnesses testifying under oath.

But we do know that a young seminary student from another State was shot down and killed at Hayneville, and that a Catholic priest with him was wounded seriously. Thomas L. Coleman, of Hayneville, has been indicted by a grand jury of neighbors for manslaughter and assault and battery.

If the crimes of murder and assault with intent to murder were committed, no action by a grand jury or a trial jury can wipe out that fact. If testimony given to the grand jury demanded indictments for murder and for assault with intent to murder, the grand jury at Hayneville has weakened our judicial system by its action.

A grand jury does not convict or acquit. Its function is to establish, usually by hearing only testimony for the State, the probability or improbability of a crime having been committed by an accused. Its indictment of a person is a formal charging of some specific offense.

But if a grand jury deliberately indicts a person probably guilty of murder on a lesser offense; and if a grand jury deliberately indicts a person probably guilty of assault with intent to murder of a lesser offense, members are usurping authority they do not have. And they are tearing down confidence in our jury system.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers has shown much courage, and has acted within his duty and responsibility, in saying that the finding of the jury was not proper. We hope he succeeds in having the case considered by another grand jury.

The indictments certainly indicate the urgency of State attorneys considering the need for a change of venue in the Coleman case and in the case of three Klansmen indicted for killing another civil rights worker in the same county. Does any one now believe that just verdicts are likely to be returned by trial juries in Lowndes County?

[From the Birmingham (Ala.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE SOUTH HAS A NEW CONCERN

It is difficult for anyone to comment responsibly about a trial in which judicial procedure has been observed, and yet proceedings and outcome may be disturbing to many.

A grand jury returned an indictment in the Hayneville shooting of a young seminarian from the East. A jury was selected. The jury acquitted. No jury has to explain its basis of judgment.

Yet a man was certainly killed and another wounded in Hayneville, and it cannot matter in law that they were civil rights workers.

This much now is a matter of record: That once again a civil rights worker has been killed in the Deep South and there has been an acquittal.

It is not this newspaper's place to render judgment on the Hayneville case. A jury empaneled to do so has reached the only verdict which counts.

But it would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South, there is little chance of a State court conviction following.

Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned.

[From the Atlanta (Ga.) Journal, Oct. 5, 1965]

AFTER HAYNEVILLE

In the aftermath of the irregular handling and swift acquittal in the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels at Hayneville, Ala., that State's Episcopal leadership has issued strong words about the implications.

Such words, too often not forthcoming in the past, add a little toward establishing a climate of responsibility.

It will take much more, of course. But on such an occasion we are glad to see this much take place, and we say so while remaining aware that the same words need to be heard by many in Georgia as well.

"We are deeply disturbed to have heard all too many church members condoning the slaying or beating of civil rights workers, saying such things as 'they had it coming to them' or 'they had no business being there,'" said Episcopal Bishops C. C. J. Carpenter and George M. Murray, of Alabama.

They said they hope all Christian people in Alabama will pray that "the whole process of indictment and trial in the case of Jonathan Daniels shall in no wise be interpreted as a license to kill or injure those with whom we disagree or whose behavior we disapprove.* * *"

The tragic fact is that, without regard to the jury's verdict in this case, many people will interpret the handling of it and the atmosphere as evidence they have just such a license.

Fortunately there are other voices in the South besides the one heard in Hayneville;

The Nashville Tennessean has commented that "Alabama has succeeded again in telling the world that those who come to that State to promote equal justice for all citizens do so at the risk of their lives."

The Louisville Courier-Journal said: "Nothing in the whole proceeding was more shameful than the appearance of local clergymen who gave absolution to the affair, fatally qualifying one of the great commandments."

And within Alabama, these words came from the Birmingham News:

"It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demands for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers. * * *

"Such demand will be offered on a claim that when such an individual is killed in the Deep South there is little chance of a State court conviction following. Southerners must concede that this is a claim which from the record cannot be readily rebuked or dismissed and they surely cannot help but be concerned."

We think many southerners are and will be concerned about this, and more must be.

[From the Norfolk (Va.) Virginian-Pilot, Oct. 1, 1965]

A FREE MAN?

Maybe Attorney General Richmond Flowers, of Alabama, will get a whack at Tom Coleman, whose trial and acquittal he deplores, and maybe he won't. It is possible, but less than likely, that Coleman, having come clear in the shotgun slaying of an Episcopal seminarian, will experience a harder accounting to justice in the wounding of a Catholic priest.

Whatever the State of Alabama and the good Lord have in store for Tom Coleman, he may not be as free a man as the headlines from Hayneville say.

He's a member of the aristocracy, or what passes for it, down there. A part-time deputy sheriff and the father of a State trooper, he's also a highway engineer and the son of a school superintendent. There have been Colemans of note in Alabama. This one presumably is familiar with the class and re-

gional code of how a gentleman regards a lie and how he deports himself in an argument.

There was uncertain testimony in the Coleman trial about the priest having a pistol and the seminarian having a knife. If the jury was satisfied on the score, the attorney general was not, and it's difficult to side with the jury.

Tom Coleman knows whether the two were armed. He knows whether he has sly with the trigger and the truth, whether he fired in honor or as a coward. He knows whether he lived up to the old standard or whether he behaved like a sawmill hand gone wild on a full-moon Saturday night.

Having escaped what the Alabama statutes say is a killer's dues, Tom Coleman will live, and he must live with himself. Maybe Lex Talionis—the law that fits the punishment to the crime—will prevail after all.

[From the Corpus Christi (Tex.) Caller-Times, Oct. 8, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM STILL BEST GUARANTEE FOR JUSTICE

An apparent miscarriage of justice in Alabama has cast doubts on one of our most ancient protections against tyranny, the jury system.

A Hayneville, Ala., jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, for the August 20 shotgun slaying of a seminary student, Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H. A storm of protest has arisen. Remedies have been proposed, including one that would give Federal courts jurisdiction in cases arising from civil rights disturbances.

It is almost impossible at this distance to judge the merits of the case against Coleman. He readily admitted that he killed Daniels, but he claimed that Daniels had a knife in his hand. One defense witness, a cousin of the defendant, testified that Daniels had "an open pocket knife" in his hand when he was shot.

There is at least a presumption that the jury had "reasonable doubts" as to the guilt of Coleman, resolving the doubt in his favor on a finding of self-defense. In all criminal cases, of course, the State assumes the burden of proving guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt." The State may have failed to do so. Or the jury may have required, because of sympathy for the accused, a native of the county, a greater burden of proof than the law actually requires. If so, a miscarriage of justice is plain.

Nevertheless, the result in the Alabama case should not be used as an argument against the jury system, as some are doing. With very few exceptions the atmosphere of the courtroom and the mood of a jury cannot be re-created in newspaper accounts of the trial. Especially important to jurors is the demeanor of witnesses. Is he telling the truth? They must ask themselves, or is he just telling part of the truth or an outright lie? Jurors, not the judge, the audience, or the opposing attorneys, are charged with determining the truth or falsity of testimony given. They have made mistakes in the past. They will likely make mistakes in the future. Yet the function of juries remains vital to the democratic process.

If jurors in the Coleman case can be rightly charged with favoritism to the defendant, then they must answer to their conscience. But this is certainly not to say that every jury chosen in Alabama will ignore the law and the evidence in favor of sympathy for the accused. The jury system in Alabama and the 49 other States must not stand or fall on the outcome of a single case.

[From the El Paso (Tex.) Herald-Post, Oct. 9, 1965]

IT'S NOT THE SYSTEM

Such miscarriages of justice as the freeing of the part-time deputy sheriff who killed the young Episcopal minister in Hayneville, Ala., have raised some doubts about the jury system.

There's nothing wrong with the principle of trial by jury—even in Hayneville.

The fault lies not with the system but with the men who run it.

The jury system presupposes there will be a judge who conducts the trial with fairness and firmness. The jury system cannot carry the burden of a judge who allows a lawyer to rant and rave in an unbridled appeal to race prejudice, anti-Semitism, and anti-Catholicism as the late Matt Murphy did in the earlier Hayneville trial of the Klansman charged with the slaying of a woman civil rights worker.

The jury system cannot operate fairly under the handicap of a judge so patently misguided as to refuse to delay the trial of the minister's slayer until such a key witness as the priest gravely wounded in the same shooting could testify.

The jury system cannot work as our Founding Fathers intended unless law officers operate without bias. No one believes that law enforcement agencies—such as the Alabama State Police—were as diligent in running down evidence against this slayer as they would have been had the case been reversed and the civil rights worker had gunned down the deputy.

But there was a more fundamental handicap to the jury system in Hayneville—a handicap in the makeup of the jury itself.

Juries in Alabama are run by a jury commission. Alabama State law says—except in some counties where local laws supersede it—that jury commissioners are named by the Governor and hold office only until the next Governor appoints their successors. This makes the jury commissioners the Governor's patronage—an open invitation to the perversion of the complete fairness a jury system must have.

The jury system in this country also presupposes juries will be a true cross section of the community.

Juries in Hayneville are not a cross section of the community. Nor are they in many counties in Alabama and elsewhere in the Nation.

No women serve on juries in Alabama—an insult to the intellect of women in today's world and anything but democracy.

Then the population of Lowndes County, of which Hayneville is the county seat, is more than 75 percent Negro. Yet the only Negroes put on jury panels are 1 to 2 out of 100—just enough to pay lipservice to Supreme Court rulings. And to many in Hayneville it would be unthinkable for Negroes actually to serve on juries in important cases.

Alabama has a good State law barring certain people from serving on juries—persons convicted of crimes of moral turpitude, habitual drunkards and other reasonable limitations.

But the law does not say that all in the county who are not barred by law must be given an equal chance for jury duty. The jury commission can virtually handpick any panel. Link it up with the political appointment of jury commissioners and the possibilities are evident.

But forgetting about Alabama—forgetting about the race question—too long in too many places in this country jury panels have been picked on a "father knows best" philosophy. Hayneville is simply the ultimate flowering of such a misuse of the jury machinery.

It would be tragic if what has happened in Hayneville—and in other places in the South and the Nation—made any sizable number of Americans doubt the effectiveness of the jury system.

What has happened in Hayneville should make us all determined to blot out the abuses of the jury system so it can be what it really is—our one best hope of justice for all men.

[From the Abilene (Tex.) Reporter News, Oct. 10, 1965]

JURY SYSTEM HAS FLAWS, BUT STILL VITAL TO JUSTICE

What many feel was a miscarriage of justice in Alabama has cast doubts on one of our most ancient protections against tyranny, the jury system.

A Hayneville, Ala., jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, for the August 20 shotgun slaying of a seminary student, Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H. A storm of protest has arisen. Remedies have been proposed, including one that would give Federal courts jurisdiction in cases arising from civil rights disturbances.

It is almost impossible at this distance to judge the merits of the case against Coleman. He readily admitted that he killed Daniels, but he claimed that Daniels had a knife in his hand. One defense witness, a cousin of the defendant, testified that Daniels had "an open pocketknife" in his hand when he was shot.

There is at least a presumption that the jury had "reasonable doubts" as to the guilt of Coleman, resolving the doubt in his favor on a finding of self-defense. In all criminal cases, of course, the State assumes the burden of proving guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt." The State may have failed to do so. Or the jury may have required, because of sympathy for the accused, a native of the county, a greater burden of proof than the law actually requires. If so, a miscarriage of justice is plain.

Nevertheless, the result in the Alabama case should not be used as an argument against the jury system, as some are doing. With very few exceptions the atmosphere of the courtroom and the mood of a jury cannot be re-created in newspaper accounts of the trial. Especially important to jurors is the demeanor of witnesses. Is he telling the truth? They must ask themselves, or is he just telling part of the truth or an outright lie? Jurors, not the judge, the audience or the opposing attorneys, are charged with determining the truth or falsity of testimony given. They have made mistakes in the past. They will likely make mistakes in the future. Yet the function of juries remains vital to the democratic process.

If jurors in the Coleman case can be rightly charged with favoritism to the defendant, then they must answer to their conscience. But this is certainly not to say that every jury chosen in Alabama will ignore the law and the evidence in favor of sympathy for the accused. The jury system in Alabama and the 49 other States must not stand or fall on the outcome of a single case.

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Sept. 30, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

A grand jury sitting in Lowndes County, Ala., indicted the man accused of killing an Episcopalian seminarian and critically wounding a Catholic priest, not for murder, but for the lesser charge of manslaughter.

The grand jurors acted on testimony to the effect that the seminarian and the priest, both volunteer civil rights workers, were armed—one with a 6-inch knife; the other with a pistol.

In the opinion of Alabama's attorney general, such testimony was perjured. No weapons have been produced. The nearest to an accounting comes from Col. Al Lingo, Governor Wallace's deputy in charge of public safety, who says, "a Negro was seen running away with them."

That's one of the reasons Attorney General Flowers took over the case from local prosecutors. That's also why Mr. Flowers asked that the trial be delayed, at least until the

priest, Father Richard Morrisroe, was able to testify.

In the interest of justice, judges normally grant such requests, especially when they come from the State's highest legal officer. In this case Circuit Judge Thagard acted with dispatch. He summarily removed the attorney general from the case. He turned it back to the local prosecutor and those who produced what Attorney General Flowers regards as perjured testimony. He ordered the trial to proceed forthwith.

Thus was justice foreclosed in Lowndes County, Ala.

[From the Augusta (Ga.) Chronicle, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE TAKES A BEATING

To sit in judgment without being completely knowledgeable of facts may be to reflect opinion that is without substance.

Yet it is difficult not to view with utter bewilderment and complete disapprobation the verdict of the Lowndes County, Ala., jury which exonerated special deputy sheriff Tom Coleman in the shotgun slaying of a civil rights worker.

No one with a sense of right can help but be outraged by what certainly seems to be a gross miscarriage of justice. It strains credulity virtually to the breaking point to accept the jury's findings—as one must on the basis of the deputy's plea of self-defense—that, af all people, an Episcopal seminary student and a Roman Catholic priest would be so menacing that the law enforcement officer would fear for his life when he cut them down with shotgun blasts killing the student and wounding the priest.

Such seeming lack of regard for human life by the Alabama jury does a disservice to every white resident of Alabama—and the South—who believes in human dignity and justice under the law.

And while it hardly represents the feelings of the large majority of white Alabamians, the verdict, as was pointed out by that State's Attorney General Richmond Flowers, "again places the good name of Alabama and her people on the bigoted stake of racism."

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

Once again travesty on justice has been perpetrated in Alabama.

The trial of Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman for the killing of a clergyman can only be described as farce of the lowest order. Arrested for murder, Coleman was indicted for manslaughter. He was tried over the protests of the State's attorney general in the absence of the key state witness. He was tried for the killing of a civil rights worker by an all-white jury. In two hours this jury freed Coleman.

Perhaps the atmosphere in which this trial was conducted was best described in the words of one prospective juror who said he had a fixed opinion in the matter: He thought the defendant was innocent. Lowndes County did not give this defendant a fair trial: It had a fixed opinion that he was innocent.

In a few short years Alabama has supplanted Mississippi as the State in which a fair trial is least likely when race is at issue. In 1963 a Baltimore postman named William L. Moore was shot down on an Alabama highway and the man arrested for shooting him freed by a grand jury. Earlier this year an Alabama Klansman was freed on a charge of slaying Mrs. Viola Liuzzo in Lowndes County when a jury deadlocked. Now the scene once again is Lowndes and once again the outcome could have been predicted ahead of time with the greatest ease.

None of this has happened in a political vacuum. In the background has been the attitude of Gov. George Wallace, whose rabble-rousing speeches and blatant race hatred have contributed mightily to his State's descent in the esteem of the Nation. Governor Wallace talks about improving Alabama's "image," yet his own actions have done most to create an atmosphere in which liberty is alien and justice is absent.

This atmosphere will linger until the State's political leadership matures. It will linger as long as that leadership is willing to trade off everything—even including the respect a State should have from its sister States—in an effort to maintain its popularity.

That is what is wrong in Alabama: Its leadership has refused to lead.

[From the Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

Tom Coleman, the Alabama deputy sheriff who gunned down a young ministerial student active in the civil rights movement, has been acquitted. He wasn't even being tried for murder, but for manslaughter; his trial proceeded despite the absence of a key prosecution witness hospitalized from wounds inflicted by the same deputy.

This is white man's justice in Alabama. It highlights the fate threatened for any who attempt to protest its inequities or protect its victims.

The death of Jonathan M. Daniels, 27-year-old seminarian, was a tragedy—the ultimate cost of his willingness to witness a belief in human rights and a faith in their triumph anywhere in the United States.

The acquittal of Deputy Coleman is a travesty, an addition to the bill of injustices being run up in Alabama by its race haters and their decent fellow travelers.

This is no indictment of a whole State or an entire people. It is one more brushstroke, blood red, in the nightmarish picture of a readiness to kill, and to condone it, if the victim can be identified with the campaign for extension and protection of lawful rights.

Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers did his best to prevent this blot on the escutcheon of the State. He may have committed political suicide but he tried. He entered the case when the Lowndes County grand jury returned the manslaughter indictment; he complained publicly of the inadequacy of the official investigation and preparation; he tried to delay the trial when the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, wounded when Mr. Daniels was slain, was unable to appear. His insistence on these obviously justified points resulted in his removal from prosecution of the case by the trial judge in an unprecedented action.

The defense produced two witnesses who said they saw a knife held by Mr. Daniels and what looked like the barrel of a pistol in Father Morrisroe's hand. Neither weapon was exhibited; other witnesses and a sworn statement from Father Morrisroe denied they ever existed. The two young men may have been hated for their acceptance of the brotherhood of man; they could not have been known as men of violence who went about armed.

But this was the basis on which Tom Coleman was acquitted. He was the beneficiary of a legal system which we accept because it errs so seldom, sometimes in honesty, sometimes when abused. Mr. Daniels was the victim of a social system which can hold the law in its hand and mold its local decisions, no matter how unjust.

Mr. Daniels died for his beliefs; Deputy Coleman must live with his conscience.

[From the Charlotte (N.C.) Observer, Sept. 30, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE IS CHANGING

The significant thing about the trial of the part-time Alabama deputy accused of slaying an Episcopal seminary student is that it is no longer an example of Alabama justice but rather an example of Lowndes County justice.

That they are no longer the same thing is testimony to the change that must occur in many areas of the South before justice can become a commonly understood term.

The respected attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, says that the prosecution cannot get a fair trial in Lowndes County. He wants to wait, not only for a better time, but also for what he feels is a proper indictment—murder, not merely manslaughter.

Thomas L. Coleman, 55, a prominent Hayneville citizen, part-time deputy, and Alabama Highway Department engineer, was arrested for the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, outside a grocery store near Hayneville.

The State says Coleman also shot and seriously wounded the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest from Chicago. Both men were there—Daniels from Keene, N.H.—aiding and participating in civil rights demonstrations.

Police charged Coleman with murder, but the Lowndes County grand jury, acting on the request of Solicitor Arthur E. Gamble, Jr., indicted him for manslaughter.

Flowers was sharply critical of the solicitor's effort from the start. The attorney general wants to delay proceedings until the wounded Morrisroe can come from a Chicago hospital to testify, and avoid prosecution on the manslaughter charge while trying to get an indictment for murder.

If the trial continues on the manslaughter charge—as the presiding judge insists—it will be impossible to indict for murder later. The double jeopardy rule will prevent it.

But Judge T. Werth Thagard, in a move reported to be unprecedented in Alabama court procedure, has ordered the attorney general out of the case and told the Lowndes County solicitor to proceed.

Lowndes County already has an unenviable reputation. It was there that Mrs. Viola Liuzzo was killed by klansmen as an aftermath of the Selma-to-Montgomery march. The citizens of Lowndes haven't brought themselves to an impartial judgment of the perpetrators of that act yet.

Now, as the Nation again watches Alabama, those in Alabama who used to turn such a nearly monolithic face to the Nation are themselves looking at Lowndes County.

The hopeful note is that men like Flowers are making it clearer every day that the acts of men like Coleman are not to be condoned, even in Alabama.

And, someday, we'll be able to say, even in Lowndes County.

The Record of the 89th Congress, 1st Session: Report to the People of the Fourth District of Wisconsin

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, a historic session of Congress is ending. Since January, this 1st session of the 89th Congress has worked unceasingly and has compiled a record of legislative achievement seldom equaled in American history.

Now the time has come to review the accomplishments of the past few months.

As has been my custom since my first election to Congress, I wish to report

to the people of my district—the Fourth District of Wisconsin—on the work of the session and, in particular, on my votes and actions as their Representative.

In a sense, a Member of Congress builds his reputation with each vote taken in this body. No piece of legislation is universally popular and no man can hope, or indeed should try, to please everyone.

At the same time, it has been my desire to advance the interests and promote the well-being of the people of my district and the Nation.

THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION; AN OVERALL VIEW

Historians almost certainly will view the legislative results of the 1st session of the 89th Congress as the most important and far reaching of any peacetime session.

If the 2d session proves as fruitful as the 1st—which appears likely—the 89th Congress may go down as the Nation's most productive and significant of all times.

During the session a number of lofty social welfare goals were achieved which had long been stymied.

I refer, of course, to Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools, medical care for the aged under social security, and the revision of the outmoded national origins quota system of immigration.

These programs and others enacted during the session had been unsuccessfully pressed by other Democratic administrations, including those of Presidents Truman and Kennedy.

President Johnson succeeded where they had been frustrated because of the Democratic landslide in the 1964 elections. The people of the United States—through their action at the ballot box—indicated their trust in President Johnson and the Democratic Party.

The voters were not merely voting for President Johnson on the basis of his personality; they were delivering a mandate in favor of the Great Society platform and the principles on which it is based.

This they proved by electing many new Democrats to Congress to help speed needed legislation to enactment. In a very real sense, a pact was concluded between the American people and the Democratic Party last fall.

To ascertain how well the party kept its side of the bargain it is instructive to place side by side the promises made by the Democratic platform of 1964 and the fulfillment of these promises in 1965 by a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress.

MEDICARE AND AID TO OLDER AMERICANS

The 1964 platform promised:

> We will continue to fight until we have succeeded in including hospital care for older Americans in the social security program.

A medicare bill was enacted. It established a program of hospital and medical insurance for the aged which is, in my opinion, one of the best, most comprehensive, and most practical ever proposed.

Perhaps the most sweeping piece of social legislation enacted in the United States, the medicare act provides two basic health care programs.

There is a basic hospital insurance program which provides up to 60 days of hospitalization—over the first $40—100 days of posthospital care, and 100 visits by a home nurse. This is financed through social security contributions and covers almost everyone over 65 years old.

The second program is a voluntary one costing citizens over 65 $3 a month. It provides physicians' services—over the first $50—60 days of care in a psychiatric or tuberculosis hospital, and additional 100 home health visits, and other medical and health services, including diagnostic tests and rental of medical equipment.

The medicare program will aid more than 18 million men and women in the United States who are over 65.

It will free the lives of these senior citizens from fears that ill health may rob them of the savings of a lifetime. It will help insure that no elderly person—no matter how poor—will languish and suffer without needed medical care.

The same bill which established medicare also provided a 7-percent increase in social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and expanded medical programs for the blind, disabled, and dependent children.

Further, the 1964 Democratic platform promised that—

> We will enhance the security of older Americans by * * * offering opportunities like those provided for the young under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

The 89th Congress enacted the Older Americans Act, which authorizes $17.5 million in fiscal 1966 and 1967 for grants to States and public or private nonprofit organizations for developing programs for the aged.

The act also established a new Administration on the Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer the grants, to serve as a clearinghouse of ideas and information, and to do research into the subject of aging.

As an original cosponsor of the Older Americans Act, I believe it is a long step in the direction of making the lives of our senior citizens richer and more satisfying.

AID TO EDUCATION

On the important subject of education, the platform was explicit:

> The demands on the already inadequate sources of State and local revenues place a serious limitation on education. New methods of financing aid must be explored including the channeling of federally collected revenues to all levels of education.

Not only were new methods of providing aid to education explored during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, new methods were enacted in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The first general school aid bill became law. This measure aids approximately 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families and authorizes grants to school districts in 95 percent of the Nation's counties. The total first year cost of the bill is estimated at $1.1 billion.

The act provides direct grants to poor school districts, gives grants to States to purchase library and text books, establishes supplementary education programs and regional educational laboratories, and strengthens State departments of education.

This bill confirms that the administration and Congress recognized that the youth of America is the best hope for a better world tomorrow and is our greatest natural resource. What is more, all eligible schoolchildren are being assisted, regardless of the kind of school—public or parochial—which they attend.

Of higher education, the platform said:

> In order to insure that all students who can meet the requirement for college entrance can continue their education, we propose an expanded program of public scholarships, guaranteed loans, and work-study programs.

The Higher Education Act passed by the 89th Congress expanded and improved existing programs designed to provide the university facilities and scholarships so necessary to the full education of American youth. It also initiated a program of low-interest Government-insured loans to undergraduate and graduate students.

Congress also has moved to meet problems caused by school dropouts and juvenile delinquents. The sad fact is that almost 1 million young people quit school each year.

Today the dropouts have several programs through which they can direct their energies productively. Some 12,000 have enrolled in the Job Corps. Another 200,000 youngsters are participating in Neighborhood Youth Corps projects. And 80,000 other eager young people are finding new opportunities in the work-study program.

The 89th Congress also extended and expanded a program in which the Federal Government has become an active partner with States and communities fighting juvenile delinquency through special education, recreation, employment and social work projects.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION—THE ECONOMY

In accord with the admonition in the Democratic platform that "we should carefully review all our excise taxes and eliminate those that are obsolete," the 89th Congress repealed or reduced excise taxes on hundreds of items.

By January 1, 1967, the reductions will total $4.6 billion on automobiles, kitchen appliances, telephone calls, cosmetics, and gift items. This results in savings to consumers and a boost to family budgets.

For example, a new $300 washing machine costs $15 less than it did; a $15 suitcase or handbag, $1.50 less; a $1 tube of lipstick 10 cents less.

The repeal of the excise taxes has produced more sales for many retailers. They also are spared the paperwork required by these Federal excises.

Tax reduction, according to the economists, has had a healthy impact on the national economy. The monetary and fiscal policies of the administration have been an important factor in sustaining the longest peacetime economic expan-

sion in history; it is now in its 57th month.

In recent months, the unemployment rate has dropped to a nationwide 7-year low. In Milwaukee County the unemployment rate is about the lowest of any major urban area in the country.

Put in human terms, more people have jobs—more people know the security, self-satisfaction, and confidence of steady employment.

ANTIPOVERTY AND REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

In order to spread the abundance of our affluent society to all our citizens and thus insure continued growth and expansion of the American economy, Congress took action during 1965 to continue the war on poverty and to aid the development of depressed areas within our borders.

To aid in this task an Economic Development Administration has been created. This new agency is charged with the responsibility of assisting the development of new jobs and new industries in economically distressed regions.

To Appalachia, the most poverty stricken of distressed regions, Congress directed special attention. A 6-year, $1 billion economic program was enacted for the 12-State Appalachia area.

The war on poverty program was extended through June of 1968 in an expanded form, and $1.8 billion was authorized for the 1966 fiscal year.

Also extended and expanded was the Manpower Development and Training Act. This legislation will provide an opportunity for another one-half million unemployed Americans to be retrained in new and needed job skills.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Just as economic development measures were specifically called for by the Democratic 1964 platform, so too was legislation affecting housing and urban affairs. It said:

We believe a department devoted to urban affairs should be added to the President's Cabinet.

Congress, recognizing the problems caused by the swift urbanization of the Nation, created a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development to administer Federal programs which affect city dwellers.

Also approved was an expanded housing program, including rent supplements for low-income families, housing rehabilitation grants and public housing for handicapped persons.

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENT

In the area of health and environmental safety and improvement, it is remarkable to compare the promise of the platform with the performance of the 89th Congress:

We will further expand our health facilities * * * especially * * * research laboratories.

Congress enacted a 5-year program of project grants to develop some 25 multipurpose regional medical centers to fight heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other diseases. It is hoped that one of the first of these grants will go to the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

We will * * * continue to insist that our drugs and medicines are safe and effective.

Stricter controls were placed on the possession, distribution, and disposal of depressing barbiturates and stimulating amphetamines.

We shall * * * continue the attack * * * on eliminating the pollution of our rivers and streams.

Passed was a 4-year, $80 million program to combat water pollution in interstate waters and increased Federal grants for research and construction of water pollution control projects.

We shall * * * continue the attack we have launched on the polluted air that envelopes our cities.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare was authorized by Congress to recommend means to control pollution from automobile exhausts. Also authorized was the construction of a Federal air pollution control laboratory.

We shall intensify our efforts to solve the critical water problems of many sections of this country by desalinization.

The authorization for the Federal saline water program was extended through 1972 and its funds increased to $185 million.

OTHER IMPORTANT ACTIONS

Among other important actions, the first session of the 89th Congress approved legislation to:

Replace the discriminatory national origins quota system in our immigration laws with a system of preferential admissions for immigrants with needed skills or training, or close relatives in the United States;

Authorize Federal registrars to undertake voter registration in those areas where local officials discriminate against Negro voters;

Establish a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities and provide $63 million through fiscal 1968 for endowments in creative and performing arts and scholarships in humanities;

Restrict unsightly billboards along interstate and primary highways, and undertake the removal or screening of junkyards;

Propose a constitutional amendment establishing procedures for the Vice President to exercise Presidential powers when the President is unable to do so and for filling vice-presidential vacancies.

Three bills in which I was particularly interested passed this session. One established a commission to organize the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the arrival of Pere Jacques Marquette in North America. The second authorized the domestic showing of the USIA film on the life of President Kennedy, "Years of Lightning—Day of Drums." A third bill, repealing the so-called cabaret tax was included in the general excise tax repeal.

NATIONAL SECURITY AND FOREIGN POLICY

Although the reputation of the 89th Congress rests mainly on the important domestic legislation it has enacted, Congress also has taken some significant actions in national security and foreign affairs.

Approved were appropriations to make possible the expanded Armed Forces necessary for the war effort in Vietnam. The overwhelming majorities by which military appropriations bills passed both the House and the Senate were proof of the strong bipartisan support in Congress for President Johnson's policies for halting Communist aggression in southeast Asia.

Other funds approved by Congress will allow the pursuit of major new developments in strategic weapons systems, insure the continued progress of America's atomic energy program and help the United States to a first place in space.

In order to help other nations remain strong against Communist aggression and to develop stable, progressive societies, Congress approved $1.2 billion in military assistance and $2 billion for economic aid. It also appropriated funds to continue the highly successful Peace Corps, increased the contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank, and continued programs in arms control and disarmament.

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

Although the accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress were many much remains to be done in the 2d session which will convene in January 1966.

Among the essential bills are two of particular interest to the workingman: the repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act and the extension of the minimum wage laws.

The House voted to repeal section 14(b) way back in July 1965. But the bill was obstructed in the Senate by a Republican filibuster. Minimum wage legislation has been considered by committees of the House and Senate and should be acted upon early in the next session.

I am hopeful of action on bills which I have introduced into Congress, particularly the Adoption Opportunity Act, which provides tax deduction for adoption expenses, and the bill to curb the traffic in obscene literature through the mails by regulating the use of mailing lists.

VOTING RECORD

Mr. Speaker, at this point, I place in the RECORD a table which lists the major legislative bills considered during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, my position and vote on each of them, and their present status or ultimate disposition:

	Issue	Action
	INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS	
Voted for	$115,000,000 authorization for Peace Corps activities	Became law.
Voted for	Abolishing the national origins quota system of immigration	Became law.
Voted for	$3,360,000,000 authorization for foreign economic and military aid	Became law.
Voted for	3-year extension of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency	Became law.
Sponsored	Allowing the USIA film on President Kennedy to be shown in the United States	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of an Academy of Foreign Affairs to train Government employees for overseas assignments	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Creation of Byrd Commission to coordinate U.S. activities in Antarctica	Approved by subcommittee.
Sponsored	Congressional consent for a Great Lakes Basin compact	Pending in House.
Voted for	Increased U.S. participation in Inter-American Development Bank activities	Became law.
Voted for	$1,000,000 construction authorization for a new embassy in Saigon	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of an Atlantic Union delegation to meet with similar NATO country delegations regarding a federal Atlantic Union	Pending in House.
Voted for	Congressional censure of Soviet Russia for acts of religious persecution	Approved by Congress.
Voted for	Resolution urging world attention to the subjugation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania	Approved by House.
Sponsored	Special postage stamps to commemorate Poland's 1,000th anniversary as a Christian nation	Pending in House.
	NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNAL SECURITY	
Voted for	$15,400,000,000 authorization for aircraft, missile, and naval vessel procurement	Became law.
Voted for	Additional $700,000,000 appropriation for U.S. efforts in Vietnam	Became law.
Voted for	$5,180,000,000 authorization for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, including research on a solid fuel rocket and a nuclear solid-powered system spaceship.	Became law.
Voted for	$2,550,000,000 authorization for the Atomic Energy Commission, including $2,500,000 for a merchant ship reactor program	Became law.
Voted for	$1,780,000,000 authorization for military construction at domestic and foreign installations	Became law.
Voted for	Federal penalties for destruction or mutilation of draft cards	Became law.
Voted for	Federal penalties for assassination, kidnaping, or assault of the President or Vice President	Became Law
Sponsored	Prohibition of political contributions or lobbying by agents of foreign interests	Pending in House.
	SOCIAL SECURITY, HEALTH, AND WELFARE	
Voted for	Health insurance for the aged, 7 percent increase in social security benefits, and other amendments to the Social Security Act	Became law.
Voted for	$1,300,000,000 program to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education, including provision of textbooks and library resources in schools, both public and private.	Became law.
Voted for	5-year program to help construct needed college facilities, strengthen school libraries, and aid needy students	Became law.
Sponsored	Regulation of mailing lists to curb the flow of pornography	Pending in House.
Voted for	3-year program to help State and local authorities improve law enforcement, prevent crime	Became law.
Voted for	Standards to control pollution from gas and diesel-powered vehicles; funds for research to improve solid waste disposal methods	Became law.
Sponsored	Extension of certain National Defense Education Act benefits to private schools	Pending in House.
Voted for	Aid to community mental health centers and to train teachers of the handicapped and retarded	Became law.
Voted for	Expansion of health professions educational assistance program to alleviate the shortage of doctors, other health personnel	Became law.
Sponsored	Deduction from gross taxable income of expenses involved in adopting a child	Pending in House.
Voted for	Regional medical centers to combat heart disease, cancer, and stroke	Became law.
Voted for	Insured low-interest loans to students attending vocational schools beyond the secondary level	Became law.
Voted for	Expansion of health research facilities program of matching grants for construction	Became law.
Voted for	Cost-of-living increases in annuities for retired Government employees	Became law.
Sponsored	National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities; 3-year $30,000,000 program of matching grants in the arts and scholarships in the humanities.	Became law.
Sponsored	Reduction of social security retirement age to 60	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Establishment of a Capitol pages' residence	Pending in House.
Voted for	Authorizing special controls over sale, distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs; strict penalties for offenses involving those under 21.	Became law.
Voted for	2-year extension of the Juvenile Delinquency Act	Became law.
	VETERANS AND ARMED SERVICES	
Voted for	Pay increases of about 10.4 percent for enlisted members and officers of the uniformed services	Became law.
Voted for	Increased allowances and training periods for disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation	Became law.
Support	Educational and housing benefits for cold war veterans similar to those granted under the GI bill of rights	Hearings in House.
Sponsored	Veterans' medical benefits for American citizens who fought with allied armies in World Wars I and II	Pending in House.
Voted for	Providing $10,000 special indemnity insurance for servicemen in combat zones	Became law.
Voted for	Increased allowances under the War Orphans' Educational Assistance Act	Became law.
Voted for	Increasing veterans' disability compensation to reflect the rise in living costs	Became law.
	NATIONAL ECONOMY	
Voted for	$4,600,000,000 a year reduction of wartime-imposed excise taxes	Became law.
Voted for	Commission to coordinate economic development in the Appalachian region	Became law.
Sponsored	Restricting the use of tax-exempt bonds by one locality in luring away industry from another	Pending in House.
Voted for	$3,300,000,000 program of public works to develop industries and create jobs in economically depressed areas	Became law.
Voted for	Repeal of sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, which allows States to outlaw the union shop	Passed by House.
Voted for	Extension of the training, counseling, and placement activities of the Manpower Development and Training Act	Became law.
Support	Extension of minimum wage and overtime provisions to an additional 7,200,000 persons; increase in the minimum wage	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Removal of the antitrust exemption from organized professional baseball	Pending in House.
Sponsored	An increase in the personal income tax exemption from $600 to $800	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Small Business Conservation Act to preserve opportunity for free competition in business	Pending in House.
Voted for	Increased Federal aid for the Interstate and Defense Highway System	Became law.
Voted for	$1,800,000,000 for antipoverty programs in fiscal 1966, including training of the chronically unemployed and work among the aged poor.	Became law.
Voted for	3-year $60,000,000 program of matching funds to disseminate findings of science and technology to industry and commerce	Became law.
Sponsored	Authorizing the sale of certain surplus Government property to local governments	Pending in House.
	GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATION AND OPERATION	
Voted for	Voting Rights Act to enforce the 15th amendment, authorize Federal voting registrars in areas of discrimination, bar literacy tests, direct elimination of poll taxes.	Became law.
Voted for	Proposed constitutional amendment fixing procedures for Vice Presidential succession in case of Presidential disability, choice of new Vice President.	Approved for ratification.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress to study recommended changes in legislative procedures	Approved.
Voted for	Home rule referendum for the District of Columbia	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Creation of an Administration on Aging to coordinate information and services to State and local governments and promote research in the field of aging.	Became law.
Voted for	Creation of a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development	Became law.
Voted for	Pay increase for Federal employees making their salaries comparable with those in private industry	Became law.
Sponsored	Creation of a Tercentenary Commission commemorating the work of Father Marquette in North America	Became law.
Voted for	Federal standards for apportionment of congressional districts	Passed by House.
Sponsored	Allocation of an additional Federal judgeship for Wisconsin	Pending in House.
Voted for	Amendment of the House rules to permit House consideration of a bill held more than 21 legislative days by the Rules Committee without action.	Approved.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence	Pending in House.
Sponsored	Creation of a Joint Congressional Committee on Consumer Interests	Pending in House.

	Issue	Action
	AGRICULTURE AND NATURAL RESOURCES	
Opposed	Continued level of agriculture price support programs	Became law.
Voted for	Increased aid to communities in their effort to combat water pollution	Became law.
Voted for	$1,990,000,000 program of navigation improvement, flood and beach erosion control, and hydroelectric power projects in 38 States, including Wisconsin.	Became law.
Voted for	Expanded program of oceanographic research and development of the resources of the seas and the Great Lakes	Passed by House.
Voted for	Expanded desalinization research and development program	Became law.
Voted for	Continued study of effects of insecticides, pesticides on fish and wildlife	Became law.
Voted for	Program of roadside beautification through control of billboards and auto junkyards	Became law.

Rollcall record of Congressman Clement J. Zablocki, 89th Cong., 1st sess.

Total roll and quorum calls	383
Rollcalls	201
Not voting	15
Quorum calls	182
Absent on quorum [1]	11

[1] Absence on quorum call does not necessarily mean a legislative day's absence.

Travesty of Justice—III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Chicago (Ill.) Weekly Defender, Oct. 22, 1965]

TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Editorial condemnations in the white press of the jury's verdict at Lowndes County, Ala., have been few and aggravatingly mild in tone. The jury found Tom Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff who admittedly killed a young Episcopal seminarian, not guilty of manslaughter. The victim was Jonathan Daniels, felled by a shotgun at close range.

The silence of some of the Nation's most powerful dailies on so grave a miscarriage of justice is just as dispiriting and distressing as the jury's verdict. One is thereupon left with the desperate feeling that criminal offenses of this character have the sanction of a goodly number of American people.

If the findings of the Lowndes County jury were an isolated instance in the dispensation of justice below the Mason-Dixie line, these would be some mitigation of our distress. But the verdict in the Daniels case is merely one of a repetitious series in the long catalog of southern injustice. In quick succession there followed the cases of Evers in Mississippi, Penn in Georgia, Liuzzo in Alabama, and Chaney, Schwerner, Goodman in Mississippi again—and others in which the killers were set free.

With the exception of Penn, who was a retired Army officer and assistant regional supervisor in the public schools of the District of Columbia, all the others were peacefully pursuing their labor in the field of civil rights. They wanted to see human dignity and equality raised to meet the requirements of full citizenship in a democracy.

In the light of these tragedies one is constrained to inquire whether the American people are becoming so callous as to be frigid and indifferent to the indefensible slaughter of human beings.

In the Daniels case, Alabama's attorney general contended that Coleman should have been tried for murder rather than manslaughter. It would have made no difference; Lowndes County was not conducive to a fair trial. It is very well to say that the county made a spectacle of itself before the civilized world. The tragedy of the situation is that the people there don't care. Their sense of justice does not extend to civil rights workers and Negroes. Since this attitude is common to many other communities, it leaves the country with a grave question of whether equal justice can be imposed in Dixie without Federal intervention.

The question suggests the advisability of congressional intervention. It should be obvious to everyone that unless moral enlightenment can be brought to the communities below the line, rivers of blood will flow in reprisals all over the South.

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Oct. 2, 1965]

ANOTHER TRAVESTY

Once again, white justice in darkest Alabama has made a mockery of the meaning and process of justice and cast another cloud on our claim to be a civilized nation.

On August 20 a man named Thomas Coleman, of prominent family in Hayneville, Lowndes County, shot and killed an Episcopal seminarian at pointblank range and nearly killed a Roman Catholic priest with a shot in the back. Both victims were on a civil rights mission.

State Attorney General Richmond Flowers undertook the prosecution himself, at some personal risk and against the odds in a white community, with an all-white jury, inflamed against the law and order that he represented.

Local judges refused to postpone the trial on every ground, however valid—that Negroes were kept off the jury; that the key prosecution witness, the wounded priest, was not recovered enough to testify, and other witnesses were afraid; that the charge should have been murder instead of merely manslaughter; that official State investigators had refused to report to Flowers. Then the trial judge threw Flowers himself and his staff out of court altogether.

Defense counsel reminded the jury: "All of you know Tom Coleman. You know his mother, and you knew his father." The plea was self-defense. The claim was that the civil rights workers were armed with a gun and a knife, but the defense couldn't produce the alleged weapons. Coleman was described as having done a service to the community. If you haven't heard what the verdict was, you are only allowed one guess.

Flowers had said that the trial, in the circumstances, would be a travesty. He did not overstate.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press and News, Oct. 1, 1965]

A JURY OF HIS—PALS

The right of an accused to trial by a jury of his peers is part of our great heritage from English law. It is probably the best safeguard devised against injustices.

But trial by jury, like any institution created by man, can be perverted to evil ends.

In Hayneville, Ala., Thomas Coleman has been acquitted by an all-white jury, composed of his friends and neighbors, in the shotgun slaying of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopalian seminarian from New Hampshire.

Daniels was a civil rights worker. Coleman is a member of a prominent Hayneville family. That's about all the jurors needed to know.

The jurors believed Coleman's story, backed by white witnesses, that he shot in self-defense, that the young churchman was toting a knife and that a Roman Catholic priest companion was packing a gun. They disbelieved Negro witnesses who denied this. They ignored the fact that no such weapons ever were found.

Significantly, the judge in the case refused to delay the trial until the priest, obviously an important witness, has sufficiently recovered from wounds inflicted on him by Coleman to testify.

Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers has denounced the verdict as a triumph of "irrationality, bigotry and improper enforcement of the law."

"Now those who feel they have a license to kill, destroy and cripple have been issued that license," Flowers said.

Flowers is looking for a way to keep the case alive. He hasn't much chance. The prosecution, under our law, cannot appeal an acquittal no matter how unfair the trial may have been.

This Nation is going to have to consider what other means are at hand to insure fair and impartial justice in cases such as this. It was trial by jury itself which was on trial at Hayneville.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Press, Oct. 10, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE AND JURIES

Such miscarriages of justice as the freeing of the part-time deputy sheriff who killed the young Episcopal minister in Hayneville, Ala., have raised some doubts about the jury system.

There's nothing wrong with the principle of trial by jury—even in Hayneville.

The fault lies not with the system but with the men who run it.

The jury system presupposes there will be a judge who conducts the trial with fairness and firmness. It cannot operate fairly under the handicap of a judge so patiently misguided as to refuse to delay the trial of the minister's slayer until such a key witness as the priest gravely wounded in the same shooting could testify.

Juries in Alabama are run by a jury commission. Alabama State law says—except in some counties where local laws supersede it—that jury commissioners are named by the Governor and hold office only until the next Governor appoints their successors. This makes the jury commissioners the Governor's patronage—an open invitation to the perversion of the complete fairness a jury system must have.

Juries in Hayneville are not a cross-section of the community. Nor are they in many counties in Alabama and elsewhere in the Nation. No women serve on juries in Ala-

bama—an insult to the intellect of women in today's world and anything but democracy. The only Negroes put on jury panels are 1 or 2 out of 100—just enough to pay lipservice to Supreme Court rulings.

The jury commission can virtually handpick any panel. Link it up with the political appointment of jury commissioners and the possibilities are evident.

But forgetting about Alabama—forgetting about the race question—too long in too many places in this country jury panels have been picked on a "father-knows-best" philosophy. Hayneville is simply the ultimate flowering of such a misuse of the jury machinery.

It would be tragic if what has happened in Hayneville—and in other places in the South and the Nation—made any sizable number of Americans doubt the effectiveness of the jury system.

What has happened in Hayneville should make us all determined to blot out the abuses of the jury system so it can be what it really is—our one best hope of justice for all men.

[From the Elmira (N.Y.) Star-Gazette (Sunday Telegram), Oct. 6, 1965]

TRAGEDY AT HAYNEVILLE IN COURTROOM TRAVESTY

A tragedy, in the classical definition, is a story in which human beings act out a hopeless drama against the background of an inexorable and inevitable fate.

The trial in Hayneville, Ala., fits this category. Even though a farce through and through, it was basically a tragedy. Its outcome, like that of all other similar trials in the South, was a foregone conclusion.

It does not really matter whether the man accused of killing a civil rights worker was guilty of murder or not. It does not matter that the charge was arbitrarily reduced to manslaughter nor that the prosecution was not permitted time to produce its key witness.

The verdict would have been the same in any event.

What matters is that there will be more such cases in the future, and that the rest of the Nation outside the South will no more expect justice in them than it has learned to expect it in the past.

It would be useless for others to condemn those involved in the Hayneville trial for betraying one of the fundamental principles on which the strength and integrity of America depends—that of equality before the law. Caught as they are in their inherited prejudices, it is obvious that they are entirely ignorant of the meaning of this principle.

This trial, and the hundreds that preceded it of the same ilk, alone are the answer to all those southerners who claim that treatment of the Negro in Dixie is no different than it is in the North.

By their own verdict they have condemned themselves.

[From the Lancaster (Pa.) New Era, Oct. 1, 1965]

JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

An Alabama jury's acquittal of a special deputy sheriff, accused of manslaughter in the killing of a civil rights worker, is just what you would expect in a case such as this.

It is a travesty of justice—an appalling show of ridicule for the role of the court.

The defense claimed that the deputy, Thomas L. Coleman, shot and killed one man, and seriously wounded another, because he thought they were armed and he was acting in self-defense.

The man he killed was an Episcopal seminary student. The man he injured was a Catholic priest. Defense witnesses claimed that no weapons were found on the two because other civil rights workers spirited the weapons away.

This was an all-white jury of 12 men, hearing the case of a white man who shot two white victims.

The verdict blares forth that prejudice still rides in Alabama, no matter what the administration in Washington claims it has done to further the cause of civil rights.

With all the laws, no one has legislated morality for Thomas Coleman, or for the 12 men who set him free.

[From the Alliance (Ohio) Review, Oct. 5, 1965]

IT'S A BLACK MARK ON AMERICAN JUSTICE

The case of Thomas L. Coleman, sometime deputy sheriff, in Hayneville, Ala., has come to its foreordained conclusion: Coleman was not indicted for the murder of Jonathan Daniels, New Hampshire seminarian, whom he shot down on August 20—and he now stands acquitted even of the lesser charge of manslaughter.

What he did, according to his defense counsel, was the same "as any of us would have had to do"—kill a man approaching a grocery stores' front door with (or more likely without) something in his hand that "looked like" a knife (which mysteriously disappeared at once and never was found).

Of course, the fact that Coleman was a "home boy" and Daniels a civil rights worker trying to help Alabama Negroes to register and vote had nothing to do with the verdict. Of course.

Nevertheless, that decision by the 12 white men on the jury has once again blackened the name of American justice before the eyes of the world.

Even the State's attorney general was dissatisfied by the manslaughter indictment and was tossed out of the case by the local circuit judge.

The ancient form of trial of a defendant by a jury of his peers cannot function if the peers, in effect, admit they would have committed the same senseless criminal act as the defendant if they had had the opportunity.

We trust that Mr. Coleman may yet be tried for his similar atrocious assault on the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, of Chicago, in the same incident. Father Morrisroe at least survived to tell the story.

[From the Easton (Pa.) Express, Oct. 7, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

No one needed a crystal ball to forecast the jury verdict in the Hayneville, Ala., manslaughter trial of Special Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman. The defense conceded that Coleman killed civil rights worker Jonathan M. Daniels, white seminary student from New Hampshire, and critically wounded Daniels' companion, a Chicago minister.

But Lowndes County justice is Alabama-Mississippi justice: 12 white men on the jury and a community atmosphere charged with race hate that has proved time and again its readiness to excuse the most brutal of murders and other violence against Negroes and their white rights supporters.

The Lowndes County jury's acquittal of Coleman on the lesser charge—a grand jury earlier had refused to indict him for murder—is being interpreted widely as another dark stain on the white robe of American justice. It shames America before the eyes of the world. Propagandists make much of this sort thing—of sectional murder, maiming, and incendiarism unpunished—to create ill feeling against the Nation in other societies.

But it is, indeed, a damning commentary on the moral values of a sectional community in which the State's attorney general must retire from prosecution of a case because he fears for his life. Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers is one of the few voices of reason speaking publicly in that State today, but his appeal for law, justice, and commonsense has gone unheeded.

The Coleman acquittal, part of the long, shameful pattern of injustice which has characterized the conduct of the southern courts and enforcement processes, may serve the purpose of the bigots temporarily. But it gives new impetus to demands that capital crimes associated with civil rights issues be moved under Federal jurisdiction, with venue changes to give justice a fair chance of functioning.

Certainly the kind of justice which has characterized the Daniels, Violet Liuzzo, and other murders in a long chain of KKK-racist violence cannot be permitted to continue.

[From the Rutland (Vt.) Herald, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

A wave of revulsion is spreading throughout the country at the news that an Alabama jury, after less than two hours of deliberation, acquitted a special deputy sheriff of shooting down a theological student from New Hampshire in the town of Hayneville.

Still alive, but in critical condition in a Chicago hospital, Father Morrisroe is the second victim of the two shotgun blasts fired by the special officer. Jonathan Daniels, in training for Episcopal ministry, and Father Morrisroe were both in the town of Hayneville to assist the Negro community to obtain their civil rights.

Although the suggestion is ridiculous that a student for the ministry was carrying a switchblade knife and that a Catholic priest was armed with a .38-caliber revolver, that was the tenuous defense although no such weapons were put in evidence at the trial. In any event it was enough for a jury, composed of the defendant's fellow townsmen, to find him not guilty. It was in the same court room that a mistrial was won by a nightrider accused of killing another civil rights worker from Detroit, the victim of that killing being a woman.

The cruel facts are that there has yet to be a conviction by a jury in the Deep South in any case involving the killing of those working for civil rights. The inescapable conclusion is that those engaged in the civil rights struggle, black or white, can be murdered with impunity in certain sections of the South.

The attorney general of Alabama, Richmond Flowers, from all accounts did his best to seek an impartial administration of justice in the case. But his request to postpone the trial so that Father Morrisroe could testify, as well as for a change of venue, was met by his removal from the prosecution of the case by the presiding judge, a resident of the county where the shooting occurred.

The statement of Attorney General Flowers after the verdict of acquittal that it represented "the democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law" well states the situation as most of the country views it.

Possibly the only hope for the future of impartial justice in many parts of the South is that these words were spoken by a high southern official, rather than by one from another section of the country.

If the rule of law and impartial justice is to be restored in those sections of the South where it has seemingly vanished, it must be through the leadership and influence exerted by those southerners like Flowers who are indignant and appalled at the present travesty of justice.

[From the Wilkes-Barre (Pa.) Times-Leader, News, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA OUTRAGED BY JURY'S VERDICT

The attorney general of the State of Alabama had something true and sharp to say about the judicial procedures which led to acquittal of Thomas J. Coleman on charges

of manslaughter in connection with the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels. The jury's finding, he said, "again places the good name of Alabama and her people on the bigoted stake of racism."

State's Attorney General Richmond Flowers also said something else that is pertinent:

"I firmly believe that the great majority of Alabamians are outraged by this callous disregard for the taking of a human life."

One cannot but agree with this judgment. To do otherwise would be to suggest that the people of Alabama are so bent on thwarting the civil rights struggle that they will condone any crime. We do not believe that to be true.

A callous disregard for the taking of a human life, however, was evident.

The jury, which had not a single Negro member although many Negroes reside in Lowndes County, deliberated only a short time before exonerating the defendant on a plea of self-defense.

So goes justice in Alabama. Let us hope Attorney General Flowers is right in his conclusion that "the great majority of Alabamians are outraged."

[From the Milwaukee (Wis.) Journal, Oct 17, 1965]

WHAT JURY SYSTEM?

When the all-white jury in Hayneville, Ala., predictably found Tom Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, not guilty of killing a civil rights worker there were loud laments about the jury system.

Attorney General Katzenbach called the outrageous outcome of the trial "the price you have to pay for the jury system." Why? Federal statutes clearly say that Americans must not be excluded from jury duty because of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Yet in Hayneville no Negro can sit on a jury. In fact, the courtroom itself is segregated.

Charles Morgan, Jr., American Civil Liberties Union official in the South, says that he is willing to pay almost any price for the jury system and he thinks places like Hayneville should try it. He adds: "The jury system says the jury is supposed to be selected from a cross section of the population—and 81 percent of Lowndes County citizens are Negroes."

The Reporter magazine says civil rights groups are seeking ways of getting around the discrimination on juries in many parts of the South. One way might be to place civil rights cases under Federal instead of State courts. Another might be to make civil rights murders a Federal crime. But, as the magazine points out, that does not face up to needed reforms in the application of the jury system. Federal action is needed to enforce the Federal statute. The Civil Liberties Union has itself filed a series of motions in Federal court to enjoin trial proceedings in several counties where Negroes are barred from proportional service on juries. The moves deserve the assistance of the Justice Department which needs to do more in this matter than wring its hands.

[From the Waukegan (Ill.) News-Sun, Oct. 2, 1965]

TWO SETBACKS FOR JUSTICE

Our judicial system took a beating in two different sections of the country this week.

The acquittal, in Alabama, of Thomas L. Coleman, the part-time deputy sheriff accused of shooting in the back Jonathon M. Daniels, an Episcopalian seminarian, leaves one speechless. To call the trial a travesty or mockery seems inadequate.

The charge against Coleman was not even murder, but manslaughter, which legally implies there was no malice. All efforts failed to delay the trial until the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago who was wounded when Daniels was killed, could return to testify. Coleman pleaded self-defense and testimony was divided on whether Daniels was carrying a knife as the defense claimed. Apparently the jury chose to believe that a young seminary student was walking around a strange town, wielding a knife and looking for trouble.

There are those who charge that the fault lies with trying the case in a State court; that if somehow the Federal courts were allowed to try such cases, the result would have been different.

However, without minimizing the outrage in Alabama, it is well to note the blow to the Federal judiciary struck by President Johnson in his appointment of Francis X. Morrissey to the Federal bench in Massachusetts. It can only be viewed as a political payoff.

Morrissey is a longtime friend of Joseph Kennedy, whose son, while President, steadfastly refused to nominate him to the court. TED KENNEDY, however, has been crusading for the Morrissey appointment and, Kennedy-Johnson relationships being what they are, this probably seemed a good place to do some fence mending.

Yet one must consider Morrissey's qualifications: He twice failed the Massachusetts bar examination and finally won admittance with difficulty in 1944 after 12 years of trying; he has not practiced law and seldom appeared in a courtroom until he became a Boston municipal court judge. Chief Judge Charles Wyzanski, who would be Morrissey's superior if his nomination were confirmed, rated the appointee at "the bottom" as a student, lawyer, and judge.

Political appointments are nothing new; they are indulged in by both political parties. Yet the appointment of a man like Morrissey is a disservice to our judicial system.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 12, 1965]

EXTENDING FEDERAL POWER IN SOME MURDER CASES

It is not surprising that a move is now on foot to extend the civil rights powers of the Federal Government into areas of local justice hitherto considered strictly within the powers of the States. The farcical trials that have been held in several Southern States, in which the weight of evidence clearly indicated murder in cold blood by white defendants, has shown that the ordinary machinery of justice in those States has broken down.

One thinks not only of the Coleman case in Hayneville, Ala., but the murder of the Detroit housewife, the murder of the head of a local NAACP to mention just a few of the more glaring instances when justice was really blind. Indeed, there is no record of any white person found guilty of murdering a Negro. Now the invisible shield that protects these psychopathic killers has been extended to white persons who are active in the civil rights movement.

One of the great difficulties in this evolving problem is the peculiar combination of Federal and State sovereignty. Those who view the present power and majesty of the Federal structure are not likely to remember that it is a Government of powers granted to it by the States. At least that was the original concept. But this concept is slowly eroding in the face of the practical facts of life.

There is no Federal police force, and for this reason murder, even such a one as President Kennedy's assassination, is exclusively the problem of the local police departments. The murder of a President has now been made a Federal offense, so that never again will it be put in the province of bumbling police and stupid judges. And now comes the proposal to extend that Federal power so that murder involving civil rights workers will also become a Federal offense.

If that is done the Federal Government will take jurisdiction, and the sickening spectacle of judge, jury, prosecution, and defense all working together to defeat justice will no longer be possible. It is disturbing to see the Federal Government moving into such local matters. But there has been a virtual breakdown in the machinery of justice in some Southern States. With the alternative of Federal prosecution, perhaps the situation can be improved.

[From the Marion (Ohio) Star, Oct. 12, 1965]

SHOWDOWN ON FEDERALISM

If a legislative drive to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts materializes in Congress next year, as proposed by a conference of civil rights leaders, this country will face one of its grimmest moments of truth.

There will be a showdown not only with irreconcilable Southern States rightists but with defenders of States rights from all other sections of the Republic.

The rancor that grew out of the legislative apportionment issue will be multiplied by what States rightists will call another invasion by federalism.

Bitterness will be deepened by the realization that it would be an invasion even more penetrating than apportionment of State legislatures or assumption of Federal jurisdiction over election procedures.

But it must be kept in mind if the showdown happens that Federal invasions of States rights were more than whims of a power-mad Federal Government. There has been provacation.

This would be the culmination of an issue opened in the Constitutional Convention and never closed.

It will be another passage in the struggle between federalism and nationalism in the evolution of government in the United States.

The hard fact is that the rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States have not been honored under the procedures of many States.

Citizens have not had equal protection of the laws. Local administrative officials and State courts have obeyed their prejudices and passions in flagrant violation of constitutional protection.

In the most recent affront to the guarantees of the Constitution, a defendant in an Alabama court was acquitted of manslaughter in connection with the slaying of an out-of-State civil rights worker. There was no question about what the defendant did. But before a local jury in a trial presided over by a local judge, there was no question about the outcome of his trial. He was to be acquitted one way or another, as defendants in criminal cases of this kind are accustomed to expect in States like Alabama.

This is the problem—whether States rightists who mock the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution have used up the patience of Americans who believe no more leeway should be allowed.

States rights have been abused.

It was not the intent of federalism to let localities, regions, even whole States ignore the guarantees on which American freedom depends.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) Sun, Oct. 11, 1965]

MURDER TRIAL INVITES FEDERAL ACTION

From all across the land have come reverberations of shock, even horror, over the outcome of the recent trial in Hayneville, Ala., which grew out of the killing of the Reverend Jonathan Daniels. Cartoonists, editorial writers, and columnists almost as one have registered indignation, disappoint-

ment, and shame based on the known facts of the case and the trial.

An editorial in the Birmingham News declared in part: "It would be foolish not to recognize that with other cases in this and other Southern States a pattern has emerged which is certain to stimulate new demand for Federal power of trial in deaths of civil rights workers."

It is not necessary to define the pattern since everyone knows it. A double standard of justice is not new to the southern scene but recent evidences of it, never more dramatically demonstrated than in the Hayneville episode, have indeed brought on growing clamor for Federal courts to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts. As with the Civil Rights Act and similar Federal legislation, the South's failures to exercise responsibility make such measures inevitable. The Nation cannot survive unless standards of justice apply equally to all.

Already a strong move is underway for passage of such legislation by Congress in 1966. The National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, an organization representing more than 100 church, union, and civil rights groups, is pushing for a Personal Security Act in 1966. Following a meeting shortly after the Hayneville verdict, its counsel, Joseph L. Rauh, declared that passage of such an act "should be the major legislative goal of the leadership drive in 1966." He added that the legislation would, in effect, take civil-rights-connected cases out of the States hands and into Federal courtroom.

"If we cannot assume that the police and courts are going to look out for us," another spokesman is quoted, "you and I are going to go around with guns. It isn't a question anymore of a person getting a vote, it's a question of whether he lives or not."

There will be outraged cries against more Federal encroachment, but the weight of evidence is on the side of those demanding such legislation.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun, Oct. 18, 1965]

JURY ON TRIAL

In the eyes of many, jury trials themselves, are on trial in Hayneville, Ala., this week, as much as the Ku Klux Klansman accused of murder. The klansman, Collie Leroy Wilkins, was tried once before in the same case. A jury deadlocked 10 to 2 in favor of finding him guilty of manslaughter. But since then, another Hayneville jury acquitted a local man, Thomas Coleman, in another civil rights murder case. World censure of the community followed that. The community, in turn, reacted to the censure. It has stiffened its back and the outcome of this week's trial is perhaps predictable. Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers has said the trial should be held elsewhere. He believes the climate is that bad. (He believes it to be so bad that State troopers will be used to guard him and his staff while in Hayneville.)

Whatever the outcome, those who would jettison the jury trial because of its isolated failures should review the history of the idea of a jury—and the safeguards it offers any minority from the tyranny of unrepresentative authority. If the Hayneville jury cannot provide justice, it is not the system that is at fault, but rather the perversion of the principle that a free man must be judged by his equals. The county there is 80 percent Negro. The venire is 6 percent Negro. Correct that and the situation that invites assault on the system will correct itself.

[From the Newark (N.J.) Star-Ledger, Oct. 11, 1965]

A DELICATE BALANCE

The judiciary's concern that pretrial publicity may adversely affect legal rights of a defendant in a criminal proceeding continues to be a subject of exacting study and scrutiny.

Attorney General Sills has addressed himself to this sensitive area and has probed deeply into the complexities of this problem. He raises some pertinent points and more questions on the intricate subtleties of this admittedly difficult problem.

At issue is the delicate balance that must be maintained—by the judiciary and by the news media, for they are influenced by disparate responsibilities.

The judiciary's prime concern must be the meticulous observance of the defendant's legal rights, to make certain they are not prejudiced by influences outside the courtroom. The news media's basic responsibility must be society, to maintain the open flow of information it is entitled to have. In this area, reporting of crime news has vital import, for without it there is a vacuum that creates a false impression and gives comfort to the criminal element.

The attorney general recognizes this responsibility and the problems attending it. He notes as a possible exception the trial of an Alabama engineer charged with the shotgun slaying of a white seminarian. In fully disclosing the facts of the civil rights slaying, the news media are generally credited with performing a public service.

The Alabama case has broad significance, for it points up the continuing need of the American press and other media to function in a free atmosphere so that they may expose conditions detrimental to the public interest.

If this case is widely regarded as a travesty of justice, it only came about because the press was able to lay bare the events leading up to the trial and to report fully the court proceedings.

Newspapers provide a definitive social study on the civil rights struggle and its frustrations in attempting to gain impartial judgment by southern juries and judges. The traditional system of trial by a jury of peers is being sorely tried in the South, but the day may be hastened when all men will have a fair day in court because the press has exercised maximum vigilance in reporting these proceedings.

[From the Portsmouth (Ohio) Times, Oct. 9, 1965]

SHOWDOWN ON FEDERALISM

If a legislative drive to take civil rights criminal cases out of State courts materializes in Congress next year, as proposed by a conference of civil rights leaders, this country will face one of its grimmest moments of truth.

There will be a showdown not only with irreconcilable Southern States rightists but with defenders of States rights from all other sections of the Republic.

The rancor that grew out of the legislative apportionment issue will be multiplied by what States rightists will call another invasion by federalism.

Bitterness will be deepened by the realization that it would be an invasion even more penetrating than apportionment of State legislatures or assumption of Federal jurisdiction over election procedures.

But it must be kept in mind if the showdown happens that Federal invasions of States rights were more than whims of a power-mad Federal Government. There has been provocation.

This would be the culmination of an issue opened in the Constitutional Convention and never closed.

It will be another passage in the struggle between federalism and nationalism in the evolution of government in the United States.

The hard fact is that the rights guaranteed to all citizens by the Constitution of the United States have not been honored under the procedures of many States.

Citizens have not had equal protection of the laws. Local administrative officials and State courts have obeyed their prejudices and passions in flagrant violation of constitutional protection.

In the most recent affront to the guarantees of the Constitution, a defendant in an Alabama court was acquitted of manslaughter in connection with the slaying of an out-of-State civil rights worker. There was no question about what the defendant did. But before a local jury in a trial presided over by a local judge, there was no question about the outcome of his trial. He was to be acquitted one way or another, as defendants in criminal cases of this kind are accustomed to expect in States like Alabama.

This is the problem—whether States rightists who mock the guarantees of the U.S. Constitution have used up the patience of Americans who believe no more leeway should be allowed.

States rights have been abused.

It was not the intent of federalism to let localities, regions, even whole States ignore the guarantees on which American freedom depends.

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Sun, Sept. 30, 1965]

HURRIED JUSTICE, SOUTHERN STYLE

The right to a speedy trial is recognized in American law, and it is important to all citizens. But there is a difference between a speedy trial and a hurried one.

Currently, in Hayneville, Ala., the southern style of hurried trial by jury is being demonstrated. Two judges have refused to delay the trial of a man who killed a young seminarian civil rights worker with a shotgun blast, and wounded a Roman Catholic priest at the same time, even though the State's attorney general had a valid reason for a delay.

Behind the scenes the cause of the rush can be discerned. The all-white grand jury which considered the civil rights killing and attack refused to indict Thomas L. Coleman for murder. Instead, they indicted him for manslaughter and assault.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers was so incensed at the grand jury action that he said he would seek a new indictment for murder. But that takes time.

The insistence of Alabama courts on an immediate trial, even though a vital State witness, the wounded priest, is not available at this time, assures that the attorney general will not have the time to get the new indictment he wants. Moreover, whatever the finding in the manslaughter case, Coleman will be protected against any new prosecution in the killing, because it would involve double jeopardy.

Attorney General Flowers went as far as he could legally. He refused to prosecute and promptly was ordered removed from the case by the presiding judge.

Hurried justice, southern style, is riding high in Alabama. The end result of the Coleman trial is not hard to guess.

[From the Utica (N.Y.) Press, Sept. 29, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE AND MR. COLEMAN

Alabama justice moves strangely. A circuit court judge has refused to delay the trial of Thomas L. Coleman, accused of the murder of Jonathan M. Daniels, the Keene, N.H., seminary student who was a civil rights shooting victim in Hayneville, Ala., on August 20.

The attorney general of Alabama requested delay because the State's star witness, the young Catholic priest, who was at the scene, is still hospitalized from wounds from the same gun that killed Mr. Daniels.

Yesterday, because the attorney general persisted in his opposition to immediate trial, the circuit judge removed him and his

staff from the case and told the regular prosecutor to go ahead.

What seems likely to happen now is clear. The prosecution, seeking to convict Mr. Coleman, moves without unprejudiced witnesses. Those who saw the assaults on Mr. Daniels and his companion, Rev. Richard Morrisroe, either are friends of Mr. Coleman and, therefore, hostile, or are Negroes, afraid to make an appearance because of death threats against them.

This is a rerun of an old story in civil rights murder cases. The defendant, Mr. Coleman, is a member of an old, firmly entrenched Alabama family. The investigation of the shooting was in the hands of his friends. No one who can speak freely and fully is available. Mr. Coleman was not jailed. His bail was $2,500, raised in a matter of minutes by cronies.

This is a travesty on justice, not only in the Deep South but in the United States. Mr. Coleman should have an honest, open trial. Those who know what happened should have a chance to speak. As matters are moving in Lowndes County, Ala., neither will occur.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Call, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

No one is particularly surprised, but millions of Americans are disgusted with the decision of the Hayneville, Ala., jury to acquit Deputy Sheriff Thomas Coleman of killing an Episcopal seminarian, a white civil rights worker. This is par for the course in Alabama.

The cue was given when the grand jury refused to indict him for murder in the first place but did indict him on the lesser charge of manslaughter. The jury was all-white, of course. A cousin of the defendant by marriage was clerk of the court who read the verdict.

The defense claimed both the seminarian and his companion, who was wounded, were armed, one with a switch knife and the other with a pistol.

Very few believe this from this distance any more than they believe justice has been done. The pattern is too clear in Alabama: Acquit any white man charged with shooting a Negro or a civil rights worker. Always convict a Negro.

These States, which continually scream about interference by the Federal Government into their affairs, are simply inviting more interference by their apparently blatant disregard of elemental justice.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

In Hayneville, Ala., a jury has in effect given its approval to lynch law.

The jury of 12 white men acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, who had been charged with first degree manslaughter after he shot down two civil rights workers in cold blood. One of the victims was Jonathan M. Daniels, a white seminary student who died from Coleman's shotgun blast. The other was Father Richard Morrisroe, a white Catholic priest who was seriously wounded but survived. The manslaughter charges were filed in connection with Daniels' death.

Though there was no doubt as to Coleman's responsibility for the deliberate, wanton slaying, Alabama nevertheless prosecuted the offender for manslaughter instead of murder. And an attempt by State Attorney General Richmond Flowers to have the defendant tried on the more serious charge was blocked by the trial judge.

In acquitting Coleman, a highway engineer and special sheriff's deputy, the jury accepted the baldly lawless argument of the defense that "he did what he had to do." What Coleman apparently had to do was to give vent in homicidal fashion to the violently anti-Negro feelings of Lowndes County, Ala. In the eyes of a white jury, this was justice.

And Alabama wonders why it has a bad image in the eyes of the Nation.

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

When Attorney General Richmond Flowers, of the State of Alabama, characterizes the trial of Thomas Coleman at Hayneville, Ala., as "a mockery of law and order," he is expressing what most thinking people in the United States must be feeling.

An all-white, all-male jury brought in a not-guilty verdict in the trial of Coleman for manslaughter in the death of Jonathan M. Daniels, an Episcopal Seminary student from Keene, N.H., on August 20.

Coleman did not take the witness stand. Defense counsel admitted that Coleman fired the shot that killed Daniels, according to the news report, but claimed self-defense. This claim was based on the disputed testimony that Daniels was carrying a knife.

Officers found no other weapon at the scene of the shooting except the shotgun used by Coleman, it was reported.

Coleman has also been indicted by a grand jury on an assault and battery charge for the wounding of another civil rights volunteer, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago. He was critically wounded by a second shotgun blast and is under treatment in a Chicago hospital.

From this distance, it appears that Attorney General Flowers is correct in his conclusion about this case.

If the purpose of this verdict is to warn northern civil rights workers that they have no legal rights in Alabama, it may have accomplished that purpose. But it is likely to do much more than that. It almost certainly will give people in the other States of this Nation the lasting impression that there is no real justice in Alabama, if this is a typical sample of it.

A More Beautiful Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, it would appear that almost everyone is interested in making our country a better and more beautiful place in which to live and since that is the objective of S. 2084, it would naturally commend itself to the interest and approval of an overwhelming number of the American people.

There is widespread need for the type of program proposed by this bill, which is truly a sound conservation, as well as a beautification measure.

But like everything else, our success in eliminating ugliness and the unfavorable images which exist in very many places throughout the Nation is a task that requires the application of sound concepts and the most discriminating, administrative skills after Congress passes and provides funds for this legislation.

For example, we must be careful in our quest for beauty not to disturb or disrupt many business activities, large and small, which may be adversely affected by the program provided for by this bill.

It is not the billboard industry alone which is involved, although this is a very important business—far flung in its operations, representing huge investment and performing very useful functions and providing valuable services for the American public; in fairness, we must exert every effort to try to reconcile and balance the interests of this business with our esthetic goals concerning the natural beauty of our communities and the Nation of not allowing ugly, unsightly structures or conditions to impair or debase what Mother Nature has so bountifully given us.

There are many other industries involved—the motel industry, retail stores, restaurants, and businesses of all kinds, including service stations for automobile and motor truck transportation and many other private business units that are common to American economic and social activity along our main highways in urban communities and the hinterlands.

Between the extremes of the esthetes who want all beauty, and those functionalists, who want none, there is, I believe, a common denominator—a moderate, middle ground position which the Congress should take on this vital issue, and I believe that the committee has labored diligently, considerately, and efficiently in seeking out this middle ground.

I think it is to be very much deplored, when farsighted, capable, congressional committees hammer out legislation after extensive hearings and mature consideration, to see last minute shifts and changes in the form legislation takes which converts it from an acceptable to a questionable category.

This kind of procedure does not make for sound results and it leaves the House in the unfortunate position of having to consider and act upon some last minute proposals without having adequate justification or evidence justifying them. Such action militates against sound, constructive legislation.

We should remember also that everything cannot be beautiful. We cannot make a purse or a Rembrandt out of a sow's ear. No matter what the Congress does, we do not have the power, which is indeed a power only Providence has, to eliminate every ugly thing in nature, or indeed in human nature.

Moreover, it is necessary to keep this bill in proper financial perspective and not allow its cost to mount into stratospheric proportions and impose undue heavy tax burdens upon our taxpayers.

Many of the programs which Congress has adopted this session call for huge expenditures. On the whole, with some few exceptions these expenditures can be well justified in the results achieved by many of these programs, the new social needs that they meet, the great social good they will permit, the evils they will abolish or minimize, the overall gains they will work for the health, security, safety, education, and the general well-being of the people of this Nation.

We cannot be pedestrian and look backward to dote upon what we did, or

did not do, in the past, even though we must keep in mind the worthwhile values, principles and experiences of the past which have served our Nation so well. Above all, we cannot discard the lessons of the past, in fact it is imperative for us to keep in mind and adequately utilize many of the values of the past which contributed so invaluably to the greatness, power, and unequalled blessings of this country.

In a word, in the jet age, in the age of fabulous invention, scientific advancement and social readjustment, the age of exploring space, rapid transport, unbelievable gadgetry and the miracles of modern day living, we simply must adapt the Government and the Nation to the demands of progress.

Medical science has given us many new techniques, many new wonder drugs, new advances in hospital construction, administration, and the diagnosis, treatment and care of human beings in modern American society.

The cost of these innovations is startling and far beyond the reach of the ordinary citizen. It is in this sense that the Government must come into health, into education, into social development and progress to make the Nation truly a better place in which to live.

There would be those, I know, who will not agree with this premise, who seek the sheltered comfort and ivory-tower security of past days. But in my judgment this Nation cannot remain static. It must be dynamic. It must move forward in the stream of history and progress, or it will soon forfeit its claim to greatness, and in time it will fall behind, wallowing in the morass of ignorance, fear, poverty, indecision, and maladjustment to modern conditions that would bar us from keeping pace with what is happening in the country and the world around us.

Much benefit can be derived for our people and the stability of our Government from the programs which enlightened executive and legislative leadership have developed.

We cannot claim that these programs will produce miracles, because that will not be the case.

The human mind, as well as the human body, is limited and so are the political and social organisms with which we have to deal. Yet these programs will enable us to reach higher plateaus of betterment for our Nation and our people and will accomplish these results under the fundamental framework of our great Constitution and upon the immutable principles that have developed and guarded the values and encouraged the progress which we have achieved in every field in making possible the unprecedented advancement that this great Nation has enjoyed.

I repeat that with respect to all these programs, and others like them designed to adapt ourselves and our great Nation to the modern world and to the world of the future, whose problems will reach into distant space, it is imperative that we should keep our feet on the ground as we look to the stars to view new horizons of man's destiny.

We must be reminded constantly that while there may be some new things under the sun, it is always desirable for us to approach these problems with reference to the basic truths and principles which have guided us throughout the years, so that whatever our action may be, whatever subject we treat of, we will be able to retain our basic freedoms, including our great free enterprise system, which in these days of turmoil, strife, and radical doctrine is one of the principle characteristics of our Government that differentiates it from communism and Fascist totalitarian states, the great foundation stone of an unequalled, productive economy.

In our quest for beautification, we must not overlook the bread and butter issues of every day life that must continue to be the deep concern of representatives of the people. But let no one doubt that man does not live by bread alone, vital though it be. The things of the spirit rule the world.

Independence of Mauritania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, when the Islamic Republic of Mauritania celebrates its fifth anniversary of independence on November 28, the 1st session of the 89th Congress will have come to a close. We wish to take note of this great occasion at this time, therefore, by exident of Mauritania; and to His Excellency Moktar Ould Daddah, the President of Manuritania; and to His Excellency Ahmed-Baba Miske, the Mauritanian Ambassador to the United States.

It is with pleasure that I rise to congratulate this young and prosperous country which touches the Atlantic Ocean in northwest Africa on its fifth birthday.

A young nation, Mauritania is not well known to the American people, but I suspect that will not be the situation for very long. Mauritania, in terms of size alone, is about 418,000 square miles, the approximate size of California and Texas together, but its population is only about 1 million persons, or the approximate size of the city of Baltimore, Md.

The people of Mauritania, which incidentally are nationally biracial being 80 percent Moorish and 20 percent African Negro, are understandably proud of their capital Nouakchott which is presently being built in the desert about 4 miles inland from the ocean. Construction of this beautiful, new, rapidly growing city began in 1958. The city somehow signifies the vigor and vitality of this new nation, and the role it will play in emerging Africa.

French penetration of the area now known as Mauritania began in the early part of the 20th century with a protectorate established in 1903, but it was not until about 1920 that the area could be said to be under French control. The French had a profound influence on the development of the country, abolishing slavery, establishing the French language, reducing or eliminating the payment of tribute, and relying on the administration and authority of the customary chiefs.

By 1957 Mauritania had elected its own officials who enjoyed wide authority, and in 1958 the country entered the French community as an autonomous but not fully sovereign nation. The Islamic Republic was proclaimed in November 1958, and for the next 2 years the country was geared to eventual and early independence as a sovereign member of the community of nations.

Mauritania finally reached its goal of complete independence on November 28, 1960, and 1 year later, in November 1961, Mauritania became an equal among nations when it joined the United Nations.

Mr. Speaker, I admire the Mauritanians for their social and governmental integrity, a characteristic both old and new nations need if they are to be respected in the court of world politics and opinion. The virtue of integrity is the virtue of excellence and merits our closest consideration and admiration. I hope that all of us will encourage this young country in its pursuit of morality and decency, as it tries desperately hard to provide its citizens with political stability and social justice.

I wish the government and every one of its 1 million inhabitants congratulations and best wishes in the years ahead.

One Bank Merger Leads to Another As the Trend to Super Concentration in Finance and Industry Continues Unabated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, starting soon after World War II we in Congress became very much alarmed over the trend toward rapid concentration and centralization of economic power in America.

In 1950 we amended the Clayton Act to apply to mergers, rendering unlawful those which tended toward monopolies.

In 1960 we passed a Bank Merger Act intended to slow a tremendous acceleration in bank mergers.

Recent testimony before your Banking and Currency Committee by experienced bankers as well as public officials strongly opposed any congressional action that would weaken our laws against superconcentration. The thrust of these expert opinions was that not only are individual bank mergers harmful in themselves but carry the additional evil of

encouraging other competing institutions to merge so that they will not be pushed out of their markets by the original merger.

A situation in St. Louis, Mo., which has developed just in the last 4 months, is conclusive proof that these witnesses were dead right. On July 6 in St. Louis, the Mercantile Trust Co. and the Security Trust Co. merged with the resulting bank having assets of close to $1 billion. This merger was strongly opposed by both the Attorney General and the Federal Reserve Board, but Comptroller of the Currency Saxon approved it anyway.

The Justice Department went to court and now the case is pending. If a bill presently before your committee, S. 1698, becomes law, this merger will be forgiven from the antitrust laws even though the banks knew that the antitrust laws applied to them as well as the fact that the Justice Department intended to bring suit.

But, Mr. Speaker, what is more to my present point is the fact that in the same city of St. Louis where concentration in the local banking community is already quite serious, I have just been informed that the second largest bank in St. Louis, the $600 million First National Bank, plans to form a new bank holding company system which would also include the fourth largest bank in St. Louis as well as a large trust company. If this transaction goes through, the new holding company will control over $900 million of bank deposits and St. Louis banking will be firmly in the grip of these $2 billion giants. The same pattern can be expected to be repeated all over the country. Bank mergers lead to additional bank mergers, just as night follows day. It has also been shown that concentration in banking leads to concentration and diminution of competition in other industries. The threat to free competition in banking and to our free enterprise system is serious indeed.

We need to strengthen our antimerger laws and not weaken them. We are at the crossroads and the future of American capitalism is at stake.

Congressman Wolff Again Protests Against Consideration of Any Further Aid to the United Arab Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LESTER L. WOLFF
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD a letter to the President about American aid to Nasser:

OCTOBER 1965.

The PRESIDENT,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is with considerable concern that I have noted recent news reports that President Nasser of the United Arab Republic is again requesting substantial assistance from the United States for fiscal year 1966.

I know you will understand the reasons why I am again bringing to your attention a matter of great concern to myself and my constituents.

I would like to reaffirm, Mr. President, my steadfast opposition to any further aid to the United Arab Republic unless such aid is absolutely essential to the security of our Nation. I know you will recall that I was one of the Members of Congress who voted last March to place within your sole discretion the power to make such a decision. I remember your assurances at that time that our own national interest and our own national security would be the guide in the event such a decision would have to be made.

May I respectfully submit that, given the limitations of my own knowledge of all the factors involved, further aid to Nasser is not warranted at this time. The Middle East continues to be in turmoil, tension remains high in the area, because of Nasser's intrigues and belligerence. I believe, Mr. President, that we must do what we can to reduce tensions, and must not provide support to those who are a threat to peace.

Respectfully,

LESTER L. WOLFF,
Member of Congress.

Water Problem Truly Urgent—A Crash Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, the new awareness in official circles throughout the Nation of the importance of water, even though it comes quite late, is somewhat reassuring.

Unfortunately, in the past, we have allowed our conservation efforts in almost every field to lag very seriously, and this has been true of our great water resources, which have been neglected for so long that now we must make gigantic efforts to make up for lost time. In some areas and respects, it may be too late, but I hope not.

It will be necessary, not only to conserve the water we have, but to seek out new sources to make up for falling water tables in so many areas of the country, and to insure an adequate supply of wholesome, fresh water for the people, not to speak of the needs of water in industry, agriculture and related activities, and of course the urgent need for eliminating horrid pollution, as it affects our water sources, endangers the public health, and offends our sense of decency.

It has been a long, hard struggle to try to arouse the Nation to the importance and the need of adequate water supply, a war on pollution and the development of new sources and additional controls over water on the rampage, so to speak, in the form of floods and natural disasters.

We have so long delayed effective action to conserve water, to develop new sources for water, to provide for its proper use and utilization, and to protect our country against the baneful ravages of water that our efforts now are long overdue, and we will require virtually a crash program, if we expect to catch up with our needs in this tremendously vital field.

I can only point to my own efforts to expose the needs and stimulate action which began long ago and have continued.

Because of scarcities and shortages of water that we have in many parts of the country, much thought is now being given to desalination of sea water, and we have plans already in operation utilizing various techniques to transmute salt water from the ocean into good fresh water for industrial, domestic, and general use.

We have tried distilling, freezing, complex filtration, and electrolysis to desalinate sea water. More than 10 year's work on these processes in several nations has brought the cost of desalination of water down close to $1 a thousand gallons, a price that, as pointed out by Gladwin Hill in his recent article in the New York Times, is far more than natural fresh water costs in most places where it is available, and still too high, but it can be further reduced.

But we must be concerned when water is not available, because then its cost is plainly, of course, a secondary consideration for a liquid that is really more essential than food.

Desalination plants are very costly, but there are many of them in the world and costs are being steadily reduced, and this is all to the good.

However, I think there are still many natural sources of fresh water that we have not yet explored or tapped, and we must have a massive program to develop many new sources of fresh water.

If this is not done, it will lead to a desperate situation in the future, requiring this Nation to take drastic, costly emergency measures to develop satisfactory water supplies to sustain human life and the economic activity of man.

I think we are making some headway, but I greatly fear that we are not doing enough. Our current efforts are meager indeed, as compared with the need, and I hope that the Government agencies concerned with the subject of water will intensify their planning and streamline their policy making, so that we may develop a massive program implemented with a sense of urgency to try to secure a truly adequate and pure water supply in this country.

Congress and its committees must lead and organize the great effort and program that is needed. There should be a crash program of large scope, depth, and magnitude, if this crucial job is to be undertaken before it is entirely too late, and the Nation will have to pay a high price for its failure to act.

Under unanimous consent, I insert as part of my remarks a very thoughtful article by the noted writer, Gladwin Hill, of the New York Times news service:

THE GLOBE HAS PLENTY OF WATER, BUT NOT OF THE RIGHT KIND

(By Gladwin Hill, the New York Times News Service)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The United States has assumed the lead in an international water-

for-peace effort that has a potential for profound changes in the lives of people in many parts of the world.

The basic fact of this inchoate campaign is that there is scarcely a nation that has not experienced some sort of water shortage in recent years.

One reason for this is that while the supply of fresh water has not increased since the beginning of mankind, world population has soared to more than 3 billion persons. The uses to which they put water have grown and ramified at a far more rapid rate. A typical steel mill, for instance, uses more than 200 million gallons of water a day—one-fifth as much as the entire city of New York.

POPULATION PRESSURES

Demographic and economic urgings are creating population centers where none existed before—as in the oil-rich kingdom of Kuwait, which has little natural water. In the United States, population pressures, in combination with vagaries of nature, have brought water shortages all the way from New York to Coalinga, Calif. Mexican fishermen, Israel farmers, and Hong Kong shopkeepers alike are feeling the pinch.

With world population increasing by more than 1 million persons a month, failure to resolve water supply problems could acutely aggravate economic and political pressures.

These considerations plainly were in President Johnson's mind when he called last week for a "massive cooperative international effort" to improve the worldwide water situation. His concept for a water-for-peace program was an obvious derivative of the U.S. inspired Atoms-for-Peace program which in a decade has helped propagate the benefits of nuclear energy among 40 nations.

A thousand representatives of 60 nations met in Washington all last week to discuss one of the most promising ways of creating or amplifying water supplies: desalting sea water.

SEVERAL METHODS

This can be done by distilling, freezing, complex filtration, or electrolysis. More than a decade's work on these processes in several nations has brought the cost down close to $1 a thousand gallons. This is far more than natural fresh water costs in most places—where it is available. But where water isn't available, cost plainly is a secondary consideration for a commodity that is more essential even than food. So desalination plants already are operating at some 300 points around the globe.

The scientists, engineers, and industrialists who assembled here concentrated on technological improvements that would cut desalting costs further and permit the construction of large-scale plants. The present basic unit is one with a capacity of a million gallons a day—the supply for a typical American community of 7,000—and costs several million dollars.

Desalination costs much less with water that is less salty than sea water, making plants economically feasible already for communities whose water is only brackish. Coalinga, Calif., and Buckeye, Ariz., have installed such plants. The Department of Interior's Office of Saline Water, established in 1952, has sponsored the construction of demonstration plants in Webster, S. Dak.; Roswell, N. Mex.; Freeport, Tex.; Wrightsville Beach, N.C., and San Diego, Calif.

HUGE PLANT

The Department, in collaboration with the Atomic Energy Commission and southern California's metropolitan water district, is developing plans for an atomic-powered 150-million-gallon-a-day plant near Los Angeles.

British, French, German, Dutch, Greek, Indian, Japanese, Israel, Australian, and Russian engineers and companies have been active in desalination research and construction. The British claim credit for construction of two-thirds of the current world desalination capacity of 53 million gallons a day. A score of American industrial concerns are in the field.

Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall outlined to the first international water desalination symposium a six-point program of U.S. assistance in research, technology, and training, available to any nation on a reciprocal basis.

Enlarging upon this, President Johnson said that within a year the United States would convoke a sequel conference, to consider world water problems of all kinds.

Credit Unions and the War on Poverty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, ever since the goals of President Johnson's antipoverty program were first enunciated, I have called for the use of credit unions as perhaps the best weapon to rid the evils and dangers that lurk in urban poverty. Next to the churches, credit unions have helped more families of lower income to adjust to the financial and psychological problems of urban living.

In recent correspondence with R. Sargent Shriver, Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I reiterated my call for increased participation of credit unions in the Johnson administration's antipoverty program. Mr. Shriver informed me that the increased use of credit unions in the community development program has and continues to prove an extremely valuable role in the war on poverty. Credit unions are now a vital link in the programs of large cities, such as Washington, San Francisco, Providence, and Tucson, Ariz., and in rural areas such as Clarksdale, Miss., and Delano, Calif. Programs are now underway to begin credit unions in Chicago, New York, Detroit, and Cincinnati. In Los Angeles an energetic effort is underway to establish credit unions in the Watts area, which had been plagued by loan sharks and sharp practicing exploiters. I am happy to report that officials of CUNA—the Credit Union National Association—are actively participating in the antipoverty program providing technical assistance to communities interested in organizing credit unions.

Recently in the Washington Evening Star there appeared an article on the operations of credit unions in the community development program here in Washington. The United Planning Organization, a local antipoverty group, considers the three Federal credit unions established under the antipoverty program to be the best investment the UPO has made to date in Washington. They rightfully claim credit unions to be the best protection against the unscrupulous merchants and high interest money lenders that plague the poor. These credit unions provide much needed consumer education and debt management. They are offering hope to those whom financial problems have caused nothing but despair.

The credit union movement is meeting the elementary questions and causes of urban poverty head on, promoting thrift by accepting any amount, but more important they are providing a place where needed money is obtained at easy and low rates. At the present, there are 400 Federal credit unions in poverty areas throughout the country, out of the 11,000 Federal credit unions in the country. I believe that until there are 4,000 such credit unions in poverty areas where they are most needed will there be enough in this country.

What I believe is most vital in this program is the fact that credit unions are run by people in their own neighborhoods, those who know the needs of their areas best. As the following article states, credit unions are indeed "a school against scoundrels."

Consumer education, honest debt consolidation advice, shopping advice, and most important the hope that is offered, hope in the honesty and integrity of a man. Here the credit union provides a guide and hope for those who are less fortunate.

Mr. Speaker, I highly commend this article on the success of the credit union in the Washington antipoverty effort to my colleagues:

CREDIT UNIONS SPEARHEAD FIGHT TO WIPE OUT PROFITEERS

(By Betty James)

The best protection against unscrupulous merchants and high-interest money lenders is an alternative that makes dealing with them unnecessary.

The United Planning Organization is trying to provide that alternative for the poor.

Consumer education, of which credit unions in poor neighborhoods are a vital component, and neighborhood law offices are the weapons.

Those who thought some bilking merchants actually would be put out of business during the first year of the poverty war say consumer education has been too tame—too much emphasis on food and shopping, not enough on meeting the enemy head on.

Indeed, the name of the program has been changed to consumer action, and there are indications that more pressures are to be put on unscrupulous merchants.

But the victory really will come when people know when they're being taken or served badly, and know that they don't have to depend on gouging creditors to fill their larders and furnish their homes. There is a difference between the kind of credit the public encounters in reputable firms and lending agencies, and the kind encountered by the poor.

Considering the modest amount put up for staff, the best investment the UPO has made may be the three Federal credit unions in low-income neighborhoods.

They promote thrift—credit unions accept pennies and nickels—but most important for people living in needy areas right now is that they provide a place where shareholders can borrow on reasonable terms.

Loans are made at 1 percent of the unpaid balance per month. This is 12 percent a year.

Contrast this with the 3 percent per month that many small loan firms charge, which comes to 36 percent a year, or even with the best rate a reputable merchant charges in

town—1.5 percent a month for carrying charges, or 18 percent a year.

Or contrast it was this fantastic case. A man signed a note for $175, for which he was charged $104.80 interest. The money was paid off after 2 months and 2 days. No interest was refunded. The rate was 600 percent per annum.

Credit union members have insurance on their loans, which guarantees payment in case of death or disability and doesn't burden the borrower's family. They also may purchase group insurance on the amount of their savings, not to exceed $2,000.

The law forbids credit unions to make any charges in connection with a loan other than interest. The credit union buys the insurance as a corporation. Some of the many ways in which poor people are hurt by lenders are in charges for insurance, credit investigations, and so forth that are tacked on to the interest rate.

EXAMINED ANNUALLY

The three unions launched by UPO are chartered by the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions and examined annually. They are among about 400 credit unions in poor neighborhoods that are included in more than 11,000 Federal credit unions in the country.

The Bureau of Federal Credit Unions doesn't provide money for a kitty, and neither does the UPO. The money must come from the people themselves. The UPO has provided about $22,000 for each credit union to hire staff members. Although it's a long way in the future, the goal is to become self-supporting.

It costs 25 cents to join, and $5 to buy a share, which carries the right to borrow and the right to vote at membership meetings.

The credit unions are run by the people in their neighborhoods, and can function as a school against scoundrels.

DEBT CONSOLIDATION

Take the field of debt consolidation, a serious problem for poor people, who too often pay over and over again for the merchandise they buy in the first place through overcharging and excessive carrying charges. They often overextend themselves if the wife also works. But should the wife have to quit, or should the husband lose his job or have a temporary layoff, the family is in deep trouble.

They may try to borrow from someone or they may turn to a firm that specializes in debt consolidation.

If they choose the latter, they pay the firm a fee for its service, then send the firm a monthly payment.

The debtors usually are under the illusion that the firm pays off all of their debts right away, but this is not the case. Generally, the firm talks to the creditors, tries to get them to cut the amount in return for a guarantee of payment, and then sends the money along each month as the creditor sends it to them.

The credit unions make loans for debt consolidation at their regular rate of interest and also negotiate with companies on behalf of their clients to see if the companies will take less money to close out long-standing debts. There is no charge for this or any other service.

James Williams, manager at the Anacostia-Southeast Federal Credit Union at 1918 Nichols Avenue SE., said several $500 loans have been made to members for debt consolidation. This credit union, which is tied into the neighborhood development program at Southeast House, had made $25,027.28 in loans by the end of September, after 7 months of operation. Of these, $17,607.94 are still outstanding. There were 541 members in the credit union, which has $19,315.78 in shares. It had made 240 loans.

The Friendship House Community Federal Credit Union at 520 8th Street SE., tied into the antipoverty program at Friendship House, made loans of $14,894.66 by September 30, at the end of 7 months of operation. The credit union has 421 members, and its shares total $12,873.80. It had made 182 loans. Warren A. Morris, manager of the Friendship House credit union, said loans for bill consolidation had come to $3,650.

Fides Community Federal Credit Union, at 1554 8th Street NW., was founded several years ago at Fides House by Father Cletus Gillson. It was expanded by the UPO, and is tied into Neighborhood Development Center No. 1. As of September 30, it had loaned $30,103.98, and had $26,244.75 outstanding. Shares total $29,956.26. This credit union had made 257 loans. Together, the three have loaned $70,025.92.

NEW CREDIT UNION

George Bates, a neighborhood worker, organized a credit union at Neighborhood Development Center No. 3 at 14th Street and Park Road NW., on his own time. This brand new credit union also has won a charter from the Bureau of Federal Credit Unions.

With a reporter sitting in on a meeting of the loan committee at Friendship House, it was understood that because of the confidentiality of applications no names would be mentioned, nor would we see any applications.

Two of the three members of the loan committee were serving that night. They are volunteers elected by the members, as is the board that runs the credit union.

"We just don't throw the money over the counter," Mrs. M. Lucille Pugh said. She and William Lunsford, Sr., were anxious to help their neighbors but also were acutely conscious of their stewardship.

One of the loans approved was for $200 so a man with seven children, who must find a new place to live, could pay one month's rent in advance on new house. The man earns $106 a week. The rent will be $115.

Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford observed that he couldn't hope to get housing for less with seven children. He had no outstanding bills, although this wouldn't necessarily have disqualified him. But the committee checks each applicant's record with the credit bureau to evaluate the risk.

The man had offered to repay $20 a month, but both Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford felt $10 a month was realistic. They agreed to make the loan on that basis. "We'll be more sure of getting our money that way," Mrs. Pugh said. "That $20 can come awful hard."

Mrs. Pugh and Lunsford felt the man may have offered to repay $20 a month to impress them.

HEAR SEVEN CASES

The committee considered seven cases that night. Dissatisfied applicants may discuss the committee's decisions "at length," Mrs. Pugh said. This has happened three times, and in all three cases the loan committee reversed itself.

"You get a better picture by talking to someone," Mrs. Pugh said. "And sometimes they hold out information in the beginning. But if they're rejected, they're ready to put their cards on the table."

Credit union and consumer education staff members give advice on buying and suggest stores where people will get the best deals.

They and the neighborhood lawyers work closely together and all three refer cases to the special office set up by the Federal Trade Commission to handle District consumer complaints as part of the drive to protect the poor.

This office has referred 35 complaints to a FTC field office for investigation of possible law violations. It has received more than 200 complaints, but not all are within the FTC's jurisdiction.

KEPT CONFIDENTIAL

The FTC has jurisdiction in cases that involve unfair or deceptive business practices. FTC can go after the firms, but can't get the money back for the individual. However, the special office in turn refers people to the lawyers in the neighborhood law offices, which are run by the Neighborhood Legal Services Project of the UPO.

Complaints to the FTC office are kept confidential. The office is in room 7714 of the old Star Building at 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue NW.

Consumer rights are one of the major reasons people come to see the neighborhood lawyers. Tales of fraud, trickery, gross overcharging and excessive carrying charges are so common they sound like a litany.

One of the recent cases deals with debt consolidation. A lawyer is trying to get legal redress for a client whose car was repossessed after a debt consolidation firm didn't make payment.

Another lawyer is going to bat for a client who had an acquaintance who volunteered to get her a loan to consolidate debts. She signed a contract for $1,750 and got the check.

Then a few weeks later a payment book for $5,200 arrived from a suburban bank. The acquaintance presumably sold the note, and somewhere along the line the note had tripled.

Usury, fraud, and lending money without a license are possible grounds for action.

Food and clothing banks are being set up as part of the consumer action program. Aside from meeting a very real need, they are a magnet that draws people and gives the consumer specialists and their aids, drawn from the neighborhoods, a chance to preach the gospel of wise consumption.

Mrs. Eurie Purvis is the consumer aid in charge of the food and clothing bank at 3321 18th Street SE., one of the branches of the Southeast House antipoverty program.

NOTHING EMBARRASSING

One day recently a grandmother, referred by the schools to Mrs. Lois Wilson, a neighborhood worker at Southeast House, who sent her to Mrs. Purvis, came to see about some clothes for her grandson. The family is on public assistance.

"He has only one pair of pants—it's embarrassing," the grandmother said.

"Nothing embarrassing about it," Mrs. Purvis replied. Eyeing the sweater the woman wore on a cool, rainy day, she added, "How about a coat for you?"

Mrs. Purvis produced the coat and clothing for the grandson.

The woman knew she had a sympathetic listener in Mrs. Purvis. She began to unburden.

She had two other problems. One was her husband's life insurance policy, which looked worthless. The other was money to pay the balance on her husband's funeral. The funeral cost about $700.

"We got him in the ground, but I still owe $123," the woman said.

Mrs. Purvis arranged for her to get in touch with the neighborhood law office on the life insurance policy, and with the credit union for money for the funeral.

The women demurred when Mrs. Purvis offered bus tokens for her and her grandson so they would not have to walk home in the rain. "No, no. You gave me the clothes. I'll walk back. I'm not complaining," she said.

Without the slightest suggestion of charity, Mrs. Purvis assured her that the tokens were part of the service.

In reply to a question, the woman said she had never heard of the United Planning Organization.

Nor had she ever heard of the war on poverty.

Health Check

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker I would like to bring to the attention of the Members of the Congress and to the general public a most noteworthy program dedicated to preserving the health, and extending the lives, of our people. It is called Health Check, and is the creation of the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., who have their home offices in Pennsylvania.

For many, many months now, this Congress has labored to introduce and to pass legislation that has had a greater effect on the health and welfare of the American people than ever before in our history. Among the many programs benefiting the American public are now such health protective features as medicare and other public health grants.

I have been very pleased to notice that the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., a company indicating the firm objectives toward insurance programs that act as public services, has introduced their new Health Check program, which benefits the individual with a significant monetary savings if he takes a physical examination each year.

I take this opportunity to introduce into the RECORD of this Congress the fact that National Capitol Life Insurance Co. is offering the American public the notable remittance of 10 percent of their insurance premiums each year with the presentation of proof that the person has taken a physical examination within the past 6 months.

From the information I have gathered, this is the first time that such a beneficial program, so pertinent to the health and welfare of the people of this Nation, has been put forward by an insurance company within the United States.

In addition, I would like to point out the tremendous efforts upon the part of all our governmental agencies directed toward obtaining the support, cooperation, and assistance of American industry and business in carrying out their many programs upon the part of the public's well-being. Yet, here is a life insurance company that has taken a giant step forward in this area without any solicitation whatever, and has developed a program of communication to the public concerning the necessity for, and the benefits deriving from, an annual physical examination. Moreover, they have taken a major step in seeing to it that the public benefits in his pocketbook immediately, by virtue of an annual physical examination, with their 10-percent discount on life insurance premiums.

This is but a sample of the tremendous effort being put forth by the National Capitol Life Insurance Co., and its president and chairman of the board, Mr. Joseph Dillinger. This company is currently mailing materials, advertising in various media, and seeking support of a multitude of organization to spread the word about the benefits derived from taking an annual physical examination. I am particularly pleased that National Capitol Life Insurance Co. has shown the good sense and the bright creativity to offer an incentive to the public where it makes sense. How often we receive messages concerning our welfare that we ignore for some reason or other: we are too busy; we do not wish to expend the effort to read about the material; it is an inconvenience to visit the doctor or the dentist; or, we simply are careless.

However, when we discover that we are going to profit by a significant amount of dollars, then we somehow find the necessary time. And, National Capitol Life Insurance Co., realizing this fact about people, has overcome this obstacle by simply offering them a dollars and cents incentive—even though it means that they may earn less on their premium income.

They claim that this program, in reality, will earn them even more premium income. This is a fact. They astutely point out that the concept of preventative medicine has been a boon to the insurance industry since it has increased the longevity of their insureds, and, thus, increasing the premium longevity of the companies. Here, too, National Capitol will benefit financially, in the long run, by taking a very positive step in keeping their insureds alive and well for a longer period of time. It is this simple: If the insured goes to the doctor and discovers he has the initial signs of either heart disease, cancer, or diabetes, he will surely move immediately to arrest or correct this condition—thus, increasing his chances of living years longer. This, in turn, will increase the premium income of the company, for the additional years the insured will gain over what he might have lost if he had not discovered his malady in time.

I should also like to point out that we here in the Congress are not the only ones who are delighted with this new program on the part of National Capitol Life Insurance Co. For example, Dr. Carl C. Kuehn, director of the Pennsylvania Department of Health, has spoken before the personnel and field force of National Capitol Life Insurance Co., praising them for their efforts on behalf of the public welfare. Members of the Pennsylvania Legislature have gone on record in praise of Mr. Dillinger and the National Capitol Life Insurance Co. for their efforts to increase the longevity and to preserve the health of our citizenry. I should like to quote at this time from a message delivered to National Capitol Life Insurance Co. by Dr. Samuel S. Leiter, member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, where he calls this new Health Check program, and its concomitant 10-percent premium discount for submitting proof of annual physical examination—a positive public service that should receive the encouragement of all members of the medical and public health professions."

On behalf of myself and those particularly interested in the public health and welfare, I take this opportunity to congratulate National Capitol Life Insurance Co., and its president and chairman of the board, Mr. Joseph Dillinger, for their exemplary Health Check program, and to wish them great success in their efforts to benefit the American public.

John Kenneth Galbraith, Noted Harvard Economist, Author, and Diplomat, Puts the Lie to High Interest Rate Theorists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, John Kenneth Galbraith, the highly respected economist, author, and former diplomat, in a recent speech in New York City gave credit for the current high levels of prosperity to low interest rates and other developments increasing the purchasing power of the average citizen.

High interest rates during recent years, he stated, would have kept America in a state of semidepression.

America should be fully aware of the fact that right now interest rates are the highest they have been in the last 5 years, since the last recession in 1960. Credit is expensive and scarce. If the Federal Reserve System fails to increase our money supply, business and the general economy will slump as our unprecedented prosperity comes to an end.

An account of Mr. Galbraith's address which appears in the current issue of the American Banker follows:

GALBRAITH NEEDLES ECONOMIC THEORISTS

NEW YORK.—John Kenneth Galbraith gave the credit for high levels of prosperity to spontaneous forces, operating without regard for orthodox economic theory, and charged both politicians and his economist colleagues with generally lagging behind the times in their understanding of these forces.

The assertions were made by Mr. Galbraith, Paul M. Warburg, professor of economics at Harvard University, in delivering the annual Arthur K. Salomon lecture at New York University's Graduate School of Business Administration.

Low interest rates have been a major factor in the current prosperity, Dr. Galbraith said. Yet, "had one sought out the men with widely acknowledged credentials in economic matters in 1944 there would have been near unanimity in their recommendations," citing the "dangers of low interest rates," he continued.

The secret of prosperity in developed countries is to yield to the aspirations of the public, Dr. Galbraith maintained. In addition to low interest rates, the economist also praised unbalanced budgets, the strengthening of trade unions, farm subsidies, and deficits in international accounts.

Twenty years ago economists were almost unanimous in their condemnation of such developments, but "with remarkable unanimity all western countries rejected the advice of authority on these matters and even more remarkable, they rejected it in all particulars," Dr. Galbraith continued.

"In all countries it has been the vanity of politicians, and of the economists who advised them, that high employment and economic growth have been the result of the uniquely admirable economic policies adopted by that particular country. Unfortunately, in their formal ideological billing, the policies have differed by as much as 180 degress," he said.

Prosperity is easier to achieve than theorists would have the public believe, Dr. Galbraith went on. In part, he said, once a given level of income and well-being is reached, economic problems solve themselves.

"Arrangements develop so that saving is not in competition with consumption. In the planned economies the State intercepts income and plows it back into capital formation. In the capitalist countries, as they are called, the great corporation performs the same function," he said.

Even the liberal Keynesian economic theories were described by Dr. Galbraith as only an added ingredient in the development of prosperity. But even in countries such as France and Germany, where Keynes had little influence, popular aspirations and demands have led to prosperity, he asserted.

"What we have learned is that above a certain level of economic development, popular pressures are strongly on the side of economic progress," Dr. Galbraith said.

"There has, one judges, been no harder truth for conservative authority to accept than the logic of low interest rates. In financial circles no other argument has ever rivaled in inventiveness, and versatility, the case that is made for higher interest rates. They are needed, depending on the season, to prevent inflation, to insure orderly expansion, to discourage excessive expansion, to protect the balance of payments, to strengthen the financial system, to promote sound enterprise. The case for lower rates, alas, arouses no comparable passion. Yet, in recent years, if we had yielded to authoritative opinion on interest rates we would have been much of the time in a state of semidepression."

Gonzalez Scores 100 Percent Voting Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HENRY B. GONZALEZ
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, it has been my practice to keep my constituents in the 20th Congressional District of Texas fully informed as to my activities in Congress and as to matters in which they may be interested or concerned. I am therefore inserting in the RECORD today my complete voting record for 1965 in the 89th Congress, 1st session. This record includes every one of the 383 rollcalls including the 201 yea-and-nay calls and the 182 quorum calls.

I am recorded as voting on each of the 201 yea-and-nay calls. My voting record this year is a particular source of pride to me, both as to my attendance and the substance of my votes. There were, of course, too many votes this year to allow a detailed discussion of them at this time. Included in this record, however, are my votes in support of the New Frontier and Great Society programs of the past 5 years under the leadership of the Democratic Party in the executive branch and in Congress. After 8 years, 1953 through 1960, of stagnation and backsliding, the Democratic Party has gotten America moving again. We began to move, as President Kennedy promised we would, in 1961, 1962, and 1963, and we have continued to move forward, as President Johnson promised, in 1964 and 1965. We are now experiencing the longest period of uninterrupted economic growth and expansion in the history of this Nation. I have no doubt that this growth and the increasing prosperity of America will continue under the leadership of the Johnson administration and under the leadership of Speaker JOHN MCCORMACK and Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits," says the Bible. The fruits of the labors of Congress during 1965 include medicare, the Voting Rights Act, an updated housing program, a strengthtened and improved war against poverty, the Appalachian program, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Older Americans Act, new regional medical programs to combat heart disease, cancer, stroke and related diseases, an improved mental health program, substantial increases for veterans' rehabilitation, new drug controls, the elimination or reduction of numerous excise taxes, the extension, and expansion of the manpower development and training program, a new program of Federal aid for elementary and secondary education, the Higher Education Act, the Highway Beautification Act, an expanded air pollution program, establishment of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities, and a research and development program for high-speed transportation.

I shall be forever grateful to have been given the opportunity to represent the people of San Antonio in the Congress of the United States and to work in the 89th Congress. We have brought in a rich harvest for the American people.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
1. Jan. 4	Call of the House	Present.
2. Jan. 4	Election of the Speaker. (McCormack, 289; Ford, 139.)	McC.
3. Jan. 4	H. Res. 1: Motion to cut off debate of resolution to seat Mississippi delegation. (Passed 276 to 148.)	No.
4. Jan. 4	H. Res. 8: Resolution to adopt rules of the House including 3 changes. (Passed 224 to 201.)	Yes.
5. Jan. 19	Quorum call	Present.
6. Jan. 19	H. Res. 126: Resolution dismissing contest of election of Representative Ottinger, of New York. (Passed 245 to 102.)	Yes.
7. Jan. 26	H. J. Res. 234: Motion to recommit supplemental appropriation for Department of Agriculture. (Passed 204 to 177.)	No.
8. Feb. 4	Quorum call	Present.
9. Feb. 8	Quorum call	Present.
10. Feb. 8	H. J. Res. 234: Motion to instruct House conferees to insist on prohibition of sale of surplus food to the United Arab Republic. (Failed 165 to 241.)	No.
11. Feb. 9	Quorum call	Present.
12. Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: Motion to recommit bill providing for elimination of requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Failed 93 to 289.)	No.
13. Feb. 9	H.R. 3818: Final passage of bill to eliminate the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates against deposit liabilities. (Passed 300 to 82.)	Yes.
14. Feb. 10	Quorum call	Present.
15. Feb. 17	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
16. Feb. 17	H.R. 2998: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation for Arms Control and Disarmament Agency for 3 years in amount of $40,000,000. (Passed 302 to 63.)	NV.[2]
17. Feb. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
18. Feb. 18	Quorum call	Absent.[1]
19. Feb. 18	H.R. 45: Motion to recommit bill to amend Inter-American Development Bank Act authorizing increase in U.S. participation. (Failed 142 to 237.)	No.
20. Feb. 18	H.R. 45: Final passage of bill to amend Inter-American Development Bank Act to authorize increase in U.S. participation. (Passed 288 to 93.)	Yes.
21. Feb. 24	Quorum call	Absent.
22. Feb. 25	Quorum call	Present.
23. Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: Motion to recommit resolution authorizing funds for HUAC in order to hold public hearings on justification of the funds. (Failed 58 to 333.)	Yes.
24. Feb. 25	H. Res. 188: Final passage of resolution authorizing $370,000 for HUAC. (Passed 360 to 29)	Yes.
25. Mar. 1	Quorum call	Absent.
26. Mar. 2	Quorum call	Present.
27. Mar. 3	Quorum call	Present.
28. Mar. 3	S. 3: Motion to recommit Appalachian Redevelopment Act in order to substitute a new bill. (Failed 100 to 323.)	No.
29. Mar. 3	S. 3: Final passage of Appalachian Redevelopment Act of 1965. (Passed 257 to 165.)	Yes.
30. Mar. 9	Quorum call	Present.
31. Mar. 10	H.R. 2: Final passage of bill to amend Food and Drug Act to establish special controls for depressant and stimulant drugs. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yes.
32. Mar. 11	Quorum call	Present.
33. Mar. 15	H.R. 4714: Motion to suspend rules and pass bill authorizing an appropriation of $150,000 per year for Advisory Council on the Arts. (Failed 217 to 113; a ⅔ majority required to suspend the rules.)	Yes.
34. Mar. 16	Quorum call	Present.
35. Mar. 16	H.R. 5505: Motion to amend the bill requiring the establishment of congressional districts composed of contiguous and compact territory. (Amendment failed 147 to 255.)	No.
36. Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.
37. Mar. 17	Quorum call	Present.

Footnotes at end of table.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
38. Mar. 17	H. Res. 276: Resolution to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 5374, to increase the salaries of the Chief Justice and the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. (Passed 202 to 183.)	Yea.
39. Mar. 17	H.R. 5374: Final passage of bill to increase the salaries of the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court. (Failed 178 to 202.)	Yea.
40. Mar. 18	Quorum call	Present.
41. Mar. 22	Quorum call	Present.
42. Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: Motion to recommit bill relating to criminal procedure in the District of Columbia in order to hold public hearings. (Failed 166 to 216.)	Yea.
43. Mar. 22	H.R. 5688: Final passage of bill relating to criminal procedure in the District of Columbia. (Passed 251 to 131.)	No.
44. Mar. 23	Quorum call	Present.
45. Mar. 23	H.R. 5721: Final passage of bill to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act to provide for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco. (Passed 206 to 170.)	Yea.
46. Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
47. Mar. 24	Quorum call	Present.
48. Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
49. Mar. 25	Quorum call	Present.
50. Mar. 26	Quorum call	Present.
51. Mar. 26	Motion calling for a vote to approve the House Journal as read. (Passed 274 to 119.)	Yea.
52. Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: Motion to recommit the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in order to change the formula for the allocation of funds. (Failed 149 to 267.)	No.
53. Mar. 26	H.R. 2362: Final passage of Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. (Passed 263 to 153.)	Yea.
54. Mar. 29	Quorum call	Present.
55. Mar. 30	Quorum call	Present.
56. Mar. 31	Quorum call	Present.
57. Mar. 31	H.R. 3708: Final passage of the Older Americans Act of 1965. (Passed 396 to 1.)	Yea.
58. Mar. 31	H.R. 1111: Final passage of Water Resources Planning Act. (Passed 384 to 0.)	Yea.
59. Apr. 1	Quorum call	Present.
60. Apr. 1	H.R. 4257: Final passage of bill to amend the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) of 1962. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yea.
61. Apr. 5	Quorum call	Present.
62. Apr. 5	H.R. 980: Motion to suspend rules and pass bill to provide for the return of obscene mail matter. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Yea.
63. Apr. 5	H.R. 7064: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill authorizing the appropriation of $1,000,000 for construction of a U.S. Embassy building in Saigon. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Yea.
64. Apr. 5	H.R. 7060: Final passage of bill appropriating $6,600,000,000 for the Departments of the Treasury and Post Office, the Executive Office of the President, and certain independent agencies. (Passed 347 to 7.)	Yea.
65. Apr. 6	Quorum call	Present.
66. Apr. 6	H.R. 7091: Final passage of supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 348 to 62.)	Yea.
67. Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
68. Apr. 7	Quorum call	Present.
69. Apr. 8	Quorum call	Present.
70. Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: Motion to recommit the bill providing for an increase in social security benefits and establishing medicare for the purpose of crippling the program. (Failed 191 to 236.)	No.
71. Apr. 8	H.R. 6675: Final passage of bill providing for increase in social security benefits and establishing medicare. (Passed 313 to 115.)	Yea.
72. Apr. 13	H.R. 2998: Motion to adopt conference report on bill to increase the authorization for appropriations to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. (Passed 316 to 65.)	Yea.
73. Apr. 13	Quorum call	Present.
74. Apr. 13	H.J. Res. 1: Final passage of proposed amendment to the Constitution relating to succession to the Presidency and Vice-Presidency and cases of Presidential disability. (Passed 368 to 29.)	No.
75. Apr. 14	Quorum call	Present.
76. Apr. 14	H. Res. 310: Resolution authorizing the expenditure of an additional $50,000 by HUAC for an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. (Passed 313 to 43.)	No.
77. Apr. 27	Quorum call	Present.
78. Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: Motion to recommit bill to amend the Bretton Woods Agreements Act to authorize an increase in the U.S. quota for the International Monetary Fund. (Failed 113 to 275.)	No.
79. Apr. 27	H.R. 6497: Final passage of bill authorizing an increase in the U.S. quota for the International Monetary Fund. (Passed 301 to 88.)	Yea.
80. Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
81. Apr. 28	Quorum call	Present.
82. Apr. 28	S. 4: Final passage of Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yea.
83. Apr. 29	Quorum call	Present.
84. Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: Adoption of conference report on supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 316 to 55.)	Yea.
85. Apr. 29	H.R. 7091: Motion to agree to Senate amendment to supplemental appropriation bill providing funds to continue the Federal subsidy for helicopter service at New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Failed 144 to 228.)	No.
86. Apr. 29	H.R. 4714: Final passage of bill authorizing an appropriation of $150,000 per year for the Advisory Council on the Arts. (Passed 239 to 116.)	Yea.
87. May 3	H.R. 2986: Final passage of bill to extend the Community Health Services Act and to launch a nationwide immunization program against measles. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yea.
88. May 4	Quorum call	Present.
89. May 4	Quorum call	Present.
90. May 4	H.R. 2985: Final passage of bill authorizing the appropriation of $172,000,000 during the next 4 years to help pay the cost of professional and technical personnel at community mental health centers. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yea.
91. May 5	Quorum call	Present.
92. May 5	H.J. Res. 447: Final passage of joint resolution appropriating $700,000,000 to the Department of Defense for use in connection with military activities in southeast Asia. (Passed 408 to 7.)	Yea.
93. May 5	Quorum call	Present.
94. May 5	H.R. 7657: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $15,300,000,000 for military functions of the Department of Defense. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yea.
95. May 6	Quorum call	Present.
96. May 6	H. Res. 366: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 7717) to authorize appropriations for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yea.
97. May 6	H.R. 7717: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $5,100,000,000 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yea.
98. May 10	Quorum call	Present.
99. May 10	H.R. 2984: Final passage of bill extending the Public Health Service program of construction of health research facilities, and authorizing 3 additional Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Passed 334 to 4.)	Yea.
100. May 12	Quorum call	Present.
101. May 12	S. 701: Final passage of bill enabling the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement. (Passed 300 to 97.)	Yea.
102. May 18	Quorum call	Present.
103. May 20	Quorum call	Present.
104. May 20	H.R. 8122: Motion to recommit the bill authorizing appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission in order to delete funds for construction of a reactor in cooperation with the State of California. (Failed 43 to 313.)	No.
105. May 20	H.R. 8122: Final passage of bill authorizing appropriation of $2,500,000,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission. (Passed 352 to 1.)	Yea.
106. May 24	Quorum call	Present.
107. May 24	Quorum call	Present.
108. May 25	Quorum call	Present.
109. May 25	H.R. 7750: Motion to recommit foreign aid bill in order to cripple it. (Failed 178 to 219.)	No.
110. May 25	H.R. 7750: Final passage of foreign aid bill. (Passed 249 to 148.)	Yea.
111. May 26	Quorum call	Present.
112. May 26	H.R. 8370: Motion to recommit appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture in order to prohibit exports of food to the United Arab Republic or Indonesia under title I of Public Law 83-480. (Failed 187 to 208.)	No.
113. May 26	H.R. 8370: Final passage of appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture appropriating $5,700,000,000	Yea.
114. May 27	Quorum call	Present.
115. June 1	Quorum call	Present.
116. June 1	H.R. 8639: Final passage of $2,000,000,000 appropriation bill for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the Judiciary and related agencies. (Passed 322 to 60.)	Yea.
117. June 1	H.R. 3584: Final passage of bill amending the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act to further provide for the prevention of accidents in coal mines. (Passed 336 to 42.)	Yea.
118. June 2	Quorum call	Present.
119. June 2	H.R. 8371: Final passage of bill eliminating or reducing certain Federal excise taxes. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Yea.
120. June 3	Quorum call	Present.
121. June 3	H.R. 7777: Final passage of bill authorizing the President to appoint Gen. William F. McKee (U.S. Air Force, retired) as Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. (Passed 228 to 137.)	Yea.
122. June 7	Quorum call	Present.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
123. June 7	H.R. 3157: Motion to suspend the rules and pass a bill to permit the spouse of a railroad employee to receive a spouse's annuity under the Railroad Retirement Act and to also receive social security benefits or railroad retirement benefits earned in her own right. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
124. June 8	Quorum call	Present.
125. June 8	Quorum call	Present.
126. June 8	H.R. 8775: Motion to recommit appropriation bill for the legislative branch in order to delete funds for certain employees. (Failed 149 to 244.)	No.
127. June 8	H.R. 7105: Final passage of bill extending the Export Control Act with an amendment protecting American businessmen from the Arab anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish boycott. (Passed 388 to 1.)	Yes.
128. June 9	Quorum call	Present.
129. June 9	H. Res. 413: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 8464, to increase the national debt limit. (Passed 273 to 109)	Yes.
130. June 9	H.R. 8464: Final passage of bill increasing the national debt limit. (Passed 229 to 165)	Yes.
131. June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: Motion to amend concurrent resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the USIA film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightening, Day of Drums." (Failed 174 to 216.)	No.
132. June 9	H. Con. Res. 285: Final passage of resolution to allow the showing in the United States of the USIA film, "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums." (Passed 311 to 75.)	Yes.
133. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
134. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
135. June 10	Quorum call	Present.
136. June 14	Quorum call	Present.
137. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
138. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
139. June 15	Quorum call	Present.
140. June 16	Quorum call	Present.
141. June 16	H.R. 6927: Motion to recommit bill establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development, in order to cripple it. (Failed 141 to 259.)	No.
142. June 16	H.R. 6927: Final passage of bill establishing the Department of Housing and Urban Development. (Passed 217 to 184.)	Yes.
143. June 16	H. Res. 416: Final passage of resolution to authorize each Member of the House to employ a student congressional intern annually on a temporary basis. (Passed 229 to 153.)	Yes.
144. June 21	Quorum call	Present.
145. June 21	H.R. 7743: Motion to suspend rules and pass the National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965 providing a system of loan insurance to assist students to attend postsecondary business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools. (Passed 300 to 0.)	Yes.
146. June 21	H.R. 8620 Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill to amend the Agriculture Act to take into consideration floods and other natural disasters in reference to the feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs for 1965. (Passed 297 to 2.)	Yes.
147. June 21	H. Con. Res. 416: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution requesting the President to urge certain actions in behalf of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. (Passed 298 to 0.)	Yes.
148. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
149. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
150. June 22	Quorum call	Present.
151. June 23	Quorum call	Present.
152. June 23	Quorum call	Present.
153. June 23	H.R. 9221: Final passage of $45,000,000,000 appropriation bill for the Department of Defense. (Passed 407 to 0)	Yes.
154. June 24	Quorum call	Present.
155. June 24	H.J. Res. 541: Final passage of bill extending the Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months. (Passed 224 to 167)	Yes.
156. June 28	Quorum call	Present.
157. June 28	H. Res. 425: Motion to take up for consideration the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 230 to 115)	Yes.
158. June 28	Quorum call	Present.
159. June 29	Quorum call	Present.
160. June 29	Quorum call	Present.
161. June 30	Quorum call	Present.
162. June 30	H.R. 7984: Motion to amend the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 240 to 179.)	Yes.
163. June 30	H.R. 7984: Motion to recommit the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Failed 202 to 208.)	No.
164. June 30	H.R. 7984: Final passage of Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 245 to 169.)	Yes.
165. July 1	Quorum call	Present.
166. July 6	Quorum call	Present.
167. July 6	H. Res. 440: Motion to take up for consideration the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 308 to 55.)	Yes.
168. July 6	Quorum call	Present.
169. July 7	Quorum call	Present.
170. July 7	Quorum call	Present.
171. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
172. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
173. July 8	Quorum call	Present.
174. July 9	Quorum call	Present.
175. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to provide criminal penalties for giving false information on voting eligibility status, or for paying or accepting money to register to vote. (Passed 253 to 165.)	No.
176. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to remove Federal examiners in a county if 50 percent of the Negroes of voting age are registered to vote. (Failed 155 to 262.)	No.
177. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to amend the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to allow people illiterate in English to vote if they have completed the 6th grade in Spanish language schools. (Failed 202 to 216.)	Yes.
178. July 9	H.R. 6400: Motion to recommit the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in order to substitute new language. (Failed 171 to 248)	No.
179. July 9	H.R. 6400: Final passage of Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 333 to 85)	Yes.
180. July 12	Quorum call	Present.
181. July 12	H.R. 8856: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill clarifying the language of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 so as to reaffirm the intent of Congress that the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission may not be limited by the regulations of local authorities with respect to the generation, sale, or transmission of electric power. (Failed 216 to 139.)	Yes.
182. July 12	H.R. 242: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill requiring that appointments to fill temporary summer jobs with the Federal Government in the Washington, D.C. area be apportioned among the States. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yes.
183. July 12	Quorum call	Present.
184. July 13	Quorum call	Present.
185. July 13	S. 559: Motion to adopt the conference report on the bill requiring a "caution" statement on cigarette packages and limiting further action in connection with the health hazards related to the use of tobacco. (Passed 286 to 103.)	No.
186. July 14	Quorum call	Present.
187. July 14	Quorum call	Present.
188. July 14	H.R. 8926: Motion to amend the Coinage Act of 1965. (Failed 187 to 218.)	No.
189. July 14	H.R. 8926: Final passage of Coinage Act of 1965 reducing the silver content of coins. (Passed 255 to 151.)	Yes.
190. July 15	Quorum call	Present.
191. July 15	Quorum call	Present.
192. July 19	Quorum call	Present.
193. July 20	H.R. 9075: Final passage of the Military Pay Increase Act of 1965. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yes.
194. July 21	Quorum call	Present.
195. July 22	Quorum call	Present.
196. July 22	H.R. 8283: Motion to amend the bill expanding the war against poverty in order to reinstate the Governor's veto and reduce the authorization for funds. (Failed 178 to 227.)	No.
197. July 22	H.R. 8283: Final passage of bill expanding the war against poverty. (Passed 245 to 158.)	Yes.
198. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
199. July 26	H. Res. 437: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 77) to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Passed 248 to 171.)	Yes.
200. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
201. July 26	Quorum call	Present.
202. July 27	Quorum call	Present.
203. July 27	H.R. 6675: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill increasing social security benefits and establishing medicare. (Passed 307 to 116.)	Yes.
204. July 27	H.R. 7984: Motion to adopt conference report on the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965. (Passed 251 to 168.)	Yes.
205. July 27	H.R. 2985: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill authorizing the appropriation of $172,000,000 during the next 4 years to help pay the cost of professional and technical personnel at community mental health centers. (Passed 414 to 0.)	Yes.
206. July 28	Quorum call	Present.
207. July 28	Quorum call	Present.
208. July 28	H.R. 77: Motion to recommit bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Failed 200 to 223.)	No.
209. July 28	H.R. 77: Final passage of bill to repeal sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. (Passed 221 to 203.)	Yes.
210. July 29	Quorum call	Present.
211. July 29	Quorum call	Present.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
212. July 29	H.R. 8856: Final passage of bill clarifying the language of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 so as to reaffirm the intent of Congress that the activities of the Atomic Energy Commission may not be limited by the regulations of local authorities with respect to the generation, sale or transmission of electric power. (Passed 275 to 126.)	Yes.
213. Aug. 2	Quorum call	Present.
214. Aug. 2	S.J. Res. 81: Motion to suspend rules and pass the resolution authorizing an increase in the amount of funds for the Interstate Highway System for fiscal year 1967 from $2,900,000,000 to $3,000,000,000 and authorizing the apportionment of those funds to the States. (Passed 314 to 11.)	Yes.
215. Aug. 2	H.R. 8027: Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill to provide assistance in training State and local law enforcement officers and to improve local law enforcement practices. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yes.
216. Aug. 2	H.R. 6964: Motion to suspend rules and pass the bill authorizing the Attorney General to transfer certain prisoners to residential community treatment centers, to grant them leave, and to permit them to work in private employment. (Passed 325 to 0.)	Yes.
217. Aug. 3	Quorum call	Present.
218. Aug. 3	S. 1564: Motion to recommit the conference report on the Voting Rights Act of 1965 for the purpose of crippling it. (Failed 118 to 284.)	No.
219. Aug. 3	S. 1564: Motion to adopt conference report on the Voting Rights Act of 1965. (Passed 328 to 74.)	Yes.
220. Aug. 3	H.R. 8469: Final passage of bill to increase certain annuities payable from the civil service retirement and disability fund. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
221. Aug. 4	H.R. 8439: Motion to adopt conference report on $1,700,000,000 military construction authorization bill. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
222. Aug. 4	S. 1742: Final passage of bill authorizing the U.S. Governor to agree to amendments to the articles of agreements of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Finance Corporation in order to permit the World Bank to make loans to the IFC. (Passed 331 to 54.)	Yes.
223. Aug. 5	Quorum call	Present.
224. Aug. 5	H. Res. 498: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 4750, providing for a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax. (Passed 329 to 44.)	Yes.
225. Aug. 5	H.R. 4750: Final passage of bill providing for a 2-year extension of the interest equalization tax. (Passed 274 to 97.)	Yes.
226. Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
227. Aug. 9	Quorum call	Present.
228. Aug. 9	H.R. 9918: Motion to adopt substitute language for the bill relative to motor vehicle insurance in the District of Columbia, the substitute requiring all insured drivers to cover protection against uninsured drivers and requiring uninsured drivers to pay at least $40 per year into an unsatisfied judgments fund. (Passed 173 to 156.)	Yes.
229. Aug. 10	Quorum call	Present.
230. Aug. 10	H.R. 10306: Final passage of bill to make it a crime to knowlingly destroy or mutilate a draft card. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Yes.
231. Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
232. Aug. 11	Quorum call	Present.
233. Aug. 12	Quorum call	Present.
234. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Motion to amend the Public Works and Economic Development Act in order to make more areas eligible for grants and to increase the authorization from $400,000,000 to $500,000,000. (Passed 196 to 194.)	Yes.
235. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Motion to recommit Public Works and Economic Development Act. (Failed 163 to 224.)	No.
236. Aug. 12	S. 1648: Final passage of Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 providing grants for public works and development facilities and assistance for the planning and coordination needed to alleviate conditions of substantial and persistent unemployment in economically distressed areas. (Passed 246 to 138.)	Yes.
237. Aug. 16	Quorum call	Present.
238. Aug. 16	H.R. 6431: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to allow certain forms of nickel to be imported without a tariff duty. (Passed 298 to 48.)	Yes.
239. Aug. 16	H.R. 8635: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to establish a Federal Boxing Commission. (Passed 346 to 4.)	Yes.
240. Aug. 17	Quorum call	Present.
241. Aug. 18	Quorum call	Present.
242. Aug. 19	H.R. 7750: Motion to adopt conference report on foreign aid bill. (Passed 244 to 150.)	Yes.
243. Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: Motion to recommit the omnibus farm bill. (Failed 169 to 224.)	No.
244. Aug. 19	H.R. 9811: Final passage of omnibus farm bill. (Passed 221 to 172.)	Yes.
245. Aug. 24	Quorum call	Present.
246. Aug. 24	H.R. 10586: Motion to recommit $1,200,000,000 supplemental appropriation for the Departments of Health, Education, and Welfare, and Labor. (Failed 39 to 263.)	No.
247. Aug. 25	Quorum call	Present.
248. Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: Motion to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 in order to put a numerical ceiling on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. (Failed 189 to 218.)	No.
249. Aug. 25	H.R. 2580: Final passage of Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 abolishing the national origins quota system. (Passed 318 to 95.)	Yes.
250. Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
251. Aug. 26	Quorum call	Present.
252. Aug. 26	H.R. 9567: Final passage of Higher Education Act of 1965 providing financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education. (Passed 368 to 22.)	Yes.
253. Aug. 30	H.R. 9022: Final passage of the bill providing Federal assistance for elementary and secondary schools in areas affected by a major disaster and to make uniform eligibility requirements for schools in impacted areas. (Passed 305 to 37.)	Yes.
254. Aug. 31	H. Res. 551: Motion to take up for consideration the bill (H.R. 9042) providing for implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the United States and Canada. (Passed 363 to 23.)	Yes.
255. Aug. 31	H.R. 9042: Final passage of bill providing for implementation of Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the United States and Canada. (Passed 280 to 113.)	No.
256. Sept. 1	Quorum call	Present.
257. Sept. 1	H.R. 3141: Final passage of bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to authorize grants to schools of medicine, dentistry, and osteopathy for the awarding of scholarships to needy students, to extend provisions of the act for student loans and for aid in construction of teaching facilities for students in schools for the health professions. (Passed 340 to 47.)	Yes.
258. Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
259. Sept. 2	H.R. 5863: Final passage of bill authorizing the Secretary of Commerce to undertake research and development in high-speed ground transportation. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yes.
260. Sept. 2	Quorum call	Present.
261. Sept. 7	Quorum call	Present.
262. Sept. 7	H.R. 8439: Motion to table a motion to discharge the House Armed Services Committee from further consideration of the military construction bill vetoed by the President. (Passed 323 to 19.)	Yes.
263. Sept. 7	H.R. 10775: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill to authorize military construction, in lie of the bill H.R. 8439, voted by the President. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
264. Sept. 7	H.R. 168: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill increasing the rates of service-connected compensation for veterans. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Yes.
265. Sept. 7	S.J. Res. 102: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution authorizing $1,500,000 for the Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and the District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement. (Passed 339 to 0.)	Yes.
266. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
267. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
268. Sept. 8	Quorum call	Present.
269. Sept. 8	H.R. 10871: Final passage of $3,400,000,000 foreign aid appropriation bill. (Passed 239 to 143.)	Yes.
270. Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
271. Sept. 9	Quorum call	Present.
272. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
273. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 272. (Passed 226 to 126.)	NV.[1]
274. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
275. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 274. (Passed 244 to 127.)	Yes.
276. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
277. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
278. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
279. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 278. (Passed 256 to 124.)	Yes.
280. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
281. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 280. (Passed 255 to 121.)	Yes.
282. Sept. 13	Motion to table the motion that the Journal be approved as read. (Failed 138 to 245.)	No.
283. Sept. 13	Motion to terminate debate on the motion to approve the Journal. (Passed 257 to 126.)	Yes.
284. Sept. 13	Motion to approve the Journal. (Passed 265 to 119.)	Yes.
285. Sept. 13	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 175 to 204.)	No.
286. Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1965 in order that it might be brought up on the floor of the House for debate. (Passed 259 to 121.)	Yes.
287. Sept. 13	H. Res. 506: Motion to table the motion that the note on roll No. 286 be reconsidered. (Passed 194 to 181.)	Yes.
288. Sept. 13	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 174 to 202.)	No.
289. Sept. 13	Quorum call	Present.
290. Sept. 13	Motion to dispense with further proceedings under the call on rollcall No. 289. (Passed 243 to 136)	Yes.
291. Sept. 13	H. Res. 499: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill to amend the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956 so that it might be brought up on the floor of the House for debate. (Passed 201 to 171.)	Yes.
292. Sept. 13	H. Res. 478: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the bill establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Passed 260 to 114.)	Yes.

Footnote at end of table.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
293. Sept. 13	H. Res. 536: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 289 to 84.)	Yes.
294. Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
295. Sept. 14	Quorum call	Present.
296. Sept. 14	H.R. 2091: Motion to recommit the bill establishing concession policies in the areas administered by the National Park Service. (Failed 73 to 298.)	No.
297. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
298. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
299. Sept. 15	H.R. 8288: Motion to recommit conference report on the bill expanding the war against poverty in order to retain the veto power of the State Governors in the form approved by the House. (Passed 209 to 180.)	No.
300. Sept. 15	Quorum call	Present.
301. Sept. 15	H.R. 9460: Motion to recommit bill establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities. (Failed 128 to 251.)	No.
302. Sept. 16	Quorum call	Present.
303. Sept. 16	H. Res. 574: Motion to table the resolution to compel the Postmaster General to furnish the names of temporary employees employed during the summer of 1965. (Passed 185 to 181.)	Yes.
304. Sept. 16	S. 2042: Final passage of bill extending the authority of the Atomic Energy Commission to indemnify licensees and contractors for public liability. (Passed 338 to 30.)	Yes.
305. Sept. 17	Quorum call	Present.
306. Sept. 17	H.R. 9221: Motion to adopt conference report on the $46,800,000,000 Defense Department appropriation. (Passed 382 to 0.)	Yes.
307. Sept. 17	H. Res. 585: Motion to adopt the resolution as amended dismissing the 5 Mississippi election contests. (Passed 228 to 143.)	Yes.
308. Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
309. Sept. 20	H.R. 10873: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill establishing a program of group life insurance which shall be provided by private insurance companies for members of the uniformed services on active duty. (Passed 362 to 0.)	Yes.
310. Sept. 20	H. Res. 560: Motion to suspend the rules and pass the resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives on the issue of intervention of the international communistic movement in the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 312 to 52.)	Yes.
311. Sept. 20	Quorum call	Present.
312. Sept. 21	Quorum call	Present.
313. Sept. 21	S. 4: Motion to adopt conference report on the Federal Water Pollution Control Act of 1965. (Passed 381 to 0.)	Yes.
314. Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
315. Sept. 22	S. 2300: Motion to amend the Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Act of 1965 to delete the authorization for the Dickey-Lincoln school project in Maine. (Passed 207 to 185.)	No.
316. Sept. 22	H.R. 30: Final passage of bill providing for U.S. participation in Interama. (Passed 255 to 112)	Yes.
317. Sept. 22	Quorum call	Present.
318. Sept. 22	Motion to adjourn. (Failed 90 to 204)	No.
319. Sept. 23	Quorum call	Present.
320. Sept. 23	H.R. 7371: Motion to amend the bill closing a loophole in the Bank Holding Act of 1956. (Passed 199 to 178)	No.
321. Sept. 23	H. Res. 580: Motion to cut off debate on the question of taking up for consideration the bill, H.R. 10232, the bill to provide Federal assistance to rural communities for the construction of water and sanitation systems. (Passed 280 to 70.)	Yes.
322. Sept. 23	H.R. 10232: Final passage of bill to provide Federal assistance to rural communities for the construction of water and sanitation systems	
323. Sept. 24	Quorum call	Present.
324. Sept. 24	S. 306: Crippling motion to recommit the Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965	No.
325. Sept. 24	S. 306: Final passage of Clean Air and Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965. (Passed 294 to 4.)	Yes.
326. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
327. Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: Motion to discharge the Rules Committee from further consideration of the District of Columbia home rule bill. (Passed 213 to 183.)	Yes.
328. Sept. 27	H. Res. 515: Motion to take up for consideration the bill providing for home rule for the District of Columbia. (Passed 223 to 179.)	Yes.
329. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
330. Sept. 27	H.R. 4644: Motion that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for consideration of the District of Columbia home rule bill. (Passed 234 to 155.)	Yes.
331. Sept. 27	Quorum call	Present.
332. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
333. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
334. Sept. 28	Quorum call	Present.
335. Sept. 29	Quorum call	Present.
336. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Motion to kill the District of Columbia home rull bill. (Failed 179 to 219.)	No.
337. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Motion to adopt the language of the Sisk amendment to the District of Columbia home rule bill providing for a referendum in the District of Columbia on the question of home rule. (Passed 227 to 174.)	No.
338. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Crippling motion to recommit the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended. (Failed 134 to 267.)	No.
339. Sept. 29	H.R. 4644: Final passage of the District of Columbia home rule bill as amended. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Yes.
340. Sept. 30	Quorum call	Present.
341. Sept. 30	H.R. 2580: Motion to adopt conference report on the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 providing for a limitation on immigration from the Western Hemisphere. (Passed 320 to 69.).	No.
342. Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: Motion to recommit Federal employees pay raise bill in order to delete provisions for automatic pay increases for Members of of Congress, the executive branch, and judges. (Passed 238 to 140.)	No.
343. Sept. 30	H.R. 10281: Final passage of Federal employees pay raise bill. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Yes.
344. Oct. 1	Quorum call	Present.
345. Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642: Motion to recommit the bill authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to construct the 3d Library of Congress Building. (Failed 17 to 321.)	No.
346. Oct. 1	H.J. Res. 642: Final passage of bill authorizing the Architect of the Capitol to construct the third Library of Congress Building. (Passed 328 to 5.).	Yes.
347. Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: Motion to recommit conference report on the foreign aid bill of 1965. (Failed 164 to 174.)	No.
348. Oct. 1	H.R. 10871: Motion to adopt the conference report on the foreign aid bill of 1965. (Passed 204 to 127.)	Yes.
349. Oct. 1	H.R. 3142: Final passage of bill to amend the Public Service Act to provide grants to aid medical library services and facilities. (Passed 296 to 3.).	Yes.
350. Oct. 1	H.R. 6519: Final passage of bill authorizing construction of the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, Mo. (Passed 250 to 12.)	Yes.
351. Oct. 5	Quorum call	Present.
352. Oct. 6	Quorum call	Present.
353. Oct. 7	S.J. Res. 32: Final passage of resolution authorizing compensation for certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for deaths and injuries as a result of acts of the U.S. Armed Forces from 1945 to 1952. (Passed 312 to 5.)	Yes.
354. Oct. 7	H.R. 2020: Final passage of bill authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project. (Passed 240 to 134.)	Yes.
355. Oct. 7	Quorum call	Present.
356. Oct. 7	S. 2084: Motion to amend the Highway Beautification Act of 1965. (Failed 153 to 230.)	No.
357. Oct. 7	S. 2084: Final passage of Highway Beautification Act of 1965. (Passed 245 to 138.)	Yes.
358. Oct. 8	Quorum call	Present.
359. Oct. 8	H.R. 9811: Motion to adopt conference report on the omnibus farm bill of 1965. (Passed 219 to 150.)	Yes.
360. Oct. 11	Quorum call	Present.
361. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
362. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
363. Oct. 12	H. Res. 598: Motion to take up for consideration the bill, H.R. 11135, to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 253 to 80.)	Yes.
364. Oct. 12	Quorum call	Present.
365. Oct. 13	Quorum call	Present.
366. Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: Motion to recommit the bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Failed 160 to 230.)	No.
367. Oct. 13	H.R. 11135: Final passage of bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 246 to 147.)	Yes.
368. Oct. 14	Quorum call	Present.
369. Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: Motion to amend the supplemental appropriation bill to delete the funds for the rent supplement program. (Passed 185 to 162.)	No.
370. Oct. 14	H.R. 11588: Final passage of supplemental appropriation bill. (Passed 242 to 100.)	Yes.
371. Oct. 18	Quorum call	Present.
372. Oct. 19	Quorum call	Present.
373. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
374. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
375. Oct. 20	Quorum call	Present.
376. Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: Motion to recommit the Higher Education Act of 1965 in order to delete the provisions for the National Teacher Corps. (Failed 152 to 226.)	No.
377. Oct. 20	H.R. 9567: Motion to adopt the conference report on the Higher Education Act of 1965. (Passed 313 to 63.)	Yes.
378. Oct. 20	S. 2300: Motion to adopt the conference report on the Rivers, Harbors, and Flood Control Act of 1965. (Passed 221 to 39.)	Yes.

No. and date (1965)	Issue	Vote
379. Oct. 21	Quorum call	Present.
380. Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: Motion to adopt the conference report on the supplemental appropriation bill including an appropriation of $125,000 for the Hemis-Fair planning study. (Passed 250 to 84.)	Yes.
381. Oct. 21	H.R. 11588: Motion to accept the Senate amendment to the supplemental appropriation bill providing for the Dickey-Lincoln project in Maine. (Passed 166 to 162.)	Yes.
382. Oct. 22	Quorum call	Present.
383. Oct. 22	H.R. 11135: Motion to adopt conference report on the bill to amend the Sugar Act of 1948. (Passed 174 to 88.)	Yes.

[1] Official leave obtained because of House business.
[2] Not voting. Official leave obtained because of House business.
[3] Not voting, but present while vote in progress.

Yearend Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARVEY of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include in the RECORD a report to my constituents on the activities of the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The headline read: "Congress, Go Home." Finally the advice was taken. The 1st session of the 89th Congress has written its record. Without a doubt, it will be cited as a busy session. But whether the work of Congress in these last 10 months will be recorded as good is another matter. Only the future holds the answer.

Briefly, we have seen this Congress approve major legislation including excise tax cuts, medicare, Appalachia aid, voting rights, education aid for both elementary and high schools as well as colleges, immigration, and the creation of the first new Department of Cabinet rank since 1953—the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Approximately 300 public laws were enacted. This, of course, does not include the number of private bills for the relief of constituents.

One Capitol wag has questioned, "What can the second session—which convenes on January 10—do for an encore?" Perhaps it would be best that it do nothing.

Last April, in speaking engagements in both Port Huron and Saginaw, I commented on the then legislative rush as follows:

> All of this legislation, however, has this single thread in common—that it involves the Federal Government more and more deeply each day in the lives of the ordinary citizen. Life will never be the same again.

In having this opportunity to bring to you this special message on the 1st session of the 89th Congress, I have recalled those words—"life will never be the same again." Certainly, changes are inevitable. And, it should be expected that it would entail some expension and growth of government, be it local, State, or national. But the trend these days is that the Federal Government has to assume practically all of the burdens. Is it a healthy trend? I think not.

Nor do I believe it is a healthy situation when Senate Majority Leader MIKE MANSFIELD candidly admits that Congress next year—1966—should spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed. Senator MANSFIELD was quoted as saying:

> We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate costs in the framework of our capacity to meet it.

This, I believe, is a high cost to pay for an eager, try-to-please-everyone administration. Now that it has been forecasted that 1966 will be a year of digestion and consolidation, it is good to know that these new laws, so hastily enacted, will be read, even if tardily. How much better, however, if some of the bills could have been more thoroughly examined, debated, and digested while rocketing through Congress.

It also has been said that the 89th Congress will probably go down in history as the "Puppet Congress." The President, with a two-to-one Democrat majority in the U.S. House of Representatives, and an even greater three-to-one edge in the U.S. Senate, encountered no difficulty, to speak of, in pressing administration programs.

Any self-appraisal of the 1st session of the 89th Congress would have to also include, therefore, the diminishing role of the legislative branch of our Government. In effect, Congress has been reduced to an annex of the White House. Whether you believe that some of this legislation is good legislation or bad legislation, the idea of some major bills going through without a single change or amendment not only reduces the stature of Congress, but it alters its meaning and significance as an independent branch of Government.

This, then, may be the real question the American people will have to answer in the future. It is not whether the goals of the Great Society are laudable goals—because we all share many of them—but whether we shall continue to have representative government in America.

Thus, this 89th Congress may not eventually be recalled for its greatness, but as the one which surrendered, without a struggle, its responsibility and its place in the representative government that we have known in the past.

ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE

Nearly 400 rollcalls and quorum calls were recorded in the House during the first session, breaking the old record of 305 set in 1950. It would be impossible to list, in the limited space, each single vote. I would be delighted to discuss with you any votes or provide you with available information on legislation which was enacted.

Throughout this session there have been differences between the political parties on many major issues. This is as it should be. As a recent newspaper editorial stated:

> The partisan spirit is not alien to the American spirit; rather it is through the debates that result from the partisan spirit that we arrive at the best means with which to govern ourselves.

SPECIAL LEGISLATION

As your Congressman, I also introduced 35 bills and 5 private bills. It is interesting to note the results on a few:

H.R. 4395: social security amendments increasing benefits; lowering age of eligibility; increasing earning limitations—action approved.

H.R. 6826: special housing loans for veterans under FHA—action approved.

H.R. 5295: to increase and adjust annuities for retired civil service employees—action approved.

H.R. 6694: free first-class postage for military. Permitted now for personnel stationed in danger areas.

H.R. 5294 and H.R. 7258: and voting rights legislation calling for the appointment of Federal registrars—action approved.

H.R. 5296 and H.R. 6931: repeal excise tax on passenger cars and on jewelry, luggage, handbags et cetera—action approved.

H.R. 2433: release surplus copper from national stockpile to alleviate serious economic threat to the Port Huron area—action approved.

Assistance also was rendered for the Harbor Beach area's biggest employer, Hercules Powder Co., in pressing for approval of a special food definition in the farm bill. Dredging work was approved for the Bay Port project, while congressional authorization was granted for the Lexington Harbor project. We will be pressing for the appropriation for Lexington next year. For Port Austin Harbor, the Corps of Engineers agreed to remove shoaling. In addition, a Black River feasibility study in the Port Huron area has been finalized.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Our Nation's world problems and commitments are not restricted to southeast Asia, and particularly South Vietnam. The Dominican Republic intervention this year cost many American lives. Danger still lurks in the Southern Hemisphere, where Cuba's Castro is fermenting strife. In Europe the split city of Berlin remains a potential threat.

The struggle for peace is a difficult one, but a task that must be relentlessly pursued.

I have supported President Johnson's firmness in Vietnam, for I believe it is the only course of action at this time. It is my hope, however, that through the United Nations or other negotiations the war can be ended. As the late President John F. Kennedy stated so eloquently in his inaugural address:

Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate.

CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES

With the legislative production at such a high pitch, my committee schedule and responsibilities were just that much greater. I feel privileged to serve on two major committees—Banking and Currency and Interstate and Foreign Commerce. It has been said that "Congress in committee is Congress at work." This is so often the case. I would be glad to share the details of these committee activities with those I represent. Should you have questions or want information, please let me hear from you.

ACADEMY APPOINTMENTS

One of the real pleasures I have as your Congressman and a great responsibility is the privileges of appointing young men from the Eighth District to the various service academies—Naval, Military, Air Force, and Merchant Marine. My final selections are based strictly on a competitive basis. No other factors are considered in the selections except the ability, both physically and mentally, of each applicant.

It was a proud moment to announce earlier this year the appointments of Blaine S. Ball, of Unionville, and Gary Peckham, of Bad Axe, to the Military Academy; Mark Fischer, of Saginaw, to the Air Force Academy; Daniel Jones, of Saginaw, to the Naval Academy; and Philip Steele, of Chesaning, to the Merchant Marine Academy.

SERVICE TO THE DISTRICT

My principal function as your Congressman is to be your legislative spokesman. In that role, representing the interests of the nearly 410,000 people in our Eighth District, it is important to know how you think and feel. I welcome your letters and the opportunity to be of service.

Dealing with the Government is often complicated. If you have business with a department of the Federal Government, or some problem with one of the governmental agencies, I would be happy to be of help in expediting your case.

Over the years, I have also attempted to create greater interest in the policies and workings of our Government. Our annual questionnaire mailing has attracted thousands of voters. It is an activity we shall always present.

BACK TO THE DISTRICT

The extended session of Congress this year has prevented me from returning to the district as frequently as I have in past years. I did manage to work in nine trips for office hours and speaking engagements. An extended visit in November, stopping in more than 30 communities for office hours and speeches, was on the agenda. I am confident that all will agree that my presence in Washington for the work of Congress must take top priority.

Through our Washington newsletter, the questionnaire, public meetings, correspondence, news releases to radio, television and all newspapers, I will continue to make every effort to help you keep abreast of fast-moving events here in Washington.

Cambodia's Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the Congress will have adjourned when Cambodia celebrates the anniversary of its independence, November 9. We wish to take this opportunity therefore, to extend warm felicitations to his excellency, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and to the people of Cambodia.

This small, fiercely independent nation which is celebrating its sovereignty is the modern embodiment of the ancient and distinguished Khmer Empire. Even the word "Cambodia," so familiar an appellative on the tongues of those who discuss the fortunes of Asia, is the Europeanized Kambuja, a name derived from that of the legendary founder of the Khmer Kingdom. Between the 10th and the 14th centuries much of what is now South Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand, as well as Cambodia, was the domain of the Khmer kings. The empire was a prosperous and highly cultured one; a sophisticated Sanskrit literature emerged, and a vigorous trade with India developed both in material goods and ideas. While Europe was groping toward a distant Renaissance and much of east and central Asia smoldered and wept in the wake of the Mongol Horde, the Khmer kings were building the magnificent complex at Angkor. Angkor Wat remains today, a stone testimonial in a dripping jungle to the ancient brilliance.

The past half millenium has not been kind to the Khmer people in terms of wealth, war, territory, and influence. Cambodia, between Vietnam and the Thai Kingdom of Siam, has fared no better than did Poland between Austria-Germany and Russia. Such was the imbalance of powers in southeast Asia by the middle of the 19th century that it can be convincingly argued in hindsight that French colonial intervention prevented the piecemeal conquest and assimilation of the Khmer people by their larger neighbors. The French are gone now and there can be no doubt of the full exercise of Cambodian independence but, in the eye of the nation's leader, Prince Sihanouk, foreign policy has once more become the central issue of state, directly and immediately affecting the continued survival of the Cambodian nation.

If the fortunes of Asian war and politics have not gone well for the linear descendants of the Khmer Kingdom, there have also been desirable compensating developments. Cambodia is not haunted by the specter of starvation; in southeast Asia it is uniquely blessed with a low population density. The soil is rich and only a quarter of the nation's arable land produces rice sufficient to amply feed Cambodia's 5½ million people. The abundance of land permits a substantial and growing livestock industry; extensive inland lakes and rivers provide great yearly fish catches; thus the protein deficiency that saps the vitality of many underdeveloped nations does not plague Cambodia. Further, Cambodia's society is unusually homogeneous and integrated in comparison to those of other southeast Asian countries and, although there are some problems with small minority groups, notably the Chinese and Vietnamese, Cambodia's difficulties on this score are relatively small in scope and intensity.

Prince Sihanouk has long been the principal figure in the Cambodian polity; for his people he appears to embody the national spirit, dignity, aspiration, and identity in the world at large much as does Charles de Gaulle for the French. He is a vital, colorful, sensitive man convinced that his nation is in danger and that a policy of alert, flexible neutrality holds the greatest promise of national survival. He spares neither voice nor energy in pursuing that policy.

We of the United States share the chief hope of Prince Sihanouk and his people that the world shall come to accept diversity among states and that in this milieu Cambodia will long prosper in that freedom and independence to which we direct our congratulations today.

Travesty of Justice—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorial from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Catholic Weekly, Oct. 1, 1965]

SOUTHERN INJUSTICE GOES UNCHALLENGED

About the only remaining puzzle in the maze of southern civil injustice is whether a southern conscience is really bothered by it all.

Not since the last Roman lion licked his chops over the final martyred Christian has there been a series of more blatant miscarriages of justice. On Aug. 20, Thomas Coleman, of Hayneville, Ala., killed Jonathan Daniels and wounded Fr. Richard Morrisroe, one a seminarian, the other a priest, both civil rights workers.

He was acquitted by a sympathetic jury on grounds of self defense. His defense produced eyewitnesses who testified that Daniels carried a knife, which was never found, and Father Morrisroe held something that looked like a pistol, which turned out to be a dime. Father Morrisroe was running toward Coleman but, somehow, he was shot in the back.

Coleman should have been charged with first degree murder and assault with intent to kill. But he was acquitted of a lesser manslaughter charge and faces only a simple assault trial for Father Morrisroe.

This is southern justice if it concerns a Negro or a "nigger-lover." It really is.

U.S. Attorney General Katzenbach flicked it away with, "This kind of result is expected from time to time." Come now. Every time? It is not that southern prosecutors are incapable of winning convictions, but in civil rights cases they lose with the inevitability of Perry Mason opponents.

Through it all comes the memory of Gov. George Wallace's mellifluous voice in last summer's radio commercial, inviting us to come on down to beautiful Alabama for vacation. You're kidding.

Some have opined that the cold blooded killers of the South, even if they escape conviction must live in the prison of their conscience. On the surface that is an understandable punishment.

But Tom Coleman says, "I'm happy," and we believe him.

It never has been demonstrated that southern murders have been more disturbed over the death of a pesky Negro than we are over the swatting of a fly. By corollary, they cannot be overly distraught over the death of a Negro's friend.

Surely not all citizens of the South fit into this category. Some, perhaps most, probably are deeply shocked as justice disappears from their States. But, where are they? With rare exception not in local government. Evidently not in any position of effective influence. And clearly, not in civil rights jury boxes.

[From the Newark (N.J.) News, Oct. 6, 1965]

THE FURTHER NEED

A White House conference next month will explore means of fulfilling the extensive civil rights legislation enacted in the last 2 years.

This, of course, will be the difficult, but the only really meaningful, part of rectifying the handicaps which the Negro has suffered over the last century. It will require, in President Johnson's words, "a national effort to insure that all Americans participate fully in the benefits and responsibilities of this most prosperous Nation."

The need for implementation is evident. Negroes do not share in the opportunities for education, employment, and decent housing to which their numbers and abilities entitle them. To this deficiency the Nation's best minds and ardent energies must be turned.

One other need—made all too evident by the lamentable Coleman case in Hayneville, Ala.—exists in the field of civil rights. That is the need for more adequately safeguarding the security of those who are trying to help Negroes attain their rights.

Twenty-six civil rights workers have suffered violent deaths in the South during the last 4 years. The number of persons convicted for these crimes can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In parts of the South the right to be tried by a jury of one's peers continues to be frightfully abused, for the benefit of the accused.

The belief is thereby strengthened that capital crimes connected with civil rights should be made Federal cases to be tried in Federal courts. At the very least, a change of venue should be made mandatory in cases of this kind.

Eminent lawyers and jurists will be participating in the White House conference on civil rights. This certainly is a problem worthy of their attention.

[From the Dayton (Ohio) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

NATION'S CONSCIENCE THROBS AS ALABAMA KILLER IS FREED

The State of Alabama couldn't even get a manslaughter conviction against Thomas L. Coleman, the 55-year-old part-time deputy sheriff who gunned down a New Hampshire seminary student outside a Hayneville country store. Justice is defiled again in the South and the Nation is shamed.

A cousin of the accused testified that Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H., carried a knife in his hand and his priest companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe of Chicago, held something that looked like a pistol. Another defense witness said two Negroes removed something from the fallen pair and that he heard the critically wounded priest inquire about his gun.

It didn't matter to the white, male jury that no gun or knife ever turned up. That witnesses said the seminary student was unarmed. That the priest was shot as he turnd to leave the scene. Self defense.

The deputy was preserving law and order. (Of course.) The clerics were looking for trouble. (They were civil rights workers, weren't they?) "A man has a right to defend himself and his lady." (A touch of southern gallantry.) And don't forget, the defense attorney claimed, the seminary student had kissed a Negro girl just prior to this death. (That for the clincher.)

Killer Thomas L. Coleman was acquitted. But not the jurors. Not Hayneville. Not Alabama. Not the South. Not the Nation that let seeds of racial hate grow undisturbed for a century. That indictment will remain as long as men deny brotherhood and their responsibility to serve its cause.

[From the Wellsville (N.Y.) Reporter, Oct. 5, 1965]

MAN TRAP FOR ANYBODY

The distance from New York State to Alabama could make the acquittal at Hayneville, Ala., seem like somebody else's business. The fact—and it does appear to be a fact—that any American can't go anywhere in his own country, under protection of law, should make it apparent that it is our business, indeed.

What happened to the New Hampshire seminarian who was shot and killed, and the Chicago priest who was wounded, could happen at any time and the man who pulled the trigger could be set free again. As long as the trigger is pulled by an Alabaman, and the victims are from other States, Alabama courts may be more dangerous than the courts of any backward, foreign nation. To the extent this is true, it is an affront against all Americans for whom justice must be at least a presumed right in all American courts. After the Hayneville fiasco it's difficult to pretend such presumption of rights for out-of-staters.

Credit must be given the Alabama attorney general, who sought a decision which would delay the trial until the dead man's companion could appear as a witness, and which also would give the attorney general an opportunity to seek a murder indictment, instead of the manslaughter charge which was before the court. Conversely, it is difficult to see why the judge refused his request and replaced the attorney general with a solicitor in the circuit court's own department.

If anyone outside Alabama (and perhaps Mississippi) is tempted to take seriously Alabama Governor Wallace's presidential aspirations, let it be recalled the kind of civilization he represents is represented also by Hayneville justice.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Globe, Oct. 14, 1965]

AS YE SOW

Another Selma may be in the making in the Deep South. Unless enough responsible moderates can cool things off soon, the tensions building up may erupt into blind violence that will again shame the Nation.

The potential ingredients are at hand. There was the shocking acquittal in Alabama of Thomas Coleman in the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, the seminarian from New Hampshire, and the obvious conspiracy, now being challenged in a Federal court suit, to thwart school desegregation orders in Crawfordville, Ga.

There is Nazi-type barbarity in Mississippi. Hundreds of civil rights demonstrators from Natchez were forced to sleep nearly naked on cold cement floors at the notorious Parchman State Penitentiary, and to take laxatives under outrageously unsanitary conditions.

Are the memories of the racists so short?

[From the Rochester (N.Y.) Times-Union, Oct. 4, 1965]

WILL SOUTH ACCEPT THIS JUSTICE?

Following Deputy Thomas Coleman's acquittal in the fatal shooting of a New England civil rights worker in Hayneville, Ala., the State's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, declared:

"What has happened is appalling."

Hayneville justice is different from justice in most of the country. Hayneville justice barred Attorney General Flowers and his assistants from prosecuting the case. Hayneville justice required the trial to go on although Rev. Richard Morrisroe, still recovering from wounds inflicted by Coleman's shotgun, could not appear in court.

Hayneville justice called the shooting of Jonathan Daniels and the wounding of Reverend Morrisroe self-defense, despite Reverend Morrisroe's written statement that he carried (as a weapon?) only a dime to buy a soft drink. Hayneville justice subordinated truth to prejudice.

As long as Hayneville justice exists, there can be little faith in the justice of Alabama. Indeed, it makes all of the South suspect.

Attorney General Flower courageously said: "I firmly believe that the great majority of Alabamians are outraged by this calloused disregard for the taking of a human life. Now those who feel they have a license to kill, destroy, and cripple have been issued that license. It is our duty to do what is necessary to retrieve it."

Here is the hope of Hayneville, that southerners like Flowers will spark a drive which will eventually eliminate Hayneville justice and will establish true justice in its place.

[From the Albany (N.Y.) Knickerbocker News, Oct. 2, 1965]

INNOCENCE AND GUILT

The jury that acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of manslaughter in the killing of a young civil defense worker has convicted the sovereign State of Alabama.

It has convicted it of hatred and hypocrisy, of disdain for justice, of parochialism and of prejudice. It has demeaned the judicial process.

If one were to agree with this jury in its acquittal of a part-time deputy sheriff who admittedly shot down an Episcopal seminary student, killing him, and a Roman Catholic priest, critically wounding him, one would have to believe that one of the two clergymen was armed with a knife and the other armed with a gun.

One would have to believe that the shotgun-carrying Coleman fired on the two young clergymen in self-defense.

One would have to believe that subsequent to the shooting other civil defense workers spirited away the knife and the gun that

the defense contended they were carrying. Neither weapon was found at the scene.

That jury in Alabama chose to believe these things.

Or did it?

Did it, rather, ignore the facts and acquit Coleman in defense of Alabama's cult of ignorance, its bigotry, its determination to stay stupid, its resistance to human rights.

Whether it did the one or the other, the shame remains.

Alabama stands convicted.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) News American, Oct. 4, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm at Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in hospital. The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a traversty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him. The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law, and be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Meadville (Pa.) Tribune, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE TWISTED AGAIN

Because of the consistently sordid record of justice in some States of the Deep South, acquittal of a deputy sheriff charged with manslaughter in the Alabama death of a civil rights worker may not be surprising. Yet such a travesty on justice shocks the majority of Americans who have faith and confidence in this Nation's judicial system.

Judgment of Thomas Coleman is impossible without access to the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Maybe he would have been found innocent by any jury in the land, although this seems unlikely in view of factual reports on the death of Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire, and the wounding of the Reverend Father Thomas Morrisroe, a Chicago priest.

But the cards were stacked in Coleman's favor. First, is Lowndes County's reputation for failure to place guilt on those involved in civil rights offenses. Only recently a jury was unable to agree on a verdict in the trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., one of the three Ku Klux Klansmen accused of the murder of a woman civil rights worker.

The original charge was reduced from murder to manslaughter by the grand jury and then the presiding judge refused petitions for postponement of the trial until Father Morrisroe had recovered sufficiently to appear as a witness. Since he was involved in the fracas, his testimony would be most relevant. The jury apparently was impressed with the plea of self-defense, placing more credence on testimony that the two shooting victims were armed than on statements that they were not. It made little difference that no weapons ever were found.

The outcome of the court proceedings was deeply disturbing to the sense of justice of State Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who was ordered removed as prosecutor by the court. A southerner, he called the trial a "mockery of law and order."

The fact that Coleman has been freed of all accountability for the death of a human being is less disturbing than the stain placed directly on the Alabama system of justice and indirectly on the American system. Coleman must live with his own conscience. But what can be done to assure that society as well as the accused may expect justice in an Alabama courtroom when a civil rights trial is being heard?

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

QUICK JUSTICE IN ALABAMA

The most significant reaction to the acquittal of Thomas Coleman in the shotgun slaying of a white seminarian is the almost total lack of surprise.

As one member of the prosecution staff in the civil rights case observed, "What could you expect in this county?"

In Lowndes County, Ala., no one could have hoped for justice. Not when the attorney general who criticized the manslaughter finding of a grand jury was banished from the courtroom and the case by a circuit judge. And certainly not when the all-white jury deliberated a grand total of 1 hour and 43 minutes before finding the defendant not guilty.

Observers can only wonder what took them so long.

[From the Sunbury (Pa.) Item, Oct. 2, 1965]

Justice again wept in a courtroom at Hayneville, Ala., Thursday when a jury of white men—women and Negroes are not permitted to serve on Alabama juries—returned a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of Thomas L. Coleman, part-time deputy sheriff, in the killing of a white civil rights worker, Jonathan M. Daniels. The State's attorney general, Richmond Flowers, whom the presiding judge relieved of his duties after Flowers had objected to proceeding with the trial in the absence of an important witness, expressed the sentiment of observers across the Nation when he termed the outcome of the trial "a mockery of law and order."

In light of the fact that the defendant was an acknowledged killer and that his conviction or acquittal hinged on whether or not he acted in self-defense, the testimony of a single witness to the actual shooting was vital. And this is so even though the jury's findings were in the twisted format so common in relation to racial relations cases in Dixie courts.

A system of justice which affords virtually no protection for the rights of Negroes, including their right to life, could hardly be expected to exact a penalty for the killing of a white man with a passion for basic human rights regardless of race, color or creed.

[From the Allentown (Pa.) Chronicle, Oct. 1, 1965]

ANOTHER MOCKERY OF JUSTICE

The blindness of justice, Alabama style, was dramatically demonstrated by a Lowndes County jury in its acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, in the killing of an Episcopal seminarian. He still faces charges of wounding a Roman Catholic priest.

Coleman is white. So are the 12 jurors who tried him.

Jonathan M. Daniels, 27, of Keene, N.H., also was white. So, too, is the Reverend Richard Morrisroe of Chicago.

But they were working in the cause of Negroes seeking the rights to which they are legally and constitutionally entitled. Some people in Alabama regard that as a crime subject to punishment without trial.

Now the future Episcopal clergyman is dead. The Catholic priest is recovering from critical wounds received at the time of the slaying. And Coleman has been freed.

These events are typical in States like Alabama, where any act committed by a white against a Negro is likely to go unpunished, and a Negro accused by a white stands literally no chance of acquittal.

A hint of things to come could be found in the action of the grand jury which indicted Coleman for manslaughter instead of murder. So it is hardly a surprise that the jury swallowed the unlikely defense claim of self-defense, based on questions indicating the slain man was armed with a switch blade knife, the priest with a pistol.

The decent people of Alabama—and there are substantial numbers of them—must be sickened by the whole business.

They must agree with the State's attorney general, who said, "What has happened this week in Hayneville does not do justice to Alabama.

And they can see as only another mockery of justice the statement by the defense attorney after the verdict, in which he spoke in glowing terms about a trial in a temple of justice and a verdict that was fair and just.

[From the Boston (Mass.) Herald, Sept. 29, 1965]

OUT ON A LIMB

Alabama Attorney General Richmond A. Flowers is out on a limb.

As Alabama's chief law enforcement officer, he is refused information by the police. As the State's chief criminal prosecutor he hears his motives, sincerity, and honestly impugned in an Alabama court of law. As a private citizen of the State he fears for his life.

And yet through all his seemingly hopeless efforts to make sure that justice is served in the trials of two men, accused in separate cases of the murders of two civil rights workers, he persists in the belief that there are enough good men in Alabama to save it from the racists and Klansmen who are silently supported by Gov. George Wallace.

Flowers has burned his bridges behind him by going to U.S. Attorney Genedal Katzenbach and asking for a crash Negro voter registration drive in Alabama. He feels that if he can get enough Negroes registered, they can combine with white moderates to elect him Governor.

Flowers admits he is a segregationist. Yet he publicly deplores Wallace's demagoguery and says Alabama must face up to gradual integration or perish in a sea of racial violence.

But the abruptness with which Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard refused Flowers' motion to postpone the trial until a wounded State witness, a Catholic priest, had recovered, makes one wonder where these good men are in whom Flowers has placed his trust.

Evil persists when good men do nothing. But one good man is not enough.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, Oct. 21, 1965]

STRUGGLE FOR FAIR JURORS

The struggle in Hayneville, Ala., to get an unprejudiced jury for the trial of Klansman Collie Leroy Wilkins, Jr., for the murder of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, civil rights worker, brings into sharp focus one of the most critical weaknesses in our judicial system. Last May the first Wilkins trial ended with the jury in deadlock. In many other cases Klansmen and other extremists accused of crimes against civil rights workers have been exonerated with seemingly little regard for the evidence. In some areas law enforcement seems to be impossible because unprejudiced local juries approve the use of violence against Negroes and advocates of civil rights.

At Hayneville a courageous attorney general, Richmond Flowers, temporarily suspended the selection of a jury in the Wilkins case so that he could carry his challenge to 11 prospective jurors to the State supreme court. These potential jurors have confessed that they believe Negroes and white people who help them to desegregate schools and churches to be inferior. That view, strongly held, will make it extremely difficult for such a jury to reach an unbiased conclusion in the trial of a Klansman for the slaying of a civil rights worker. Yet Mr. Flowers effort failed yesterday.

Another disquieting aspect of the jury-selecting process in Lowndes County may be seen in the fact that the venue was composed of 280 whites and 20 Negroes, although the population of the county is 81 percent colored. Three Negroes were on the list of 30 from which the jury was to be chosen, but since the defense had the right to strike out 12 of those 30 names, no Negroes remained on the jury.

The Supreme Court long ago ruled that the systematic exclusion of Negroes from jury duty was a denial of due process in the trial of Negro defendants. But this has made only a small dent on the general policy of discrimination in the selection of jurors in the South. In some cases it may be literally impossible to find unprejudiced local jurors. Nevertheless, a vast improvement in the methods of jury selection could be devised. Although the problem lies chiefly in the State courts, the Federal Government ought to be pointing the way toward reforms. This is an area in which Senator TYDINGS' Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery could do some useful work.

[From the Oil City (Pa.) Derrick, Oct. 12, 1965]

SHOULD INCLUDE ALL CITIZENS

A lot of people in both the South and North have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work.

The people who are disturbed, naturally, are those who believe in the concept of justice for everyone.

Among the many objections fair-minded people have raised against the proceedings is that the jury which freed Coleman was composed entirely of whites, even though there has been a large Negro population in the county.

And this situation has occurred in numerous other trials.

There is reason to believe, however, that barring Negroes from jury duty may be coming to an end. An indication of this was revealed when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalties on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. Many have looked upon these reversals as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

[From the Trenton (N.J.) Times, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA TRAGEDY

That trial in Hayneville, Ala., billed as farce, was more properly a tragedy.

It does not really matter whether the man accused of killing a civil rights worker was guilty of murder or not. It does not matter that the charge was arbitrarily reduced to manslaughter, nor that the prosecution was not permitted time to produce its key witness.

The verdict would have been the same in any event.

What matters is that there will be more such cases in the future, and that the rest of the Nation outside the South will no more expect justice in them than it has learned to expect it in the past.

It would be useless for others to condemn those involved in the Hayneville trial for betraying one of the fundamental principles on which the strength and integrity of America depends—that of equality before the law. Caught as they are in their inherited bias, it is plain that they don't even know the meaning of this principle.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Press and News, Oct 23, 1965]

ACQUITTAL IN HAYNEVILLE

Twice within the past month rabid white supremacy juries acquitted their pals of murder. Both juries sat in Hayneville, Ala., and the facts surrounding both trials are nauseating to anyone who believes in due process of law.

On September 30, 12 white jurors found Thomas Coleman not guilty of shooting to death Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire.

Yesterday the second trial of Collie Leroy Wilkins ended in acquittal. This outrageous verdict in the fact of incontestable facts, was reached by 12 more white jurors. Six of them admitted at the start of the trial that the slain woman, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, was a lower order of human being because she believed in—and worked for Negro rights.

Shamefully, it was U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach who said after the Coleman acquittal that this is the price that the United States must pay for its jury system.

The United States cannot afford this price. Rather than offer flabby excuses, Katzenbach should make it his most important order of business to find legal ways to end this shocking subversion of human justice.

Another attorney general—a southerner, Richmond Flowers of Alabama—said it all in his summation yesterday—the summation that was callously ignored by the white supremacy jury:

"If you do not convict this man you might as well lock up the courthouse, open up the jail and throw away the keys. And you can take 'true verdict' and just tear it out of the book and throw it away, because it won't mean a thing."

That two such verdicts should come within 1 month in the United States of America is a national disgrace.

Part I—East-West Trade Developments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, East-West trade is a subject which has captured the interest of students of relations between the Western countries and the Communist bloc in recent years. This was one of the subjects studied by the Subcommittee on Europe of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs under the leadership of the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. KELLY]. Members may be familiar with the hearings and report of this subcommittee on this subject.

Since the subject is one which is constantly changing, it is a matter of national interest to follow developments from day to day on this question. I am pleased to include with my remarks the text of an article "Proprietary Rights and East-West Trade" by Herschel F. Clesner, specialist on Soviet bloc studies with the Research Institute; inventions coordinator, U.S. Public Health Service which appeared in the spring 1965 issue of the Patent, Trademark, & Copyright Journal of Research and Education, George Washington University.

Mr. Clesner points out the increase in trading by other western industrial nations with the East and clearly defines the type of restricted and specialized trade in which the East is interested. Among other things he highlights the tendency toward liberalization of some Communist economies, particularly that of Czechoslovakia. He emphasizes the technical difficulties in trade as well as the restrictive legislation, particularly in this country, which affects trade with the Eastern countries, sometimes to the disadvantage of U.S. producers in permitting Communist countries to obtain counterpart products from European producers.

Mr. Clesner does not discuss the political questions underlying possible changes of trade policies but he does provide the basis of fact upon which such questions can be considered if and when the executive branch deems it advisable.

The first part of the article follows:

PROPRIETARY RIGHTS AND EAST-WEST TRADE

(By Herschel F. Clesner)

SUMMARY

Statesmen and businessmen around the world continue to seek a positive approach to United States East-West trade despite the continuing political and military crises between the two camps. Regardless of the violent clash in Vietnam, there are signs that the Berlin Wall may be brought down.

In the past decade, there has been considerable improvement in the relations between the market-oriented trading nations of the West (hereafter referred to briefly as the West), and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe (hereafter referred to as bloc countries).

The trend toward increased trade with the bloc countries appears to be inevitable and, in the opinion of many, desirable. Willy Brandt, mayor of West Berlin and chairman of the West German Social Democratic Party, proposed that the West consider East-West economic cooperation in financing joint projects including the expansion of road, canal and power networks of Europe. Senator J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has urged East-West experiments in "practical cooperation" on specific joint ventures for "cooperation, like conflict, tends to feed itself." He further suggested normal trade relations with Russia in nonstrategic goods "involving neither special favors nor special discrimination" as "one of the preconditions for active cooperation." This has been followed by statements by Vice Chancellor Erich Mende and Franz Joseph Strauss of the German Federal Republic urging full diplomatic relations with the bloc states. Past efforts, recent and prospective changes, as well as persisting impediments to trade are described in the following essay. The role of patented inventions, technical know-how and assistance, still confronted by a set of unfamiliar conditions in the exchange of intangibles, are explored. Evidence is developed that despite economic, political and philosophic differences, it has become possible for the West and the bloc to do business with each other for their mutual advantage.

The past

Trade may serve either as a political weapon—embargo or boycott—in international relations or as a channel for the exchange of goods and/or services on a mutually profitable basis.

Today, the United States leads the Western industrialized nations while the U.S.S.R. dominates the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Because of the deep-seated ideological gulf between them, a basic division exists in both the Western and Eastern blocs regarding the other side, its goals and motives, and whether to treat each other as a hostile enemy seeking world domination or as a political equal deserving of better relations through trade and negotiation.

During the past 20 years the U.S. foreign trade and balance of payments have been extremely favorable enabling us to trade with whom we wished and as we desired. Our practices disclosed the assumption of a hard line toward trading with the bloc countries. Yet, representatives of many Western governments, political groups, privately owned businesses, and individuals have taken both sides of the argument with, in many instances, self-interest serving largely to determine which side to back. The U.S. position has not stopped other Western industrial countries from trading with the East.

East-West trade received impetus in June 1958, with Khrushchev's assertion that the Soviet Union could carry on a broad trade program, based on mutual advantage, with the United States. This was an intended follow-up of the cultural exchange program undertaken by the United States and the Soviet Union, and received with enthusiasm by the peoples of both countries. The later suggestion that the U.S.S.R. and the United States exchange professional economists to study and acquire a better appreciation of each other's economic system was successfully implemented.

Trade statistics

In 1959 free world exports to the Soviet bloc came to $3 billion, with imports of $3.04 billion. In 1963 free world exports to the Soviet bloc came to $4.5 billion, with imports of $4.6 billion.

Western Europe exported $3 billion and imported $3.6 billion from the Sino-Soviet bloc. West Germany was the heaviest trader with $669 million in exports and $750 million in imports in 1963 of which a good one-third were with East Germany under the special interzonal arrangement for exchange of goods. Britain was next with $412 million in sales and purchases of $534 million in 1963. Italy's trade with the area ranked third with $292 in exports and $444 in imports.

In 1963, U.S. exports to the Soviet-bloc countries of Eastern Europe came to $167 million of which $109 million ($45 million Public Law 480 shipments) were to Poland. Imports from the bloc in 1963 came to $85 million with $43 million coming from Poland.

In 1963, for example, about half of all the total value of goods imported from the industrial West by the U.S.S.R. consisted of machinery and transport equipment: $589 million out of a total import value of $1,389 million. Under the Rumanian state plan for 1965 more than 90 percent of their imports, with machinery and equipment of the highest technological level as the major items, are earmarked for production investment. As a result, a high proportion of the import requirements of East Europe from the West consists of machinery, of new technology, of new design, or assembled into engineered industrial plants.

Trade needs—Technology

Imports of equipment from the West loom large in the plans of all the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. Each of these countries is committed to its own program of rapid industrialization and finds itself from time to time confronted either by a physical shortage of specific types of machinery within the bloc, or by a lack of equipment with the latest engineering advances, efficiency, and production capacity.

In recent years the purchasing agents for the Soviet-bloc countries have been turning regularly toward the West for machinery and processes embodying the latest concepts of operational efficiency. The director of the Department of the Circulation of Goods of the Rumanian State Planning Commission has asserted: "We put great emphasis on modern techniques. We do not purchase equipment from abroad unless we are convinced that it is at the top of the world in technology. We find that the United States, West Germany, France, and Great Britain make the finest equipment and we want to procure it. This accounts for the increase in our trade with the West."

The bloc countries possess numerous successful research and development programs of their own and can obtain, in addition, a large amount of their needs as a result of intrabloc trade. Despite the fact that intrabloc trade rose 5½ times within the 1952–62 period, there still remains a large net deficit of technology, advanced plants, and know-how required within the bloc to fulfill desired immediate needs. The frequent reshuffling of their economic planning apparatus, with added emphasis on the development of the chemical process industry to meet newly revised agricultural goals and consumer items, has impelled many bloc industries to look to the West for relief in such cases where the planning commissions had not originally recognized the need for, or received the mandate to develop, new models of equipment.

Intrabloc trade—CEME

Intrabloc trade is aided and stimulated by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA). The bloc nations formed CEMA (COMENCON) as their answer to Western Europe's economic unions and as a means to promote the integration of their long-term economic planning and production.

CEMA, not a supranational planning unit directing the allocation and development of each member's national economy, makes recommendations and attempts to coordinate common efforts respecting the principle of the equal sovereign rights and interests of the participating countries. Each recommendation must, before it can go into effect, have the agreement of each member nation.

Each bloc nation has its own planning unit which arbitrarily formulates its own retail and wholesale prices based on their own fiscal objectives and preferences, rather than on market considerations. In bargaining with one another the bloc state finds that the other bloc nations set high prices on their sale items and low prices on purchase products. So, to create a firm basis of competitive exchanges among themselves the bloc countries presently seek a more realistic pricing system. At the same time they also seek Western buyers and sellers to achieve a greater degree of economic advantage.

Opening the 19th CEMA session in Prague on January 28, 1965, Czechoslovakian Deputy Premier Simunek emphasized the guiding principles [illegible] policy of CEMA members as peaceful [illegible]ce and intensification of economic [illegible]th states which have different economic systems. The CEMA meeting led to limited multilateral agreements on the production of diverse equipment which the member states thus far have not manufactured and which otherwise would have to be acquired as imports from the West. The desire of the CEMA members to expand trade with each other and with other nations is very evident. Rumanian Premier Ion G. Maurer asserted to the Rumanian National Assembly, while giving details of the state plan for 1965, that his Communist country is determined to extend economic ties with other countries "irrespective of their social system" and "on the basis of advantage" as the modernization of their production equpment calls for the import of the best machines, equipment and technological installations.

Developmental and cost engineering lag

Despite their organized monitoring of the world's scientific and industrial literature, the Soviet Union and the bloc countries cannot, in the case of many rapidly changing civilian industries, rely on ultimately developing engineering capability to attain current goals.

The Soviet technical community has learned, at great cost in time and resources, that the laboratory discovery of a chemical process is not by itself sufficient to enable the domestic industry to apply such knowledge economically or to market an innovation embodying this knowledge. For example, Soviet technicians devised certain laboratory processes in making a form of nylon. The Soviets, though the advance was promptly published in a technical journal, were not successful in moving the process through pilot stages to ultimate production. However, a governmental research institute for the textile industry in Japan was able to push this process successfully through the pilot stages. The Japanese are undertaking feasibility studies to determine whether their engineering efficiency is sufficient to use this new process in world market competition.

Czechoslovakian Minister Cernik, addressing the Czechoslovak legislative assembly regarding the state economic plan for 1965, asserted that in certain instances the quality, standards, and development of their products lag, in contrast to other countries. He cited the example of an auxiliary radio receiver that took 3½ years from development to production. In the interim, Japan had overtaken them by 3 years, even though the item was a Czechoslovakian invention.

The Chief of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian State Commission for the Development and Coordination of Science and Technology asserted that millions have been granted for the development of items

which had already been developed elsewhere. The resulting product did not raise the level of economic performance in that country.

Some examples of varying scope are cited regularly by the Soviets in their technical press as examples of Western piracy of Soviet technology or the failure of Soviet technologists to recognize the economic potential of their own work.

Experience has shown that innovation development in the Soviet Union and other Communist bloc countries has not been sharpened either (1) to compete with other commercial processes or products for a portion of the market within the planned economy or (2) to compete pricewise in a sustained manner for world markets. The present economic planning system simply won't allow it, for it calls for allegedly planned, fixed allocation and orderly (meaning: centrally established) distribution of goods based on existing technology.

The economic planning system of the Communist nations has not been geared, as the economies of the countries of the West are, either to respond to demand or to cope with the stern necessities of competitive trade and the marketing of products and processes. Nor do such economies seem to have been sharpened to higher efficiency or lower price by the force of "profit motivation." The present Communist price system, retail and wholesale, has been based on considerations and objectives of the economic planning and management operation. In the military and space development sectors where the market purchaser-user can make demands of the research, engineering and manufacturing facilities, and with the aid of other special "drive" factors, the lead time, quality, research, and engineering factors are more advanced than those in the regular planned sector of the Soviet economy.

Far-reaching economic changes to update technology

After great loss in years and resources, the bloc countries are introducing profit motivation, advertising, cost accounting, price adjustment, installment buying, market demand and acceptance, collective ownership with profit sharing, and less centralized planning into their national economic systems. Mounting inventories of certain consumer items have forced the economic planners to adopt price cutting, advertising, and installment buying practices. Together with previous changes as varying wage scales for the different professions and disciplines, they have proven the practical irrelevance of theoretical Marxism as a workable doctrine for an operable and competing industrial economy.

Czechoslovakia occupies a special position among the bloc countries because it possesses a highly developed industrial economy made in rapid gains during the 1930's. At present, it has the greatest foreign trade turnover on a per capita basis—300 rubles compared with 250 in East Germany, 220 in Hungary, 110 in Poland, and 60 in the Soviet Union.

In the early 1960's Czechoslovakian industrial production and national income slowed down. Unusable inventories grew and by 1964 reached approximately one-fourth of the national income. Revisions of the targets of the 35-year plan were necessary. Despite the imposition of new controls, the economic downturn worsened, and Czechoslovakian economists became critical of the orthodox Communist system of planning and management.

Encouraged by expressions advanced by Soviet, Polish, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Yugoslav colleagues, greater changes to meet the existing economic realities were sought. Finally, in January 1964, strong measures were approved for strengthening the economy.

The Czechoslovakians realize that their own sources of raw materials are relatively limited and that their market is much too small to sustain an extremely wide range of industrial production. In contrast to the Rumanians they believe that the present high degree of diversification of industry requires a sustaining research effort overtaxing the resources of a country as small as Czechoslovakia. Their economic limitations restrict their research capability to providing a technological level for highly specialized industries that produce a limited variety of high quality goods. These considerations have become their guides in maintaining an expanding economy since they must obtain raw materials and products on optimum terms from foreign sources and in turn have foreign market outlets. They have invested jointly with CEMA members to construct a mine in the Soviet Union for a share of the production output. They have attempted to purchase licenses to inventions and know-how of the highest technological level in the world. They must, however, to achieve their goals and market outlets, be competitive in price and quality.

The reforms

Czechoslovakian leaders, at Khrushchev's removal, hesitated only long enough to receive the assent of new Kremlin power structure. The Soviet Union, with its 225 million people, apparently realized that it would be simpler for Czechoslovakia, a nation of but 14 million population with a short history as a Communist state and with a well-planned economy, to break trail in making drastic changes.

The policy, adopted in January 1965, amounts to a far-reaching reform of the entire Marxist system of economic planning and management. It goes further than anything previously attempted in Eastern Europe and places Czechoslovakia in the forefront of Communist economic changes along with Yugoslavia. This is revisionism of the highest degree when compared with the Chinese.

When contrasted wtih the present Communist system whereby everything is centrally planned, allocated, managed, and distributed, the new policy is revolutionary. To those accustomed to Western economic practices, it is nothing more, however, than an attempt to stimulate Czechoslovakia's ailing economy by common Western management and business practices. Other bloc countries have sent official delegations to observe and study the fundamental reevaluation of their system.

Future bloc economic structure

It is now an accepted bloc thesis that the present system of economic management is no longer in line with growing demands and that without basic changes the economic directives cannot be met. The profitability of production based on costs and changing technology plus the use of individual incentive benefit must be considered.

Central planning agencies will eventually deal only with questions of the basic direction of price and wage policy, finance and loan policy, material incentives for obtaining foreign currency, long-term projections and production ratios, and international economic and trade agreements. The implementation of the short-term plans are to be left to the respective branch enterprises which are, now, presumed to be in a better position to choose the methods befitting their capabilities, production experience.

Future development must be decided on the basis of costs, saving, comparison to the highest level of similar products in world markets, and the results achieved.

Major developmental investments will come from the state budget and all other necessary investments will be financed by the enterprises themselves from their own resources or by borrowing. Interest for all loans will be paid by the enterprises.

In place of long-range unchangeable prices a realistic and flexible price system will be gradually introduced to take into consideration production cost, world prices, and relation of supply to demand. Fixed prices for basic raw materials and some basic necessities will be set by the central planners. Prices will be at first fixed after agreement between suppliers and consignees, but in time the enterprises will set free prices according to supply and demand. Prices and items are to be exposed to competition with foreign goods and with those produced within the different production systems such as cooperatives and State enterprises. Export products, as far as value and standards, must be equal to the best in the world. Sector enterprise in foreign trade activities will be taken over from the foreign trade organization wherever it is possible to experiment, and when it can be carried out better and more economically.

The merits of individual enterprises and plants, in order to make the enterprises more competitive, more cost-conscious, and more responsive to consumer wishes, will be measured by profits resulting from actual sales to customers. Control activities will be directed to correction of abuses, including the abuse of the monopoly status of producers, and to the development of prices and wages.

Each enterprise must earn its own way. After production cost deductions and tax levies (fulfillment of obligations to society) to the state, each enterprise must pay wages, costs for plant modernization, development, and other business obligations. State subsidization will cease for those enterprises unable to earn their way, after a transition period of grace to allow for adaptation.

Wages, according to individual merit and the enterprise's profits, are to be based on the quantity, quality, and importance of the work performed. Successful enterprises may institute profit sharing and investment undertakings.

Labor law regulations are to be amended to allow the enterprise executive to have increased powers to select, transfer, and release subordinate workers.

Wholesale prices are to be reorganized in accordance with firm and free prices. Extensive retail price changes will not occur until 1966 as trade enterprises, before this time period, will not acquire the major part of their supplies through direct contacts with production enterprises.

The prime purposes of this program are to provide a realistic pricing system, material incentives, incentive to introduce new technology into production, hight quality and attractively designed products, a greater volume of foreign trade, and an improved balance of payments.

Dedication of O'Reilly Bridge

SPEECH
OF
HON. F. BRADFORD MORSE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, October 21, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, October 17, a new bridge that spans the Merrimack River between Lawrence and North Andover, Mass., on Interstate Route No. 495 was dedicated to the memory of the late Reverend James T. O'Reilly, O.S.A. Father O'Reilly, who

served as pastor of St. Mary's Church in Lawrence from 1886 to 1925, was both priest and patriot; for it was his courage and inspiration, more than any other single factor, which mobilized the good people of Greater Lawrence to resist the forces of evil organized by the Industrial Workers of the World to bring anarchy to the city 52 years ago.

Arrangements for the dedication were handled by the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, whose president is our former colleague Thomas J. Lane, now a Governor's councilor in Massachusetts. Mr. Lane served as master of ceremonies for the dedication.

The principal address was delivered by Most Rev. Jeremiah F. Minihan, Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Boston, who extended the greetings of Cardinal Cushing and paid tribute to Father O'Reilly's outstanding pastorate in Lawrence.

Among the other speakers were Gov. John A. Volpe, Lawrence Mayor John J. Buckley, Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, O.S.A., president of Merrimack College in North Andover, and Very Rev. Edward J. Carney, O.S.A., pastor of St. Augustine's Church in Lawrence, who originally proposed the naming of the bridge in Father O'Reilly's honor, and State Senator William Wall whose resolution in the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts provided legislative authority for the naming of the bridge. The Right Reverend Malcolm E. Peabody, retired Episcopal bishop of Boston, delivered the invocation.

The Lawrence Eagle-Tribune on October 18 carried a full account of the dedication ceremonies, which I was pleased to attend, and I would like to include it at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Lawrence (Mass.) Eagle-Tribune, Oct. 18, 1965]

SEVEN HUNDRED AT DEDICATION OF O'REILLY BRIDGE AT ROUTE 495

A great new bridge built to span the Merrimack River between North Andover and Lawrence as part of the Route 495 complex at a cost of $3,930,000 was officially dedicated Sunday afternoon to the memory of the late Reverend James T. O'Reilly, OSA.

Linking, as it does, local communities on the lower level and the cities of the Nation on the upper level of its double deck, the bridge is built to serve mankind.

Speakers found it most appropriate, therefore, that the name of the former pastor of St. Mary's Church, as zealously dedicated to serve the people as he was to his priestly duties, be used to designate the new span.

The exercises, sponsored by the Reverend James T. O'Reilly Division of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, were held at 3 p.m., on the north end of the northbound lane of the lower or local level following a motorcade of more than 30 cars which transported participating leaders of the clergy and State.

More than 700 persons attended the dedication, marred only by chill winds.

William J. Donovan, program director, opened the affair with a welcome and the master of ceremonies was Governor's Counselor Thomas J. Lane, president of the division. The invocation was delivered by Rt. Rev. Malcolm E. Peabody, retired Episcopal bishop of Boston and former rector of Grace Episcopal Church, during which time he was closely associated with Father O'Reilly in local civic matters.

THE SPEAKERS

The principal address was delivered by Most Rev. Jeremiah F. Minihan, D.D., V.F., LL.D., Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Boston, who represented Richard Cardinal Cushing and also officiated at the blessing of the bridge.

Others were: Mayor John J. Buckley, Rt. Rev. Joseph P. Burke, division chaplain and pastor of St. Patrick's parish; Katherine A. Fitzpatrick, auxiliary president; Very Rev. Edward J. Carney, OSA, pastor of St. Augustine's parish; former Gov. Endicott Peabody, Hon. John E. Fenton, past national president of the AOH and president of Suffolk University; former Attorney General Edward J. McCormack, Jr., who represented the Speaker of the House of Representatives, JOHN W. MCCORMACK; Gov. John A. Volpe; Very Rev. James Sherman, OSA, provincial of the Augustinian Order from Villanova; Congressman F. BRADFORD MORSE, Very Rev. Vincent A. McQuade, OSA, Ph. D., president of Merrimack College; Very Rev. James M. Hurley, OSA, pastor of St. Mary's Church; State Commissioner of Public Works Francis W. Sargent and Senator William X Wall.

The program was brought to a close by the singing of the National Anthem by Mrs. Mark A. McComiskey, soloist, Benediction was given by Father Carney.

Organ music for the exercises was played by Joseph M. Walsh.

In his address, Bishop Minihan brought the blessing and cordial best wishes of Cardinal Cushing and termed it "a privilege to have a part in this historic occasion which will be indelibly inscribed in the history of the great city of Lawrence and in the hearts and minds of all its citizens who take just pride in their city and in the name and undying fame of the great priest."

As a native of Haverhill, the bishop said, he many times as a youngster came to Lawrence to view the famous annual May procession. He said he still remembers the impression made upon him by the figure and reputation of the illustrious pastor who dominated even that spectacle as priest and as an outstanding citizen among the civic leaders of his adopted city of Lawrence.

As a close associate of the late Cardinal O'Connell, a native of Lowell, during the first 15 years of his priesthood, Bishop Minihan said he heard Father O'Reilly spoken of often in words of highest esteem, regard, and affection.

"A NEW ERA"

He quoted also from the history of the archdiocese of Boston, published in 1944, which notes: "A new era dawned for the churches of Lawrence with the coming of Father O'Reilly as pastor of St. Mary's, a position he was to hold from 1886 to his death in 1925. He was a priest of marvelous versatility, a great executive and organizer, an indefatigable worker, an eloquent preacher, a model pastor, a moral reformer, and a man of strong civic spirit, infusing new life into every Catholic activity and coming to be universally recognized as the first citizen of Lawrence.

"He was faced with almost overwhelming debts, but made many improvements in St. Mary's and the Immaculate Conception Churches, adding to the latter its handsome spire. He built the convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame and brought in the Xaverian Brothers to teach the boys' school.

"Nearly all the foreign-language congregations of Lawrence owe him a great debt for having brought them together at one or another of his churches and trained and shepherded them until they were strong enough to have pastors of their own.

"He took a strong and active part in public affairs, seeking always, tirelessly and zealously, the good of all the citizens of Lawrence. He exerted himself strenuously and decisively for the no license cause. He campaigned with equal fervor for civic honesty and assailed crooked politicians who took refuge behind the Catholic label; and he rendered noble patriotic service during the Spanish-American War."

Bishop Minihan told the gathering, "The history of this city must record in equally laudatory terms the impact and the influence of this great man of God on the community which he served with the same devotion and fervor that he served his God and his church. Lawrence is a city today because of the foresight, the prudence, and the courage of Father O'Reilly and all those who joined with him during its darkest and stormiest days of 1912 when the Industrial Workers of the World sought to sow the seeds of discord, rebellion, and anarchy under the banner of 'No God, no master.'"

"The effort might have succeeded were it not for the intrepid, valorous, and courageous leader who rallied the support of 40,000 marchers each carrying an American flag under the banner of 'For God and Country.'

"TRUE ECUMENIST"

"Father O'Reilly, to my mind was a true ecumenist 60 years before the movement so active today. He made no distinction between color, race or creed. He was equally at home with the highly placed or the lowly, the poor or the rich who sought his counsel, and labor and management who found in him a sincere, understanding friend, and a wise and prudent counselor."

Mayor Buckley told the gathering that the bridge, as part of Route 495, is important to all in Greater Lawrence, providing swift travel and opening up new lands for development in the community. In paying tribute to Father O'Reilly, he said, we also pay tribute to all Augustinian priests.

Monsignor Burke expressed the hope that "this bridge will stand always as a reminder to us of the inspiration, leadership and nobility of character that the great pastor presented us and urged we be inspired to emulate those virtues."

Father Carney said the thought occurred to him to name the bridge after the beloved former pastor years ago when he served as pastor of St. Mary's. He thanked Senator William X. Wall who filed the bill making this possible, with the approval of the then Governor, Endicott Peabody.

Peabody, who was born on Prospect Hill, said he was proud to be the son of parents who were close friends of Father O'Reilly. He said his father and Father O'Reilly served in the ministry together many years ago and as the son of the former Episcopal bishop he was glad to have played a part in the laying out and construction of the bridge. One of his last acts as Governor, he said, was to sign the bill making the naming of the bridge possible.

Former chief justice of the Massachusetts Land Court, John E. Fenton, congratulated all who had anything to do with naming the bridge. He described Father O'Reilly as a strong man, physically, spiritually, and intellectually.

Former Attorney General McCormack said he did not know Father O'Reilly but had heard so much of his work that he recognized him as a truly inspired servant of God who, perhaps, was decades ahead of his times in the ecumenical spirit interested in better working, and living conditions of his people.

Father Hurley told his listeners they were revolving about in the orbit of a man who went before them. "He was a complete pastor, so his heart went out to everyone, his sheep, in the city and its environs."

Very Reverend Father Sherman urged the group to dedicate themselves "by this example, to the building of bridges of understanding, kindness, charity, and patriotism which are so necessary today."

The part Father O'Reilly played by his dynamic leadership in the 1912 threat of

chaos by the IWW, was detailed by Father McQuade, who said it was fitting to dedicate this bridge in memory of the late pastor because the route will serve to bring in new industry needed in this area.

Senator Wall told how the first bill was filed by Representative Thomas J. Barry, former Hibernian president, to build a bridge across the river and how he (Senator Wall) filed a bill in December 1962 to designate this bridge for Father O'Reilly, at the suggestion of Father Carney. He said that Councilor Lane, then Congressman, aided in getting a Federal restriction removed to make the naming possible, together with Judge Fenton, Monsignor Burke, Attorney Vincent A. O'Sullivan, Rev. John V. Casey, OSA, and how Irving E. Rogers kept Lawrencians informed on the progress of the legislation.

Governor Volpe said that standing on the bridge brought back memories of the State legislature in 1954 when the highway plan for Massachusetts was being laid out. At the time, someone remarked that a bridge over the Merrimack River would not be built in 40 years. It was as a result of the great highway program that the bridge is now completed, he said. Citizens of Lawrence and the entire Merrimack Valley, he said, can now look forward to a great industrial future. He said the bridge stands today as a bridge between man and man, as Father O'Reilly was a bridge between man and God.

Part II—East-West Trade Developments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, in submitting the second part of this very important article on "Proprietary Rights and East-West Trade," written by Herschel F. Clesner, I am hopeful that it will be observed that the continuity of the second part with the first entry develops the importance of the entire theme with its conclusion:

TO TRADE OR NOT TO TRADE

Convertible currencies for trade

To trade one must have goods to barter, funds to purchase other people's products, and desirable products of one's own for sale. For purchase funds the Soviet Union uses the gain from tourism, concerts, the sale of armaments, and the manganese, chromium, gold, platinum, and other rare metals that it mines; but these meet only a portion of that country's needs. The bloc countries pay for their purchases through cash payment in convertible currencies, debiting and crediting bilateral agreement clearing accounts, barter—with or without foreign exchange transactions, or credit.

The bloc countries are struggling to achieve a more diversified industrial economy at home, and do not appear to have many specialized products that are salable in the United States. Their exports are substantially raw materials, food, fuel, and finished natural products, while their imports consist chiefly of highly developed finished products. In many countries of the West, other than the United States, there is some need for such raw materials as are exported by the bloc countries, and so an exchange basis for trade exists. For example, in 1963, Great Britain bought 91 million pounds from the Soviets and sold 55.4 million pounds of goods to them. This favorable balance to the Soviets was used to make purchases in other sterling currency countries.

The economic planners of the Communist countries have often asserted that, given the opportunity to trade, plus the will and time to explore practical problems, they can plan, create, and develop products specifically for Western markets.

Though this is easily said, it is not as easily done since the quality, design, and efficiency of each product must have market appeal and must be priced competitively in the world market.

In striving to obtain sales and to be competitive foreign marketplaces such as the United States, the bloc members assert that the elimination, in the economic sphere, of cold war instruments, i.e., embargo, boycott, quota limitations, and tariff favoritism, would be welcome. In the meantime, long-term Western credit for expanding purchases must be sought. To this end, the bloc countries are willing to pay what they consider a high interest rate for such credit in order to create an immediate inflow into their industrial economy.

Bloc countries trading mechanism

Various specialized foreign trading organizations utilized by the Communist bloc countries are involved in the negotiation of foreign purchases as well as in sales. These foreign trading organizations in most instances are, at present, each particular country's sole agent to purchase and sell specific categories of equipment, processes, and products for all national enterprises. The foreign trade organization conducts export and import operations within the framework of the state foreign plan, a part of the overall national economic plan. The short-term import plan is based on orders received, after necessary clearance and approval, from enterprises and distributing organizations. The plan takes into account organized and existing bilateral and multilateral agreements, national production, other phases of the overall planning apparatus, currency available for purchase, and the amount of funds allocated for such use. Export responsibilities are to meet obligations under existing bilateral agreements, barter agreeagreements, and to earn foreign exchange to meet import payments.

The organization may, in some instances, use certain Western business organizations, for a limited area or purpose, as a sales, distribution, purchasing, or patent licensing agent. Remington Rand, Ltd., a British subsidiary of Sperry Rand Corp., is offering British customers an electronic invoicing machine made in East Germany and priced below competing machines. Remington Rand, Ltd., announced that it doesn't market other Communist manufactured items, but that its competitors sell typewriters, accounting machines, and calculating machines made in East Germany, as well as typewriters made in Czechoslovakia. A fairly sizable amount of exports from the United States and imports from the Soviet Union have in the past been handled by specialized brokers such as M. Golodetz, Intertex, Primary International, and Greg-Gary of New York. Hungary intends to utilize, for trading purposes, the services of Tower International, a firm created by the Eaton interests of Cleveland, Ohio. Novasider SpA of Turin, Italy, maintains a Moscow branch to promote and negotiate sales with Soviet foreign trading organizations, for products and processes of such Italian companies as Edison, Fiat, Ansaldo, Pirelli, European subsidiaries of United States Carborundum, and others, on a commission basis.

Trading difficulties

In addition to difficulties created by governmental policy, Western business executives have found that negotiations and transactions with the trading organization have their own difficulties. Western companies may not understand the methodology of the foreign trading organization and the operation of a planned economy. So, many United States and Western firms, for example—Kaiser Industries, Union Carbide, Pfizer, National Steel, Dow, Westinghouse, Schering, General Electric, Blaw Knox, Imperial Chemical Industries, Montecatini, Fried. Krupp, Dalmine, Asami, Ataka, and others, have sent top executives to Moscow in order to establish and improve relations with Soviet trading organizations.

However, not only the organization, but also the procedure, is usually slow moving, bureaucratic, and difficult to assess. The equipment or product for sale must come to the attention of the enterprise manager or chief engineer. The Soviet factory manager or chief engineer must demonstrate the need for the sale item as well as prove that the desired equipment or product will improve his productivity over similar domestically produced items. Clearances must be obtained and conformance with the economic plan must be achieved through the regional and national Sovnarkhoz (economic council) and planning commission. The organization and its personnel may not possess extensive trading experience. The organization is geared to the sale and purchase of essentially natured product items, refined natural products, and manufactured items, and the direction and thinking is along the lines of bulk commodity procurement and sale. In many instances, it may not be knowledgeable as to marketing and purchasing procedures, especially proprietary rights and data, as well as other Western business practices.

The methodology of the trading organization is, wherever possible, through purchase in a package deal to obtain new technology, plant engineering know-how, and data. A negative decision of the trade monopoly organization may foreclose sales to an entire national market. The organization's modus operandi may include unlimited negotiation time, worldwide purchase search, use of alternative new technology, and other bargaining practices. The laws and regulations of the Communist state possess peculiarities uncommon to Western commercial practice. In some instances the Western executive had thought he had achieved a contractual meeting of the minds, only to find that a management planner vetoed a practical result. As a result, quite a few Western business executives have spent many fruitless years "visiting and talking" with officials of various bloc organizations without the benefit of a single successful negotiation. Considerations such as these obviously were taken under study and played a role in bringing about the changes being introduced into the bloc economic planning and management systems.

Not all of the trade pitfalls and problems have their origin with the East. Many Western businesses have, because of national or self-interest, feared selling to bloc nations new technology, plants, and equipment. One fear is that the Communist country's overall economic production and marketing power might be utilized to compete in world markets in a manner to constitute dumping or regularly pricing products at a loss, in order to disrupt or to capture markets. Such acts would force either the original seller or his regular customers to lose profit margins, or bread and butter markets, with potentially dangerous results.

Another drawback is the fact that the Soviet Union does not provide foreign firms with copyright or design protection. Consequently many companies are wary of forwarding descriptive material to the Soviet Union. Many Western firms have complained that the bloc countries pirate new technology and do not respect patent rights.

Also, most individual Western enterprises do not possess the sum total of the new technology and engineering plant desired by bloc planners and purchasers as a package deal. In some instances essential know-how and technology may have been acquired under license from another Western firm. The license may be limited to use, or even manufacture and use, but may not include sale. The license may be derived from a U.S. company which might have limited the licensee's use to either its own country or the countries of the West because particular technology might be listed as a strategic item under the U.S. export control program. Another deterrent to package deals is that the patent and know-how pooling agreements may constitute a cartel in violation of the antitrust and monopoly laws of the United States. As a result of recent negotiation experiences, Soviet and bloc trading officials recoginze that the capability of Western business enterprises—selling a complete package of new technology, advanced plant, know-how and data—can be affected by existing patent licenses and arrangements with U.S. enterprises.

Resolution of difficulties and trade

Where the parties desire to trade (and there is a will) as well as to resolve difficulties, it is usually possible to do business. Despite limitations and complaints, competent Western companies have been able to deal successfully with bloc trade organizations by concentrating on the unique features of selling to a planned economy and attempting to understand the operation of their bargaining methodology. In turn, the bloc countries, for their part, are also willing to make important concessions, even to the degree of evolving revolutionary changes in their economic and management systems.

Foreign trade organizations have gradually, as a result of the impact of experience and relevant adjustment, made efforts to understand the whys and wherefores of the purchase and sale mechanisms of the West. Negotiations have been completed, in certain instances, with little or no delay when the trading organization had firm orders from their enterprises and purchase clearances from the economic planning agency. Japanese, British and other Western traders have been able to conclude significant contracts with bloc countries that incorporate a antidumping guarantee clause, as well as favorable modifications of the standard clauses regarding contract disputes and arbitartion procedures. Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland have provided the British Board of Trade with guarantees not to engage in any uneconomic (dumping) and restrictive practices in marketing in Great Britain. Their products now are no longer restricted to the quota limitations of their bilateral agreements in Great Britain, but are only subject on an explicit list of exceptions. The adjustment of other issues appears to be possible and may even have been accomplished, but would most likely be incorporated in the unpublished sections of the negotiated agreements.

Rumanian Premier Ion Maurer asserted that his Communist country favors removing any kind of artificial barriers limiting or hindering international commercial exchanges. Similar statements have been made by East German Premier Walter Ulbricht, Soviet Chairman of the Council of Ministers Kosygin, as well as by other bloc spokesmen.

While the bloc trading organizations have been negotiating intensively for the purchase and installation of entire plants, they have also been purchasing obtainable instruments, machinery, components and parts.

Developments such as international conventions

Except for Albania, the Communist countries of Eastern Europe have signed the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property which grants the same patent rights to nationals of cosigners to the Convention as it allows its own nationals. The Convention also grants inventors, who file a patent application in their own country, a year to file the same application, with the priority of the original date of filing in other member countries.

East Germany purports to belong to the Convention, though this state is not recognized, in the West, as having sovereign status. The Soviet Union, in turn, since the 1958 Lisbon Conference, has sent observers to the recent meetings held by the Convention members and has given notice of its intent to join. A Vice Chairman of the State Committee of Inventions and Discoveries of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. informed the March 16, 1965, meeting of the signatories of the Paris Convention of this intent to ratify the agreement. Convention members considered the Soviet author's certificates as well as patents as a basis for reciprocal priority rights. This is not a problem as the bloc members of the Convention also issue author's certificates which are granted reciprocal priority rights. The Soviet Union is now officially an accepted cosigner of the Convention.

In 1964, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, and the U.S.S.R. ratified and became members of the European Arbitration Convention together with Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, West Germany, Italy, Spain, and Turkey. The Convention applies to contract arbitration clauses and arbitration agreements. There are also other international agreements at the international level relating to commercial arbitration, but they have not been generally ratified. General ratification of these agreements which have proven acceptable to both East and West would be a helpful expedient in furthering trade.

Indicative of significant Soviet development, the State Committee for Inventions and Discoveries recently submitted a draft proposal for a new law covering the protection of designs, models, and drawings to the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. It is believed that such a law will be ratified and adopted.

Technological consortium or cartel

Business enterprises of one or more countries of the West have banded together to deal collectively with particular bloc organizations to overcome the difficulty of providing the sum total of desired new technology, engineering know-how and data, plant and equipment. The British began this innovation in trading method. British industry has, in the recent past, entered into several contracts in this manner; for example, the previously referred to contract signed by Polyspinners, Ltd. This practice is no longer unique to the British inasmuch as Dutch, United States, Italian, and Japanese chemical processing equipment manufacturers have come together as national units in the same fashion and for the same end.

The development of this trading method has progressed to the extent that a West German company, Fried, Krupp, has joined with an Austrian company in sale negotiations. Simon-Carves of Britain has contracted to build a $7.3 million ammonia plant in Hungary using steam reforming and ammonia synthesis processes developed by Haldor Topsoe of Copenhagen, Denmark. French and Belgian companies have combined to provide Bulgaria with ammonia and nitrogen fertilizer plants. A West German firm has contracted to supply Rumania with a liquid ammonia plant to be built in cooperation with and using process technology of a Danish company; and a urea plant will be built under a license from Stamicarbon, N. V. of the Netherlands. Simon-Carves, Ltd., in conjunction with Danish and Austrian chemical process firms, is negotiating for the sale and construction of plants involving new technology. The British High Polymer and Petro-Chemical Engineering Ltd. will build a $5.6 million nylon plant in Yugoslavia using Hans J. Zimmer A. G., Frankfurt, West Germany's design and process know-how. Last summer, Occidental Petroleum Co., a U.S. firm, disclosed that it, along with British Associates, is involved in negotiations with the Soviet Union to build fertilizer plants. Other U.S. companies are involved with companies of other countries in similar negotiations, but they have not made public announcements.

All Western nations, except the United States, offer the bloc countries the most favored nation treatment. When Hungary and Canada concluded a 3-year trade in 1964, they mutually guaranteed each other the principles of the most favored nation treatment. Thus U.S. firms find it advantageous to join with a firm in another Western nation or utilize a subsidiary so situated in order to have the benefit of this trading advantage.

The export consortium, elimination of tariff discrimination, longer-term credits backed by government guarantees, the understanding of the bargaining methodology, common membership in international arbitration and proprietary rights organizations, good will, and the resolution of other difficulties have all resulted in increased East-West trade for the particular countries concerned. In contrast with other countries of the West, the United States, despite the interest of some companies, has been far less interested in pursuing difficult East-West trade negotiations or in attempting to evolve new methods in conducting East-West trade.

Drawbacks to U.S. East-West trade

United States East-West trade is subjected to legislative restrictions such as the Trade Agreements Extension Act, Johnson Act, Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act, Export Control Act, Foreign Aid Related Agencies Act, Trade Expansion Act, Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act and other acts.

A major drawback to U.S. trade with the Soviet Union is that the lend-lease debt has not been settled. A settlement would be a solution to the prohibitions of the Johnson Act. Past negotiations to settle existing differences became the victim of the cold war. The U.S. policy is that this outstanding debt must be settled prior to trade negotiations, further U.S. credit, or even longer term credits.

The Johnson Act of 1934 (18 U.S.C., sec. 955) prohibits private persons and firms in the United States from granting credit to, making of loans to, selling or purchasing bonds or assuming other obligations of a foreign government or agency in default on their debts on the U.S. Government. All the bloc countries except Bulgaria are in default of their World War II obligations to the United States. The act was originally devised as a blow to France, Britain, and other United States World War I Allies who stopped paying their World War I debts to the United States. Devices have been created for these nations to avoid the design of the act, such as membership in the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Yugoslavia is the only Eastern European state that is a member of these financial units.

In 1951 the United States withdrew the most-favored-nation benefits on tariffs from the bloc nations. The United States now extends the most-favored-nation treatment only to Yugoslavia and Poland. Thus, the Soviet Union imports as well as other bloc imports flowing into the highly competitive U.S. market must pay the full 1930 U.S. tariff

rate. This is a serious competitive disadvantage.

Other drawbacks are the absence of U.S. guarantees to help the countries of Eastern Europe obtain permissible short- and medium-term credit or financing and also the export control program. So, in order to trade, some U.S. companies have used either a foreign trading company or broker who is able to get guarantees or financing from his sources, or the U.S. company has supplied the purchase order from a foreign contracting and manufacturing subsidiary, situated in a Western country, that does extend either export credit guarantees or credits to bloc countries.

The Export-Import Bank of Washington is authorized to guarantee, insure, coinsure, and reinsure U.S. exporters. It conducts an export guarantee program to facilitate U.S. exports, and participates with the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, an unincorporated association of U.S. insurance companies, in a program of credit insurance covering U.S. export transactions. These activities are not considered public assistance to countries that purchase U.S. exports and are not prohibited by the Mutual Defense Assistance Act. However, the Foreign Aid and Related Agencies Appropriation Acts of recent years have limitations on the authority of the Export-Import Bank to participate in financing U.S. exports to Communist countries. But the President has made determinations allowable under the act to insure export sales of U.S. products to Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and the Soviet Union. Such a waiver was exercised in the Rumanian-Firestone and Universal Oil Products contract.

Export control program

With the Department of Commerce lies the enforcement and the licensing of items and technical data which fall under the export control program. On April 1, 1964, Commerce took over from the Treasury Department the responsibility of licensing exports of technical data.

The department's licensing pattern in carrying out these responsibilities is hard to comprehend. The administration is difficult, if not impossible, in view of the guidelines and the expanded trade relations of the bloc countries with other countries of the West, with close economic and technological interrelationships with the United States. The definition of what is strategic may vary with the direction of the wind. On July 14, 1964, the Department eased its licensing policy toward Rumania by granting it the benefit of the same export control procedures accorded to Poland. Exports to Rumania are now permitted under general license for all commodities except for those on the exception list.

Although many items and data classed as strategic materials have theoretically been barred from shipment to the bloc countries by the Coordinating Committee for International Controls of the North Atlantic Treaty Organizaion countries, the Coordinating Committee's list has been applied differently by its member countries and it is not as extensive as the United States list with the result that the Soviets have received, from our NATO partners, many things that the United States would consider clearly strategic. In many instances, foreign NATO licensees of U.S. companies may not be able to export certain items to the bloc countries. Licensees in neutral countries (i.e., Sweden, Switzerland) are not subject to such legal restrictions by their governments. In many instances, where items all restricted for sale to the bloc, there is no doubt that when, in time, they try to produce the item they may then achieve a greater degree of self-sufficiency and economic strength. But time is of the essence in producing items for strategic purposes and also, in today's industrial production, for capturing markets, or fulfilling urgent user needs. In a few instances, the planning apparatus or even the actual economy might be disrupted until either purchase can be made elsewhere or adjustments are made to provide for the development and production of the item.

The use of Swiss subsidiaries or patent licensees to achieve similar unintentional or intentional results has been utilized by companies of other countries to carry on trade exchanges with the East. It is possible for patent technology licensed by U.S. companies to be sold to bloc countries even though our export control program does not allow such sales. Further, it may have resulted, in some instances, in the denial to U.S. firms of the opportunities to sell U.S. produced items which the bloc nations can obtain in other countries of the West.

Need for evaluation

Based on the past years of operating experience, an evaluation should be made of the Export Control Act and the program regarding both the export of technical data and the licensing of export equipment. Does it serve its intended purpose? In its present format and operation, is it an unnecessary impediment on the U.S. participation in East-West trade? Is it an embargo that is effective in denying the Communist bloc countries the use of either United States or Western technology and know-how to enhance themselves technologically and in over-all worldwide influence? The study should legitimately be directed to determine what actual effect or impact the export control program does have upon subsidiaries of U.S. companies manufacturing and doing business as an operating entity in other nations of the West. It should determine what occurs when independent business entities in other countries of the West (NATO or neutral) are provided with new technology, advanced engineering know-how and data under license for royalty payments from U.S. business entities. Other important queries that should be answered are whether there is a significant loss of capital funds and job opportunities when U.S. firms are not permitted to sell bloc nations items produced in the United States and technology developed in the United States which can be produced and purchased from other countries of the West and, in turn, if the sale of plants, know-how and proprietary rights would adversely affect the U.S. economy. Such a study is needed to aid in formulating legislation and policy affecting East-West trade.

Justice Department Investigation

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOSEPH E. KARTH
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KARTH. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] earlier today disclosed what appear to be certain grave irregularities in the administration of justice by the Federal Government.

I do not presume to judge the innocence or guilt of James R. Hoffa, the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, on the various charges of wrongdoing made against him by the Department of Justice. Personally, I have strongly disapproved of Mr. Hoffa's conduct of his office and long ago asked him to resign his position because I felt some of his actions have reflected unfairly on the integrity of the American labor movement.

While my appraisal of Mr. Hoffa's role as a union leader has not changed, I have become increasingly alarmed over certain aspects of the Federal Government's prosecution of Mr. Hoffa. To the lay observer it seems as though there is a determination by some officials in the U.S. Department of Justice to "get Hoffa" regardless of price, even if the integrity of Federal justice is compromised.

The gentleman from Illinois has listed a number of amazing irregularities in the consideration of a Government witness which amount to illegal immunity of an informer from prosecution for his many alleged misdoings. The obvious conclusion is that a witness is cooperating fully with the Federal Government to save himself from prosecution on various serious charges.

Any fairminded person who has cherished the tradition that American justice is administered through impartial law should be concerned at the charges which have arisen out of the conduct of the U.S. Department of Justice's cases against Mr. Hoffa. If public sentiment is not generally favorable to Mr. Hoffa it is all the more important an extraordinary effort be made by the Federal Government to curb any tendency toward overzealousness in making its case against him.

It is a perversion of justice, surely, to use highly questionable, if not illegal means to win convictions. It is doubly so, in my opinion, when the majesty of Federal justice stoops to such measures. I am concerned that should we cynically tolerate abuses in the administration of Federal justice wherever unpopular individuals, groups, or causes are involved we will indeed face a serious crisis in our democracy.

Because the gentleman from Illinois has made serious charges, I feel compelled to join my colleagues in urging the House Committee on the Judiciary to implement a resolution adopted in 1964 which authorized an investigation in the operations of the Justice Department. Certainly the committee needs to take the initiative in reviewing the charges and countercharges of wrongdoing so that this serious problem can be settled.

Congress Takes on a New Look

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. HANSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress. It is my feeling that this Congress will go down in history as the most productive and forward-looking Congress of all time.

I am happy to note that the "rubberstamp" allegation has just about run its course. Too many people have examined the facts, so now the opposition has to search for a new point to harp on. The Honorable CARL ALBERT covered the matter quite completely when he pointed out that the things the President wanted were the very issues on which the new Members were elected, and the older Members reelected. It would be rather inconsistent to oppose the issues we campaigned for and won on.

It is true that President Johnson has had great success in the enactment of his proposed legislation. He has achieved this success by presenting the facts to the people and gaining their support. Then, too, many times he has found it necessary to accept changes proposed by legislative leaders in order to achieve a consensus on important pieces of legislation.

The October 23d issue of Business Week contained an interesting article on the 89th Congress. As you know, Business Week is not particularly known for its support of administration measures. Still, with the exception of the analysis of the Senate postponement of 14(b), I found this article to be generally straight-forward and unbiased.

I would like to present this article for the perusal of my colleagues as a tribute to their membership in the "do plenty" 89th Congress. The article follows:

CONGRESS TAKES ON A NEW LOOK

Without any question, the session of Congress that now is coming to a close will go into the recordbooks as one of the most productive in modern times. Even a brief list of the major legislation that it passed is impressive: sweeping exise tax reductions; a revolutionary medicare program attached to a broad liberalization of social security pension benefits; new Federal funds for elementary schools, high schools, and colleges; the Appalachia program; voting rights, legislation for Negroes; immigration reform; tougher controls over pollution of streams and the atmosphere.

Two things have accounted for this sudden explosion of congressional productivity. One was the waning power of the conservative coalition that for years had managed to block legislation that it opposed without being able to pass measures of its own. The other was the emergence of really effective leadership from the White House.

No matter what the theorists say, Congress under the American system of government cannot supply the initiative in putting through broad new programs. That function falls to the executive branch, and when the President is uncertain of his role or inept in his performance, the result is stalemate.

Lyndon B. Johnson has shown himself not only a strong leader but a skillful one. He and his aids have not stopped with proposing the programs they wanted. They have applied the pressure necessary to get the bills out of committee, rounded up the marginal votes, underwritten the compromises that are essential to secure majority approval.

Inevitably, a Congress so responsive to a President's will is accused of being a mere rubberstamp. And, in some cases, it must be conceded that this Congress would have done well to look a bit longer before it leaped so obligingly. The record as a whole, however, affords ample evidence that Congress has not surrendered its treasured independence.

The medicare bill, for example, was extensively modified as the legislative process went forward, and the House took the lead in adding voluntary insurance to pay doctor's bills. The House also took President Johnson's rather modest excise tax reduction proposals and expanded them into a program for eliminating most excises entirely. This may or may not have been wise, but it certainly was not rubberstamping.

In spite of all sorts of pressure, the Senate refused to rush through repeal of the Taft-Hartley section that permits State right-to-work laws. This was a case where labor leaders had become entranced with a symbolic goal of their own and had lost touch with their constituencies. Congress sensed the facts of the situation and in this case refused to follow the White House lead.

The record has its flaws, but it is the record of a vigorous, effective branch of the U. S. Government. Congress, as it disbands, is entitled to feel that it has done its job well.

The Farm Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALEC G. OLSON
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. OLSON of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, in view of the interest of the Congress and the Nation in the omnibus farm bill, I would like to call attention to the observations of the Grain Terminal Association contained in a recent release:

President Johnson has signed the farm bill, and in the process of announcing this news, we couldn't help but be sensitive to the emphasis put on the cost of this legislation by press, radio, and TV. A few billion dollars does sound like a lot of money, and it is a lot of money. Yet those who complain about farm programs fail to understand the importance of agriculture to this Nation, or any nation. The simple, historical fact is that a healthy, productive farm industry is the very basis of national prosperity, even in a nation as advanced industrially as the United States.

Just look at what is happening over in Eastern Europe. Most of those countries, including Russia, cannot grow enough food. They have to sell hundreds of millions of dollars worth of gold to buy wheat. Those countries have neglected and bled their farmers for scores of years, and they are paying the price now.

Farmers in the United States have one tractor for every 66 acres of cultivated land. In Russia there is one tractor for every 360 acres. The U.S. farmer can use this machinery to squeeze planting, cultivating, and harvesting into a few short weeks and get good crops. The Eastern European farmer is at the mercy of the weather because the bureaucrats have failed to invest enough money in mechanization.

The bureaucrats over there have been even more niggardly with the men who operate what farm machines they do have. The income and standard of living available to Eastern European farmers lags far behind that of industrial workers. Incentive and initiative on the land have been discouraged, if not destroyed.

As one national news magazine describes it, "the farmer has been expected to make do with the loose change left over from industrial development." In Russia under Stalin only 6 percent of the state budget went into agriculture. Even under Khrushchev, who increased farm spending, the investment in agriculture was only one-half the investment in heavy industrial machinery alone.

The bureaucrats over in Eastern Europe have been prisoners of this tendency to "think city." As the national news magazine we mentioned puts it, "the result of this sort of singlemindedness is that for 48 years they have treated the Soviet farmer as a kind of milk cow whose prime purpose is to create the capital needed for industrial development, and who must be fed just enough to keep him functioning."

So now Russia comes to the time of truth. It has failed to feed the agricultural cow properly. It has milked the beast until it is down to skin and bones. It suffers from flabby udder. And what to do about it? Where will the money come from to put that cow back in production?

Students of Russian economics say that if the money is to be found at all, it must come from the industrial sector of the economy. The policy that the Soviet bureaucrats have followed since the 1917 revolution must be reversed, and they must begin to milk the cities to build up the countryside.

That is the penalty for neglect of the land and the people who till it.

Those who understand this will hail the new farm bill just signed by President Johnson, because they know that progress and prosperity in this Nation rests upon the efficiency, economic health, and abundant production of its farmers.

Independence Anniversary of Algeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, the House will not be in session when the Algerian nation will celebrate the third anniversary of her independence. We wish to take this opportunity therefore to extend warm felicitations to His Excellency Colonel Houri Boumedienne, President of the Republic of Algeria; and to His Excellency Cheris Guellala, the Algerian Ambassador to the United States.

On the first of November in 1954, the people of Algeria launched the long and bloody struggle against French rule that finally won them their independence on July 3, 1962. Few nations have cherished their independence so dearly; fewer still have paid such a high price for its attainment. After 8 years of fighting and the subsequent departure of 300,000 highly trained French personnel, the problems which have faced Algeria have been staggering.

In view of the social and economic challenges which stand before this young nation, the recent efforts by the Algerian Government to look to the solution of domestic problems as their most important task is most encouraging.

The economic problems alone offer a challenge which tests the resourcefulness of the most enterprising of men. The great desert in the neighboring Sahara is filled with the riches of untapped oil and gas, while the heavily populated fertile areas and cities along the Mediterranean coastal belt are filled with poverty.

Fortunately, the Algerian people appear to be equal to the giant tasks which

lie before them. The disastrous departure of trained Frenchmen after the revolution was cushioned by the fact that thousands of Algerians who were equally skilled and capable remained distributed throughout the Government and economy. The recent emphasis the Algerian Government has placed on bolstering the domestic economy as its first and foremost goal along with the recent encouragement of foreign investment capital and renewed Algerian-French cooperation add to the possibilities of realizing the wealth of the Sahara, not to mention the possibilities for tourism on Algeria's beautiful Mediterranean beaches.

Throughout its long relationship with France, Algeria has had a long-standing reputation as one of the most western of all the north African nations. Since independence, the free spirit of the Algerian people has blossomed and the appearances of a modern Western nation are even more striking. Nevertheless, the Algerian people retain the quiet dignity and religious awareness that is associated with the Islamic culture.

Great challenges and long-standing problems still stretch before Algeria. Nonetheless, the courage and determination that have marked the history of this proud nation offer encouragement to those who look forward to its future as a leader among the Moslem nations of the East.

It is a pleasure for me to extend my congratulations to the people of Algeria as they celebrate their hard-won independence.

Acceptance Speech of the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, at Testimonial Dinner in His Honor, Given by the Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion, at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, October 2, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, October 2, last, I had the privilege of attending a testimonial dinner in honor of the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, given by the Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion, at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the following acceptance speech delivered by the Deputy Attorney General of the United States on this occasion, together with the evening's program and a list of the guests of honor:

ACCEPTANCE SPEECH OF THE HONORABLE RAMSEY CLARK, THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES, AT COLONEL FRANCIS VIGO POST NO. 1093, AMERICAN LEGION, AT THE WALDORF-ASTORIA, NEW YORK CITY

Tomorrow is an historic day for the Nation and for our greatest port of entry, New York City. For on Liberty Island, President Johnson will sign the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 and decades of injustice will end.

In 1902, Mr. Dooley observed: "As a pilgrim father that missed the first boat, I must raise one clarion voice against the invasion iv this fair land by the paupers and anarchists of Europe. Ye bet I must—because I'm here first. In them days America was their refuge as the oppressed in all the world * * * but as I tell ye, 'tis different now. I don't know why tis different, but tis different. Tis time we put our back against the open door and keep out the savage horde."

Even today we sense the presence of old fears. Irrational, they ignore the fact so forcefully demonstrated by President Kennedy that we are a nation of immigrants. When we speak of the great contributions made by the foreign born in this country, we obscure the truth—the foreign born are only the more recent immigrants. This Nation, a melting pot of the peoples of the world, is comprised of the foreign born and their children. There is not one in a hundred among us who can say with Will Rogers that his ancestors were at the dock to meet the *Mayflower*.

But more pertinent is the ignorance illustrated by such fear. Immigration today is a fundamentally different phenomena than in days gone by.

From 1880 to 1920 more than 23 million foreigners came to this country. Today, immigration is by comparison, a trickle. Thus, more than a million new Americans arrived on these shores in 1905, 1906, 1907, 1910, 1913, and in 1914; years when our total population was less than one-half the present. Years when only 2 million births were recorded including babies of the foreign born.

Today, quota immigration is only 160,000 people while more than 4 million infants are born each year and California alone increases its population by more than one-half million annually.

There were as many foreign born living in the United States in 1890, 9½ million, as there are today, but then they comprised 15 percent of the total population, while today they are only 5 percent. In 1910, there were nearly 4 million more foreign born living in this country than there are today.

The needs of the Nation in immigration are essentially different and our policy must recognize this fact and fulfill these needs. As Vice President HUMPHREY has pointed out: "The present system is cruel, unworkable, discriminatory and illogical." It is absolutely incompatible with the ideals of our system of government and as such threatens great injury to our image, our institutions and ourselves.

This Nation was brought forth with the declaration that all men are created equal. Listed as grievances against the King in that declaration were his cruel policies which "* * * Endeavored to prevent the population of these States; refusing to pass others (or) to encourage their immigration hither."

Yet, for decades we have fostered an immigration policy harmful to the Nation, that discriminates on the basis of national origin. President Truman told us in 1952: "The idea behind this discriminatory policy was, to put it boldly, that Americans with English or Irish names were better people and better citizens than Americans with Italian or Greek or Polish names * * * such a concept is utterly unworthy of our traditions and our ideals."

To see the senseless injury caused by this policy we need only consider Italy. Remember that between 1890 and 1910, 20 percent of the immigrants to this country came from Italy. Remember that only one nation has contributed more immigrants than Italy. Remember that in 1960, New York City had more people of Italian birth than did Rome. Remember the thousands of Italian families that are separated by our immigration laws. Remember that Italy, the freedom loving people of Italy and the Government of Italy are our strong and loyal ally and that a strong and vital Italy is absolutely essential to the free nations of the world. Remember the immense scientific and intellectual capacity of Italy in these days when brainpower and the drain of brainpower determines the course of nations.

Then look at our national origins system which expires today. Fewer than 6,000 quota immigrants from Italy a year. A backlog of 132,000 applications for immigration. Compare this to Ireland which has used barely one-third of its quota annually.

The loser has been the American people, our Nation and our ideals. We might remember the sad irony of Mr. Dooley who saw how to keep the savage horde away: "They'se wan sure way to keep them out," he said.

"Whats that?" asked Mr. Hennessy.

"Teach them all about our institutions before they come," said Mr. Dooley.

For surely this is the moral of our immigration laws. If they were understood to reflect the ideals of America, few would care to join us.

We cannot fear to face the world or the needs of our times. We must invite to this land of freedom the peoples of all nations and all races equally. We must offer equal justice to the people of all nations and be sufficiently flexible to conduct our international affairs in the best interest of the Nation. We must not permit our laws to cause that most tragic occurrence—the separation of families, of husband and wife, parent and child, of loved ones. We must have laws that afford the country a preeminent position in the search for brain power, for human skills and imagination. We must have a policy which enables this Nation to harbor and save the refugee from natural and political disaster, from persecution and dictatorship. We must have a policy which causes a constant inquiry, study, and consultation into the current needs of the Nation in immigration. We must have a system which is guided, intelligent, effective and, above all, just.

Tomorrow, President Johnson at the Statue of Liberty, a great moment in American history, will sign into law a bill to achieve these ends.

Then we can square our ideals with our acts, for as President Johnson said when he asked the Congress for this new law, "No move could more effectively reaffirm our fundamental belief that a man is to be judged, and judged exclusively, on his worth as a human being."

PROGRAM

National anthem: Roe De Jon and his orchestra.

Invocation by the Most Reverend James E. McManus, C.S.S.R., D.D., representing His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

Greetings by the Honorable Paul R. Rao, Jr., tax commissioner of the city of New York.

Presentation of the toastmaster, commissioner of water supply, gas, and electricity, the Honorable Armand D'Angelo, by the Honorable Paul P. Rao, Jr.

Interlude: Harry Hershfield (Mr. New Yorker), noted humorist, columnist, radio, and television personality.

Presentation of a past commander's pin to Comdr. Frank P. Costa by the Honorable Abraham D. Beame, comptroller, city of New York.

Presentation of scholarships to John F. Pipia, Fordham University School of Law; Stephen A. Russo, New York University School of Law; William F. Tueting, Columbia University School of Law; by the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY, U.S. Congressman, New York.

Presentation of the Kenneth P. Steinreich Memorial Award to Simon Peter Gourdine, graduate of Fordham University School of Law, by the Honorable Tom C. Clark, Associate Justice, U.S. Supreme Court.

Presentation of American Legion Award to the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States, by the Honorable Robert F. Wagner, mayor of the city of New York.

Acceptance by the Honorable Ramsey Clark, the Deputy Attorney General of the United States.

Benediction by Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplains' Corps, USN (retired).

GUESTS OF HONOR

Col. Paul Akst, the New York City Director of Selective Service.

Hon. James J. Andrews, former superintendent, U.S. Assay Office.

Mr. Kenneth Arnold, vice president and general manager, Treadway Inns.

Hon. Thomas A. Aurelio, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. Lawrence H. Baer, regional director, U.S. Civil Service Commission, New York region.

Mr. Francis J. Barry, president, Circle Line.

Hon. Howard Basler, clerk, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Abraham D. Beame, comptroller, city of New York.

Comdr. Charles Becker, United Spanish War Veteran.

Hon. Carmine S. Bellino, former Special Consultant to the President.

Dr. Benedict Benigno, prominent New York physician.

Dr. G. Bonaccolto, professor of ophthalmology, New York University.

Hon. William E. Boyland, president of the Tax Commission, city of New York.

Hon. George M. Bragalini, vice president, Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co.

Mr. Harry Brandt, president, Brandt Theaters.

Comdr. Alfonso A. Calabrese, New York County commander, American Legion.

Hon. John M. Cannella, judge, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York.

Hon. David F. Cardoza, supervising customs agent, region 1, U.S. Treasury Department.

Past Cmdr. Michael J. Caslin, New York County Council, V.F.W.

Hon. Bradford N. Clark, commissioner of public works, city of New York.

Hon. Tom C. Clark, Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Dr. John V. Connorton, deputy mayor-city administrator, city of New York.

Dr. Alexander J. Conte, director of tumor clinic and associate attending surgeon, St. Vincent's Hospital.

Hon. Albert Conway, former chief judge of the New York State Court of Appeals.

Hon. James Corines, executive assistant to the commissioner of licenses.

Mr. Frank P. Costa, past commander, Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion.

Hon. Armand D'Angelo, commissioner of water supply, gas, and electricity, city of New York.

Hon. William True Davis, Jr., assistant secretary of the treasury.

Hon. Robert J. de Sanctis, deputy commissioner, department of welfare, New York City.

Hon. Mary H. Donlon, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. John W. Douglas, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Civil Division.

Hon. Frank D. Doyle, special assistant to the mayor.

Hon. David N. Edelstein, judge U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York.

Mr. Frank Farrell, columnist, New York World Telegram and Sun.

Hon. Raymond F. Farrell, Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization.

Hon. Lawrence Fleishman, Deputy Commissioner of Customs.

Hon. Morgan Ford, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Harry B. Frank, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Ernest C. Friesen, Jr., Assistant Deputy Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Irving Geist, chairman of the board, Horizon Land Corp.

Capt. Joshua L. Goldberg, Chaplains' Corps, U.S.N. (retired).

Hon. Harry E. Gould, chairman of the board, Universal American Corp.

The Reverend brother Gregory, F.S.C. president, Manhattan College.

Mr. Harold Harris, reporter, New York Journal American.

Hon. George P. Hennessy, assistant corporation counsel, chief tort division.

Mr. Harry Hershfield, humorist and columnist.

Mr. Mark F. Hughes, president, New York County Lawyers Association.

Mr. Frank N. Ikard, president, American Petroleum Institute.

Mr. Jimmy Jemail, columnist, New York Daily News.

Mr. Paul S. Kerr, president, National Baseball Hall of Fame and Museum, Inc.

Mr. Vincent Lacapria, vice president, A.C.W. of A.

Mr. Henry L. Lambert, chairman of the board, Lambert Bros. Jewelers, Inc.

Hon. Charles D. Lawrence, judge, U.S. Customs Court (retired).

Mr. Francis S. Levien, president, Universal American Foundation.

Mr. Paul E. Lockwood, vice president, Schenley Industries, Inc.

Col. Joseph Love, past commander, New York City 505, VFW.

Hon. John F. Malone, Assistant Director in Charge, F.B.I.

Dr. Herman P. Mantell, special duty comptroller, city of New York.

Rev. Nicola Marinacci, pastor, Church of Our Lady of Peace.

Hon. Owen McGivern, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. James McGurrin, county clerk, New York County.

Hon. Ivan C. McLeod, regional director, National Labor Relations Board, second region.

The Most Reverend James E. McManus, C.SS.R., D.D. auxiliary bishop and pastor of St. Cecilia's Church.

Hon. James B. M. McNally, justice of the appellate division of the supreme court, first department.

Dr. William B. McVeigh, North Atlantic regional medical officer, Internal Revenue Service.

Hon. Frank B. Mercurio, regional director, U.S. Department of Labor.

Hon. Michael J. Merkin, senior vice president, Federation Bank & Trust Co.

Hon. Arthur Miller, regional administrator, GSA.

Brig. Gen. A. J. Montgomery, commanding general, U.S. Army Terminal Command.

Hon. Robert M. Morgenthau, U.S. attorney, southern district of New York.

Hon. John M. Murtagh, administrative judge, criminal court, city of New York.

Comdr. Max Newman, United Spanish War veterans.

Mr. Salvatore J. Nigrone, executive director, United Italian American League.

Dr. Joseph Nitti, vice consul of Italy.

Hon. Mario T. Noto, Associate Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Hon. Frank D. O'Connor, district attorney, Queens County.

Mr. Sylvan Oestreicher, director of the Los Angeles Dodgers.

Hon. Webster J. Oliver, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Mr. Edward J. O'Neill, columnist, New York Daily News.

Mr. Michael E. Orofino, executive city and State chairman, Citizens' Forum of the City and State of New York, Inc.

Mr. Louis J. Paley, president, Customs Bar Association.

Mr. Peter Panagkos, president, Hellenic American Association.

Hon. Joseph E. Parisi, deputy general clerk, Supreme Court, Kings County.

Comdr. Peter A. Pascarelli, commander, Colonel Francis Vigo Post No. 1093, American Legion.

Col. C. Michael Paul, chairman of the board, Connecticut Railway & Lighting Co.

Hon. Joseph F. Periconi, president of the Borough of the Bronx.

Mr. Fortune R. Pope, editor and publisher of Il Progresso.

Hon. Mario A. Procaccino, former judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Paul P. Rao, chief judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Paul P. Rao, Jr., tax commissioner, city of New York.

Maj. Mario G. Remo, vice president, J. W. Mays, Inc.

Hon. Scovel Richardson, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Dante A. Robilotti, marshal, U.S. Customs Court.

Hon. Huga E. Rogers, former president of the Borough of Manhattan.

Hon. John J. Rooney, U.S. Congressman, New York.

Mr. Samuel Rudin, president, Rudin Management Co.

Hon. Robert V. Santangelo, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Hon. Emanuele Scammacca, legation secretary, Italian Embassy.

Maj. Gen. Frank R. Schwengel, chairman of the board, House of Seagram.

Hon. Paul R. Screvane, president of the city council.

Maj. Max L. Shulman, chairman of the board, J. W. Mays, Inc.

Hon. Charles H. Silver, executive assistant to the mayor for education and industrial development.

Mr. Marvin Sleeper, columnist, New York Journal American.

Rear Adm. Irvin J. Stephens, commander, Third Coast Guard District.

Hon. Michael Stramiello, U.S. appraiser of merchandise, port of New York.

Hon. Joseph T. P. Sullivan, foreman, second panel sheriff's jury.

Hon. William R. Sweeney, assistant director, U.S. courts.

Hon. Edward Thompson, justice of the supreme court, New York.

Hon. Frank H. Tuohy, comptroller of customs, port of New York.

Hon. John A. Vaccaro, surveyor of customs, port of New York.

Hon. Charles J. Vallone, judge of the civil court, city of New York.

Mr. Harry Van Arsdale, Jr., president, New York City Central Labor Council, AFL–CIO.

Hon. Andrew P. Vance, Chief, Customs Section, Civil Division, U.S. Department of Justice.

Hon. Fred M. Vinson, Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

Mr. Daniel E. Wade, foreman, first panel sheriff's jury.

Hon. Robert F. Wagner, the mayor, city of New York.

Hon. Edwin L. Weisl, Jr., Assistant Attorney General of the U.S. Lands Division.

Mr. Edwin L. Weisl, Sr., Democratic national committeeman, State of New York.

Hon. Meyer F. Wiles, deputy commissioner of public works, city of New York.

Hon. David J. Wilson, judge, U.S. Customs Court.

Comdr. Joseph B. Wilson, United Spanish War Veteran.

Hon. Eugene Worley, chief judge, U.S. Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

The Truth About the Bank Merger Bill

SPEECH
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my deep concern over a widening attack on the Nation's antitrust laws. As you know, the Banking and Currency Committee has before it S. 1698, a bank merger bill, which would in effect wipe out the antitrust laws for the banking industry. This far-reaching legislation is almost certain to be a major item of controversy in the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

The bill, on its face, goes only to the question of the application of antitrust laws to banks. However, the legislation is unquestionably an opening wedge in a general weakening of the antitrust statutes under which our American competitive free enterprise system operates.

I know that many groups throughout the country are greatly disturbed about this bank merger bill and its effect on the business community and the public generally.

The antitrust laws traditionally have been the bulwark protecting small business and preventing the domination of our economy by a few big businesses. Even with our present antitrust laws, we still find widespread instances of price fixing, anticompetitive practices, and a steady wave of mergers leading to bigger and bigger monopolies. Free enterprise cannot exist without strong antitrust laws fairly and thoroughly administered.

Congressional intent in favor of these antitrust laws has been plain ever since the passage of the Sherman Act in 1890. This policy was reemphasized with the passage of the Clayton Act in 1914, and has been strengthened by the passage of many amendments and laws since that time. In addition, the enforcement of antitrust laws is a bipartisan belief. Strong antitrust laws that would protect our economic system from domination by undue concentrations of power have long been the goals of all political parties.

Now, proponents of S. 1698 and similar bank merger bills propose that the Congress turn its back on this longstanding policy and return the banking industry and eventually the whole business community to the law of the jungle.

Without question, the banking industry has tremendous impact on all businesses. Therefore, the question of antitrust application to banks takes on added meaning in this field. Since all business is vitally dependent on the commercial banking system, a competitive marketplace in which the bank customer can choose the institution which best fits his needs is imperative. But if a small group of big banks dominates the availability of credit to businessmen, then freedom of choice is destroyed and, in effect, the bank can control the entire business community. Already in this country 100 of the Nation's 14,000 banks control approximately half of all commerical bank deposits, and those huge institutions also have interlocking directors with the Nation's largest nonbanking corporations.

In addition, there is an illegal but growing trend among the larger banks to enter into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses, such as the selling of insurance, automobile and other equipment rental, travel agencies, credit card business, computer services, and securities underwriting, to name only a few. The list of nonbanking services being provided by banks grows longer every year. All of the nonbanking services which banks now offer are also performed by independent businessmen. The businesses providing these nonbanking services are subject to the full force of the antitrust laws. If S. 1698 were passed, it would clearly put these competitors of banks at a further disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all. Is this equal justice under law?

Elimination of the antitrust laws is also a big threat to the small independent banks. Enactment of the bank merger bill would, of course, provide a field day for the large banks, which seem to have an endless appetite for swallowing up their smaller competitors.

As banks disappear in these mergers, the sources of credit for small businesses and the consumer shrink. Unlike big businesses, the consumer and the small business must usually depend on sources of money close to their home areas. Concentration of banking facilities eliminates competition, raises the cost of money, and limits the supply of credit for these small borrowers. It is an unfortunate fact that big banks prefer to deal with big customers.

Passage of S. 1698, effectively exempting banks from the antitrust laws, could lead ultimately to the end of antitrust application to all businesses and finally the demise of our American free enterprise system.

During the closing days of the first session of this Congress, a group of members of your Banking and Currency Committee met in an illegal rump session. Following this rump session, they illegally reported a bank merger bill, S. 1698, and without properly informing this body sent the bill and an alleged committee report to the Rules Committee.

If an attempt is made to obtain a rule on this illegally reported bill, S. 1698, from the House Rules Committee when the Congress meets in January, I shall request an appearance before that body and state that this legislation was not legally reported from the Banking and Currency Committee. In addition, if S. 1698 should reach the floor of the House, I shall make a point of order against this bill and show that the conduct leading to the presentation of this bill to the House constitutes violations of a number of rules of the House and of the Banking and Currency Committee.

I know that this body shares my concern over this bill and its long-range implications in the antitrust area. What the Members of this 89th Congress do about this legislation undoubtedly will affect the American people and the American economy for years to come.

To inform the House of the real impact of this legislation—indicating how far it goes in eliminating the antitrust laws—I am inserting in the RECORD at this point a series of questions and answers concerning S. 1698 and related bills:

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE BANK MERGER BILL—66 QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

I. How S. 1698 would exempt bank mergers from the antitrust laws.

II. Why the antitrust laws should continue to apply to the banking industry.

III. The real reason why the banking lobby wants to amend the bank merger laws.

IV. What would happen to all of our antitrust laws if S. 1698 became law?

V. Can the Federal bank supervisory agencies be counted on to protect the public interest in supervising the banks?

I. HOW S. 1698 WOULD EXEMPT BANK MERGERS FROM THE ANTITRUST LAWS

1. What is a bank merger?

A merger is a transaction whereby two or more banks combine or consolidate so that only one bank remains, thus reducing competition.

2. What is S. 1698?

S. 1698 is a very important bank merger bill that passed the Senate on June 11, 1965, and was sent over to the House of Representatives where it was referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

3. How would S. 1698 change the law if enacted in the next session of Congress starting in January?

S. 1698 would excuse from the application of the antitrust laws more than 2,200 bank mergers since 1950, even including illegal mergers reducing competition and leading to monopoly.

4. Would S. 1698 affect bank mergers already in the courts, even cases where the mergers have actually been found illegal by the judge?

Yes, it would. S. 1698 as it passed the Senate and as now under consideration in the House Committee on Banking and Currency excuses even those bank mergers adjudged illegal, except where final action undoing the merger has already taken place.

5. Would S. 1698 change the antitrust laws as to future bank mergers?

Yes, the bill as it passed the Senate would give the Attorney General only 30 days in which to file an antitrust suit following banking agency approval of a merger.

6. If S. 1698 becomes law, who will have the primary responsibility for approving bank mergers?

The authority will rest with the three Federal bank supervisory agencies, the Federal Reserve Board for State banks which are members of the Federal Reserve System; the Comptroller of the Currency for national banks; and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for State-chartered banks which are not members of the Federal Reserve System.

7. Can the public expect its interests to be protected by the three banking agencies in approving bank mergers?

There is little evidence to show that the three bank supervisory agencies are presently operating in the public interest or that they will operate in the public interest in the future unless Congress changes certain laws to make them more susceptible to control by the executive and legislative branches of Government. The bank supervisory agencies do not come to Congress for appropriated funds, but obtain their funds from the banks, the institutions they are supposed to supervise. There have been numerous cases in the past in which the bank supervisory agencies have placed the interests of the bankers ahead of the public interest.

8. Will the passage of S. 1698 preclude the possibility of private antitrust suits brought against a bank merger?

Yes. S. 1698 states that no action, public or private, may be brought under the antitrust laws to overturn a bank merger after a 30-day period.

9. If S. 1698 became law would all future mergers be protected against antitrust attack by the Justice Department forever?

Yes. If the Justice Department does not bring an action against a merger within 30 days of the time the merger is approved by the appropriate bank supervisory agency, an attack on that merger would be barred forever regardless of the anticompetitive effects which were an outgrowth of that merger.

10. Since there would be no possibility of rectifying a merger which did, in fact, violate the antitrust laws, but had been approved by the bank regulatory agencies, will there be a provision for public hearings before these agencies prior to approval of the merger?

No. No adversary-type hearings are required under the legislation nor are they contemplated by the bank regulatory agencies, which traditionally have conducted their affairs in secret.

11. Would passage of S. 1698 increase merger trends in banking?

Most probably, yes, because S. 1698 would give greater weight to the judgment of the bank supervisory agencies, which have approved over 90 percent of all bank merger applications since 1960, and less weight to the judgment of the Justice Department which traditionally has responsibility for enforcement of the antitrust laws.

12. If S. 1698 makes bank mergers easier, will this create an incentive for other banks to merge?

It is true that mergers of banks in particular communities have encouraged other banks in the same community to merge in order to keep up with the larger bank created by the original merger. Thus, concentration in banking becomes greater and greater until only a few banks in the community control the entire banking business.

13. Will S. 1698 set precedent for further bank legislation to remove that industry from all forms of governmental safeguards?

Definitely. Once banks have been excused from prosecution under the antitrust laws in the area of mergers, there is every reason to believe that the next step would be to remove banks from all coverage of the antitrust laws. For example, such a move would allow banks to conspire to fix service charges and interest rates, and to determine among themselves who would obtain loans and who would not.

14. What other adverse effects would ensue if banks were exempted from all antitrust laws?

One very important effect would be to put nonbanking businesses which compete with banks at a disadvantage. There has been a growing trend among banks to enter into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses, such as the selling of insurance, automobile and other equipment rental, travel agent services, the credit card business, computer services, and investment management. Nonbanking competitors which compete with banks would clearly be at a disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all competitors.

15. May a national bank own any amount of nonbanking corporate stock, including a controlling interest? May a national bank own other banks in foreign states? May a national bank own investment banking or brokerage corporations? May a national bank own finance companies? May a national bank, either directly or indirectly, own automobile dealerships? May a national bank own savings and loan companies? May a national bank own a chain of drugstores? May a national bank own a chain of gasoline stations?

According to a ruling of the Comptroller of the Currency, a national bank may own any amount of corporate stock—including a controlling interest—"or purposes properly incident to its banking business." Moreover, the Comptroller claims that "what is 'properly incident' to banking would be determined by the 'Comptroller in light of developments of banking and banking services.' "

Based on the Comptroller's ruling, justification can be found for any business as being incidental to banking if that business uses or borrows money. The Comptroller's rulings have put banks in the insurance business, in the automobile and equipment rental business, in the travel agent business, in the credit card business, in the computer services business, and in the investment management business, among many others.

16. If banks were exempt from the application of the antitrust laws, would nonbanking companies which are controlled by a bank be exempt from the antitrust laws? For example, if the Chase Manhattan Bank acquired control of Esso and the First National City Bank of New York acquired control of Texaco and the two banks merged could these oil companies violate the Sherman and Clayton Acts without fear of prosecution?

Under the proposed legislation, the possibility of obtaining such an exemption from the antitrust laws for nonbanking businesses certainly exists.

II. WHY THE ANTITRUST LAWS SHOULD CONTINUE TO APPLY TO THE BANKING INDUSTRY

17. How do bank mergers harm the public and why are the antitrust laws important to protect the public?

Bank mergers harm the public by permitting big banks to gobble up smaller competing banks. Without effective competition, banks can charge higher interest rates on loans, and higher service charges and other fees; they can also pay lower interest rates on savings and time deposits. The antitrust laws are the only protection the public has to assure sound and healthy competition between banks so that the public is not "gouged."

18. Have banks gouged the public through secret agreements or by otherwise eliminating competition in recent years?

Yes. In 1964 about one dozen banks in Minnesota were found guilty of a criminal conspiracy to fix interest rates, service charges, and loan conditions, in violation of the antitrust laws, and were fined hundreds of thousands of dollars.

19. How serious has the merger trend been in the banking industry in this country?

This is a very serious problem. Since 1950 there have been over 2,200 bank mergers. Because of this Congress passed the Bank Merger Act of 1960, which was intended to stem the steadily rising tide of bank mergers. Because of the lack of effective administration of this law by the Federal bank supervisory agencies the trend in bank mergers has continued virtually unabated. These agencies have approved over 700 bank mergers in the last 5 years. Commercial bank mergers averaged 166 a year in the 4 years 1956 through 1959, and 151 a year from 1961 through 1965.

In addition, it should be noted that 5 banks control over 50 percent of the deposits in each of 23 States; 5 banks control over 70 percent of the deposits in each of 11 States; and 5 banks control over 90 percent of the deposits in each of 5 States. Thus, in each of 39 States 50 percent or more of the commercial bank deposits are controlled by only 5 banks.

20. What is a specific example of increased concentration of banking since World War II?

One of the most important examples is what has taken place in New York City, probably the most important banking market in the world. In 1946 there were 25 banks in New York City which were members of the bank clearinghouse. Through more than a dozen mergers over the last 20 years this figure has been cut by more than half. Today there are only 10 banks in New York City that are members of the clearinghouse.

Another example is the fact that the Bank of America alone holds 38.6 percent of the deposits of all commercial banks in the State of California, the largest and fastest growing State in the Union.

21. Why should the consumer be concerned over bank mergers and concentration of banking in the hands of a few institutions?

The whole reason for our antitrust laws is the protection of the consumer, the American public, from all unfair and anticompetitive practices. Concentration in any industry, including banking, inevitably causes rise in prices, increasingly poor quality of goods and services, the concentration of economic and political power in the hands of a few, and exorbitant profits made at the expense of the consuming public.

22. What about farmers—how does the increasing concentration of banking affect the farming community?

One of the trends in bank mergers has been that city banks have been rapidly absorbing rural and smalltown independent banks. Therefore, the alternative credit sources which are essential to the farmers have shrunk tremendously in the face of the large number of bank mergers which have taken place in the last 15 years. Thus, the farmer is today more than ever at the mercy of the big city banker, who traditionally has never been responsive to the farmer's needs.

23. What other groups should be concerned about the weakening of the antitrust laws as they apply to banking?

Among others, those who would be adversely affected by weakening the application of the antitrust laws to banking include small businessmen, wage earners, savings and loan associations, credit unions, and all other financial institutions.

24. Can the antitrust laws stem the tide of bank mergers?

Yes, if enforced vigorously by the Justice Department. The only bulwark against this trend has been the Department of Justice's action against eight bank mergers under the antitrust laws. Even though the Justice Department has been extremely cautious in bringing such cases, it has brought cases against the most outrageous bank mergers, those which created undue concentrations in such large banking centers as New York, Chicago, the State of California, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Lexington, Ky. The bank supervisory agencies responsible for passing on these mergers had previously approved each one of them.

25. Is it important to the public interest that the antitrust laws be applied to the banking industry?

There is no better answer to this question than that given by the U.S. Supreme Court in the Philadelphia National Bank case when the Court said: "We reject the position that commercial banking, because it is subject to

a high degree of governmental regulation, or because it deals in the intangibles of credit and services rather than in the manufacture or sale of tangible commodities, is somehow immune from the anticompetitive effects of undue concentration. * * * There is no reason to think that concentration is less inimical to the free play of competition in banking than in other service industries. On the contrary, it is in all probability more inimical. For example, banks compete to fill the credit needs of businessmen. Small businessmen especially are, as a practical matter, confined to their locality for the satisfaction of their credit needs. If the number of banks in their locality is reduced, the vigor of competition for filling the marginal small business borrowers' needs is likely to diminish. At the same time, the concomitantly greater difficulty in obtaining credit is likely to put him at a disadvantage vis-a-vis larger businesses with which he competes. In this fashion, concentration in banking accelerates concentration generally."

26. How much concentration actually exists in the commercial banking industry in this country today?

The banking industry is one of the most highly concentrated industries in the United States. As a matter of fact, only 14 commercial banks in this country control approximately 25 percent of all commercial bank deposits, and only 100 commercial banks control 50 percent of all commercial bank deposits in the United States. Therefore, it is important that further concentration within the banking industry be prevented.

27. Is there any evidence of tangible adverse effects to the public when mergers create a concentration of banking in a particular community?

Yes. A recent study of bank concentration in various communities across the country shows that in areas where competition is lacking, interest rates on savings and time deposits are lower and interest charges on loans higher than in areas where there is healthy competition among banks. In addition, it was shown in the Philadelphia National Bank case, in which the Supreme Court ruled that the merger of two large Philadelphia banks violated the antitrust laws, that subsequent to the merger the merged bank in every case chose to charge its customers the highest of the rates and service charges charged by the separate banks before the banks merged. There have been similar complaints after other recent mergers such as one in St. Louis, Mo., in June of 1965.

28. What about the argument that, because banks are strictly regulated by both Federal and State agencies, they need not be subject to the antitrust laws?

This arguments is not valid. Banking is a supervised industry, not a strictly regulated industry. There is no similarity at all between bank supervision, which is carried out to insure the financial soundness of banking institutions, and the strict governmental regulation of public utilities, such as telephone companies and electric power companies. Government agencies do not set bank charges, interest rate charges, or other fees. Neither do they determine the quality or the quantity of banking services that must be offered the public. Furthermore, banks are perfectly free to choose with whom they wish to do business. These choices are not available to fully regulated industries, which in return have a territorial franchise, must charge rates fixed by the Government, provide services determined by the Government, and serve all comers. The strictly regulated industries are to some extent relieved from the application of the antitrust laws, but the price they must pay is a fixed rate of return on their capital investment and a semigovernmental status. On the other hand, banking is a competitive free enterprise industry with no such restrictions.

29. When applying the antimerger provisions of the antitrust laws to banks, have the Justice Department and the courts only considered the narrow economic impact of a reduction in competition in an area or have they taken a broader view, considering such matters as the effect of the merger on the convenience and needs of the community?

The Justice Department and the courts have always viewed the application of the antitrust laws broadly and have considered the convenience and needs of the community as one aspect of the overall impact of a proposed merger on competition. Therefore, when a court rules that a merger violates the antitrust laws, it does so after carefully considering all aspects of the public interest involved.

30. What about the problem of divestiture? Isn't it very difficult to split up a bank, creating much hardship for the investors, depositors, and the public?

There is no doubt that divestiture creates serious problems, but this is true in all antitrust cases in which a court orders the breaking up of a business enterprise, not only in the case of banks. In order to eliminate the need for divestiture there have been proposals to permit the Justice Department to obtain automatic injunctions against mergers pending completion of litigation in antitrust cases. The banks have opposed these proposals. It should also be noted that divestiture is not a new remedy but is a traditional and well-established one in the field of antitrust. Without the power to order divestiture, the antitrust laws would be useless because there would be no effective way to enforce statutes which restrict mergers and prohibit tendencies toward monopoly.

31. Are the banks which are presently involved in litigation over the legality of their mergers being treated unfairly?

These banks most definitely are not being treated unfairly. When the Justice Department brought action against these six mergers the banks argued against the Court granting an injunction which would prevent the banks from merging pending final determination by the Court. The banks argued that the proper and feasible remedy for the Government if the mergers were found illegal was divestiture. Therefore, the banks themselves agreed to divest if they lost the cases. As Attorney General Katzenbach stated in his testimony before a subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee, it ill behooves these banks now to claim that divestiture is impossible when at the time the cases were brought they themselves stated that this was a suitable remedy. Thus, there is no question that these banks are being treated fairly in every way.

32. Has the Justice Department used the antitrust laws to unduly handicap legitimate mergers in the bank industry?

Definitely not. Since 1950 there have been 2,200 bank mergers. The Justice Department has taken action against only eight of these mergers. If the mergers challenged had involved small banks, there would have been no great lobbying campaign for this legislation. However, the six mergers now under challenge involve some of the most powerful banks in the country.

33. Who opposes S. 1698?

Some of the strongest opposition to S. 1698 has come from objective observers such as professors of law and economics at universities around the country. A number of them testified against S. 1698 before the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee. In addition, a special subcommittee of the American Bar Association, after carefully studying S. 1698, wrote a report strongly opposing all aspects of S. 1698, as well as any attempt to weaken the antitrust laws as they apply to banking. The Independent Bankers Association of America, the largest association representing small banks in this country, has also strongly opposed the adoption of S. 1698. Others opposing the passage of S. 1698 include the AFL–CIO, the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO, small business groups, and the National Farmers Union.

34. Was the Attorney General of the United States invited to testify on S. 1698 before the House Committee on Banking and Currency?

He certainly was and his testimony was in strong opposition to all the provisions of S. 1698. Also, several prominent Senators testified in opposition to S. 1698.

III. THE REAL REASON WHY THE BANKING LOBBY WANTS TO AMEND THE BANK MERGER LAWS

35. What is the real reason behind the tremendous pressure for the adoption of S. 1698?

The Justice Department has six cases pending against bank mergers for violations of the antitrust laws. In two of these cases, the Manufacturers Hanover merger in New York City and the Lexington Bank merger in Lexington, Ky., Federal courts have already found that the mergers violated the antitrust laws. These six banks are trying to obtain special treatment; that is, forgiveness for themselves for violations of Federal law that everyone else must obey.

36. Is S. 1698 essentially private or special interest legislation for the benefit of six banks?

This is correct. As a matter of fact, Congressman TODD, Democrat, of Michigan, who opposes S. 1698, has introduced six private bills for relief of these banks for consideration as private legislation before the House Judiciary Committee.

37. Is it unusual for private businesses to come to Congress seeking special exemption from Federal laws which are already on the books?

This is, indeed, an unusual request. A number of witnesses before the House Banking and Currency Subcommittee, including Attorney General Katzenbach, Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, and Federal Reserve Governor Robertson deplored such a blatant attempt to obtain special treatment. As Governor Robertson pointed out, such action breeds disrespect for our laws and for the judicial system, which is supposed to provide under our Constitution equal protection of the laws for all, not special tratment.

38. Is there any legitimate need for S. 1698?

The hearings held by the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the Banking and Currency Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, indicate that there is no legitimate need for amending the Bank Merger Act of 1960.

39. What are the arguments used by the banks respecting their need for this legislation?

The proponents of S. 1698 claim that the law is confused and that the banks are uncertain as to the application of the antitrust laws to banking.

40. Is this a legitimate claim?

Not at all. It is only a smokescreen. In plain fact, since the Supreme Court decision in the Philadelphia National Bank case in June of 1963, it has been clearly understood that the antimerger provisions of section 7 of the Clayton Antitrust Act do apply to banking. It has always been understood that the Sherman Antitrust Act applies to banking. Therefore, the plain truth is that it is not lack of clarity that the big banks are really complaining of. What disturbs the big banks is the fact that the Supreme Court has clearly stated that all the major antitrust laws can be brought to bear against the banking industry as it does to other industries. What the big banks really want is to obtain special treatment; that is, exemption from the antitrust laws.

41. Did the Attorney General of the United States testify on S. 1698 before the Senate?

Although the Attorney General has the responsibility to enforce our antitrust laws, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee did not have the Attorney General testify on S. 1698. His views were, therefore, not made known to the Senate.

42. Is not the American Bankers Association lobbying vigorously for enactment of S. 1698?

Yes, the American Bankers Association, dominated as it is by the large, big city banks, is lobbying vigorously for S. 1698. They and individual member banks have spent large sums of money and distributed thousands of pamphlets in support of S. 1698.

43. What other forms has the lobbying pressure in favor of S. 1698 taken?

The Continental Illinois National Bank, one of the banks whose merger would be forgiven under S. 1698, reported that it spent over $5,000 in lobbying expenses in support of S. 1698. There have also been reports that businesses which have received loans from some of the banks seeking forgiveness for violation of antitrust laws were requested to pressure their Congressmen to support S. 1698. Attorneys for five of the six banks seeking forgiveness attempted to suppress a report of a special subcommittee of the American Bar Association by unfairly attacking the members of this subcommittee as having conflicts of interest or being biased. This American Bar Association subcommittee had recommended unanimously that Congress defeat S. 1698.

44. Why is the American Bankers Association so interested in bank merger legislation such as S. 1698?

The Supreme Court case nailing down the application of the antitrust laws to bank mergers was decided back in June 1963, over 2 years ago. The ABA annual resolutions adopted in convention in 1963 did not even mention bank mergers. In early 1964, another bank merger was held illegal by the courts, yet the 1964 ABA convention still did not adopt a resolution calling for changes in the antitrust laws. Furthermore, on February 3, 1965, the executive manager of the ABA, speaking in Dallas, Tex., predicted, "Not much major banking legislation, whether good or bad from the industry's point of view, is to be expected from Congress this year." What happened to make the ABA change its mind concerning major banking legislation in 1965?

On March 10, 1965, a U.S. district court in New York rendered its decision that the merger creating the Manufacturers Hanover Trust, a $6 billion Wall Street bank and the Nation's fourth largest, violated the antitrust laws.

45. Would S. 1698 excuse Manufacturers Hanover from this court ruling?

Yes, S. 1698 would forgive all past mergers where "unmerging" has not yet been accomplished, which includes Manufacturers Hanover.

46. When was S. 1698 introduced in the Senate, and who introduced it?

S. 1698 was introduced in the Senate by the chairman of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee on April 5, less than 1 month after the Manufacturers Hanover decision, but approximately 2 years after the famous Supreme Court case holding that the Bank Merger Act of 1960 did not exempt banks from the antitrust laws.

IV. WHAT WOULD HAPPEN TO ALL OF OUR ANTITRUST LAWS IF S. 1698 BECAME LAW?

47. Are strong antitrust laws important in industries other than banking?

Yes, the antitrust laws protect the public against unfair and anticompetitive practices in all other industries, not just banking, and it can truthfully be said that our free enterprise system depends on the survival of the antitrust laws.

48. What would happen if S. 1698 becomes law and all the other powerful industry groups, such as automobiles, steel, rubber, petroleum, as well as service industries, succeeded in repealing the antitrust laws?

Without question the ultimate result of repealing the antitrust laws would be the total monopolization and control of the entire economy by a few giant financial and industrial corporations and the men who run them. It should be as true today as it was in 1914 when President Wilson stated in support of the antitrust laws: "We are all agreed that 'private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable.'" The repeal of the antitrust laws would result, as President Wilson put it, "* * * in making those who borrow and those who lend practically one and the same, those who sell and those who buy but the same persons trading with one another under different names and in different combinations, and those who affect to compete in fact partners and masters of some whole field of business."

49. How important is the banking industry to the rest of the American economy?

Since all business is vitally dependent on the commercial banking system, a competitive marketplace in which the bank customer can choose the institution which best fits his needs is imperative. But if a small group of big banks dominates the availability of credit to businessmen, then freedom of choice is destroyed and, in effect, the bank can control the entire business community. Therefore, banking is one of the most important, powerful, and pervasive elements in our entire economy.

50. What could ultimately happen to the antitrust laws of this country if banks are granted an exemption from antitrust laws as envisaged by S. 1698?

Passage of S. 1698 could ultimately lead to the repeal of all antitrust laws to the ruination of small business, the consuming public, and the free enterprise system. This is true for two reasons. One, banks are going into an ever-increasing number of nonbanking businesses in competition with other businessmen. If S. 1698 were passed, it would clearly put these competitors of banks at a disadvantage because the antitrust laws would not apply equally to all competitors. Secondly, once one industry gains immunity from the antitrust laws, every industry will immediately seek similar consideration. There can be no question that this will soon lead to an erosion, if not elimination, of our antitrust laws, and, as a result, the death of our American free enterprise system.

51. Does concentration in banking foster concentration in other industries, thus causing concentration of economic power in the hands of a few?

Yes. This is done in large part by establishing interlocking directorates between the large banks and large business concerns. As mergers mount both in banking and in other industries this trend is accentuated.

52. Do large commercial banks already have a voice or position of authority in other large financial institutions, such as insurance companies?

Although insurance companies and banks are in direct competition as far as credit extension is concerned, a recent study disclosed that the 10 largest life insurance companies had more than 195 direct interlocks with banks and that the 10 largest fire and casualty companies had more than 160 direct interlocks with commercial banks.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the largest life insurance company in the United States with assets of over $20 billion, had four direct interlocks with the Chase Manhattan Bank, the second largest bank in the United States with assets of over $14 billion. Metropolitan had two interlocking directorates with First National City Bank of New York, the third largest bank in the United States with assets of $14 billion.

The Prudential Life Insurance Co. of America with assets of $19 billion had direct interlocks with First National City Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, Chemical Bank New York Trust, Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., and Bankers Trust Co. The Equitable Life Assurance Society of the United States, the third largest life insurance company with assets of over $12 billion, had three direct interlocks with Chase Manhattan, one with Manufacturers Hanover, three with Chemical Bank New York Trust, and one with Republic National Bank of Dallas.

The fourth largest insurance company, New York Life Insurance Co., assets of $9 billion, had direct interlocks with Chase Manhattan, First National City Bank, Manufacturers Hanover, three with Chemical Bank New York Trust, and two with Morgan Guaranty Bank.

These are just a few of dozens of examples of such interlocks between two industries that control the use of billions of dollars of credit in this country.

53. What about corporate interlocks between large commercial banks and industrial and commercial corporations—how extensive is this and does this also concentrate tremendous economic power in the hands of a few?

This practice is quite widespread and serious. A recent study made by the House Judiciary Committee shows that there are more than 1,200 management ties between the 15 largest commercial banks in this country and large industrial and commercial concerns. For example, interlocks exist between these 15 huge banks and such corporate giants as General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, A.T. & T., B. F. Goodrich, Sears-Roebuck, International Harvester, Swift & Co., Inland Steel, and Commonwealth Edison, just to name a few. Such practices indeed place fantastic economic power in the hands of a very few groups.

54. What would happen to our competitive free enterprise system if the antitrust laws, including restrictions on mergers, were weakened or repealed, the ever-increasing trend toward mergers continued, and the pattern of interlocking control of large industrial, commercial, and financial institutions were allowed to stand uncontested?

The inevitable result would be the complete control of the entire American economy by virtually a handful of bank and industrial corporation presidents and directors. This in turn, would spell the death knell of the American competitive economic system as we know it today.

55. What is the position of the Democratic Party as to the antitrust laws?

The 1964 Democratic Party platform stated, "The antitrust laws must be vigorously enforced."

56. What is the position of the Republican Party as to the antitrust laws?

The 1964 Republican Party platform called for "improvement, and full and fair enforcement of the antitrust statutes * * *" and "constant opposition to any form of unregulated monopoly."

57. What has the President's Council of Economic Advisers had to say about the importance of competition and the antitrust laws, and the dangers of concentrations of economic power in our economy?

The annual report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, made in January of 1965, stated: "Decentralization of economic power has long been considered desirable for social and political reasons, as well as for its contribution to an efficient economy. Absence of active competition tends to resut in higher prices and lower output, and thus in a less efficient allocation of resources." "Legislative, judicial, and enforcement activities have all contributed to the strengthening and clarification of our antitrust policies in the postwar period. Enforcement activity has been vigorous during each of the postwar administrations, attesting to the

bipartisan nature of the Nation's belief in maintaining maximum competition consistent with a productive and efficient economy."

V. CAN THE FEDERAL BANK SUPERVISORY AGENCIES BE COUNTED ON TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN SUPERVISING THE BANKS?

58. What was the purpose of the Bank Merger Act of 1960?

Congress had become alarmed at the great trend toward centralization of banking from mergers starting in the 1950's, which threatened to destroy competition in that very important industry. The Bank Merger Act of 1960 was the culmination of 5 years of work by Congress on the bank merger problem.

59. What was the intent of Congress in passing the Bank Merger Act of 1960?

The intent of Congress in passing the Bank Merger Act of 1960 was clearly to make bank mergers more difficult. This was stated by the sponsors of the bill, as well as others.

60. Have the Federal bank supervisory agencies successfully carried out the intent of Congress in enforcing this act?

Not at all. The Bank Merger Act of 1960 gave the three Federal banking agencies, the Federal Reserve Board, the Bureau of the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation the responsibility to screen mergers of banks under their jurisdiction and to deny mergers clearly not in the public interest, including those that adversely affected competition. Since 1960, the banking agencies have considered approximately 700 bank mergers and have approved over 90 percent, including a number of mergers now being challenged in the courts as in violation of antitrust laws. If anything, the trend toward concentration in the banking industry has quickened since 1960, not diminished.

61. Do the Federal bank supervisory agencies actually regulate banks in the same way that Government regulatory agencies regulate public utilities?

No. Banks are not regulated at all in the same sense that public utilities are regulated. There are no restrictions governing the charges that banks make on their customers for services or regulations on the amount of interest that banks can charge on loans. In truly regulated industries all charges must be approved by the regulatory agencies. Furthermore, banks are not obligated as public utilities are to serve all who desire service on a nondiscriminatory basis.

62. Do the three Federal banking agencies have close, intimate ties to the commercial banking industry?

Yes, unfortunately. Both the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation receive their financial support from the commercial banks. Also, the Federal Reserve Board's interest rate committee is dominated by representatives of the large commercial banks when it meets in secret every 3 weeks to fix interest rates and the availability of credit for all borrowers. Furthermore, the Federal Reserve System's banks are dues-paying members in good standing of the American Bankers Association, paying $50,000 a year of the taxpayers' money in dues to the ABA, thus helping to finance the ABA lobbying effort to pass S. 1698.

63. Are these Government agencies required to appear each year before the Congress to seek appropriation of funds and to submit themselves to an official Government audit by the General Accounting Office?

Not at all. None of the three agencies must justify their expenditures before the Congress or seek their money from Congress. Neither the Federal Reserve System nor the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency are audited by the General Accounting Office, the official Government auditor.

64. Does the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which supervises savings and loan associations, appear before Congress each year to justify its expenditures of funds, and is not that agency audited by the General Accounting Office?

Yes; the Federal Home Loan Bank Board appears before Congress annually to justify its expenditures, and it is also audited by the General Acounting Office.

Needless to say, the Federal Home Loan Bank Board's ability to do its regulatory job has not been impaired by these restrictions.

Most competent analysts of banking agree that the same rules would have no adverse effect on the operations of the Federal Reserve System, the Comptroller of the Currency, and the FDIC.

65. Can the bank supervisory agencies be relied upon to protect the public interest in enforcing the antitrust laws?

No. Because of the close relationship between the bank supervisory agencies and the banks, we must rely on an agency that takes a broad view of the public interest, is not tied in with the banks, and has experience with enforcing the antitrust laws. This job can only be done by the Justice Department, the chief law enforcement agency of the U.S. Government.

66. Would S. 1698 severely limit the applicability of the antitrust laws to banking? Would it place the authority to approve bank mergers in the bank supervisory agencies rather than in the Justice Department and the courts of law?

Yes, and that would be like sending the goose to guard the shelled corn.

The Independence of Libya

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ADAM C. POWELL
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. POWELL. Mr. Speaker, Congress will have adjourned by the time Libya celebrates the anniversary of her independence. We wish to extend warm felicitations at this time therefore to His Excellency Mahmud Muntasir, the Prime Minister of Libya; and to His Excellency Fathi Abidia, the Libyan Ambassador to the United States.

This year marks the 14th anniversary of Libyan independence. Libya is located in the center of north Africa, with a coastline which extends 1,000 miles along the Mediterranean between Tunisia and the United Arab Republic. Libya has an area roughly one-fourth the size of the United States and a population of 1.2 million. The majority of the population is of Arab origin.

In ancient times western Libya was ruled by the Phoenicians. The eastern section of the country, known as Cyrenaica, was colonized by the Greeks. In 1911 Libya was invaded by Italy. It is a tribute to the spirit of this great people that the Italians were never able to consolidate their rule beyond the coastal strip. During World War II Italy's control of Libya came to an end. The problem of Libya's political future was taken up at the United Nations, which voted to grant Libya its independence not later than January 1, 1952. On December 24, 1951, Libyan independence was proclaimed at Benghazi.

Libya is a constitutional monarchy with a senate and a house of representatives. The Libyan Government is dedicated to improving the economic and social welfare of the Libyan people. Seventy percent of the country's oil revenues are earmarked for economic development. In fact, the results of the recent discovery of oil are already evident. Roads now cross the vast Western Desert. El Sider and Mersa Brega are now important oil ports. Within 2 years Tobruk will become the third port. Libyans know that economic development must include the development of human resources. Accordingly, a large percent of the oil revenues are being spent on education and public health.

The Libyan Government has also recognized that tourism could become an extremely important source of revenue in the future. Tourists are already being attracted to Libya's magnificent Roman ruins and equally magnificent beaches. New hotels and access roads are being constructed to facilitate the expansion of tourism.

The economy of Libya is largely agricultural and pastoral. Barley, wheat, dates, esparto grass, citrus fruits, and olive oil are the principal products, which now meet domestic requirements and provide some exportable surpluses as well. Livestock, wool, and hides are also exported. Coastal fishing, which provides tuna, sardines, and sponges, is being encouraged and expanded by the Government. But there are also a growing number of small manufacturing establishments engaged in processing agricultural and fishery products, as well as handicraft industries producing textiles, footwear, leather goods, and carpets.

The United States is aiding Libya both directly and through the United Nations. I am confident that through international cooperation and domestic dedication, Libya will achieve her desire to better the lives of her people.

Travesty of Justice—V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers east of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Greensburg (Pa.) Tribune-Review, Oct. 16, 1965]

UNFAIR JURY PRACTICE

A lot of people in both South and North who cherish the concept of justice have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work. They have been

disturbed, indeed, by many things about the case. One of the points raised by those who object to the proceedings is that the jury which freed the defendant was composed entirely of whites, though there is a large Negro population in the county. This is a point germane to numerous trials in the South.

Happily, there is reason to believe that the practice of barring Negroes from jury service is coming to the end of the road. A strong indication of this was evident when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalty sentences on the grounds that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. These reversals were properly hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

Denial of these American rights was cited by Judge Claude F. Clayton in his opinions reversing the convictions of George A. Gordon and William Smith, Jr., both Negroes. "With respect to the allegation of racial exclusion from the jury system," his opinion in the Smith case stated, "the parties agree that in the year of the trial only three Negroes were on the jury list and in 10 years preceding the trial only five Negroes were on the jury list, which contained approximately 300 names each year." This, he noted, though Negroes constituted more than 62 percent of persons available for jury service. There is no place for such discriminatory practices in the American system of justice.

[From the White Plains (N.Y.) Reporter Dispatch, Sept. 30, 1965]

A TRIAL IN ALABAMA

The course of justice in Alabama appears to be taking its predictable path in the trial of Thomas Coleman charged with the shotgun slaying of a civil rights worker.

In a set of circumstances that would have been incredible elsewhere, the judge has refused a postponement to permit testimony by the wounded and still hospitalized companion of the victim and has ousted the State attorney general and his staff as prosecutors.

Coleman, who has been indicted on a manslaughter count, thus has been granted safeguards both from an aggressive prosecution and from the possibility of damaging testimony by a hostile witness.

The voice of the victim, Jonathan Daniels, 26, an Episcopal ministerial student, has, of course, been stilled forever. His companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest, will have no opportunity to tell his version of the shooting.

The situation was summed up by Assistant Attorney General Joe Breck Gantt who told the court, presided over by Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard:

"Until the State of Alabama can present Father Morrisroe as a witness, the State has no case against Coleman. I, therefore, refuse to proceed. I cannot present testimony which I know to be perjured."

Judge Thagard accused him of "trifling" with the case, superseded him and turned the prosecution over to the circuit and county solicitors who had presented to the grand jury the testimony which Gantt calls perjured. This seems an exaggerated protection for the rights of the accused.

Whether evidence will be offered to support published reports that Coleman had threatened both Attorney General Richard Flowers and Mr. Daniels and Father Morrisroe prior to the actual shooting is not clear, but it seems certain that allegations that the two victims, who had just been released from detention in jail, had somehow been armed will be used to support the defense.

A short trial is expected.

Who has any doubt about the verdict?

[From the Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin, Oct. 25, 1965]

A STAIN UPON THE SOIL

One almost wearies of outrage over perversions of justice in Lowndes County, Ala. First came the incredible courtroom demagoguery of the initial Collie Leroy Wilkins trial, then the equally unbelievable acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman 3 weeks ago, and now the acquittal of Wilkins.

Inevitably pressure will mount to make civil rights slayings a Federal offense, like kidnaping, with trials mandated, perhaps, in Washington, D.C. This would be a grave step, not to be taken lightly. But the perversion of justice is not just a black eye for Lowndes County or Alabama, but for the whole Nation.

Of the 24 civil rights slayings since 1960, one-half have been in Alabama and in no case has anyone gone to jail.

Only two bright spots relieved the otherwise dark picture of the latest trial. One was the effort of State Attorney General Richmond Flowers to have racist veniermen excluded. He failed, as one might have expected. But he took the case to the Alabama supreme court and the entire State is on warning that this is an issue that can and will be raised again in civil rights cases.

The second heartening feature was Mr. Flowers' performance itself. This is the second civil rights murder trial he has personally entered; the judge threw him out of the Coleman trial. Undoubtedly, he knows that he has the support of many partisans of real justice in Alabama. He acts nonetheless, with high courage; not only is his political future jeopardized, his very life probably is in great danger.

Lowndes County has now become a dark symbol. Indeed, as Mr. Flowers has said, its soil is stained.

[From the New York (N.Y.) Amsterdam News, Oct. 9, 1965]

A MOCKERY

If there is anyone anywhere in the world outside of Alabama who can say that he saw two priests, one with a gun and one with a knife, attack an innocent man we wish they would come forward with the information.

And if it has never happened anywhere else in the world, why all of a sudden did it happen at Hayneville, Ala.? Or to put it another way, does anyone in his right mind believe that it happened at Hayneville, Ala.?

Yet, according to a jury of Hayneville citizens, it did happen and it happened to the extent that these citizens saw enough justice in this happening to acquit a special deputy who shot down these two priests who it is alleged went after him with a gun and a knife.

This is truly a mockery of justice and it seems to us that it is high time that the Federal Government stepped in and stopped these people from making a mockery of our laws.

[From the New City (N.Y.) Country Citizen, Oct. 6, 1965]

LUNACY RAMPANT

Another example of southern justice was resolved when a deputy sheriff on trial for manslaughter in the death of a clergyman was exonerated by a jury of his peers last week.

With this came protestations that the responsible citizenry of the South are horrified at this burlesque, which included charges that both a priest and minister carried a knife and gun and the sheriff was forced to use his shotgun to defend himself.

But the responsible citizenry of the South cannot assuage their conscience so easily because the guilt still must remain theirs, very much like the Republican Party crying out against the Birch Society.

In both instances the lily-white behavior of silence has been their policy.

It is true that in the instance of the Birch Society we are dealing with an incredible collection of lunatics—but it is also true that the next step from lunacy is the kind of beastiality practiced by these murderers in the South.

In the political area the slight twinge of humor connected with the Birch problem is the image of DIRKSEN and FORD—through the looking glass—screaming out against the political gooks, tolerated in the past by them.

The new line is "Off with their heads—or it will be off with ours."

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Afro-American, Oct. 16, 1965]

THE PRICE IS TOO HIGH

Attorney General Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach could not have given the matter too much thought, before commenting on the shocking Hayneville murder case.

Either that or he felt compelled to soften his remarks for Texas consumption before making a scheduled speech in Houston.

"This kind of result is expected from time to time," he said. "This is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but I don't think it is too high a price to pay. The situation has changed a great deal already."

This is a most disappointing statement coming from the Nation's highest law enforcement officer.

Is it possible that Mr. Katzenbach is unaware that 81 percent of the county's population was illegally barred, because of race, from the panel from which the Hayneville jury was drawn?

We submit this is indeed too high a price to pay for such gross injustice.

Moreover, if the situation is changed, Mr. Katzenbach is the only person to perceive it.

Twenty-six racial murders have scarred the South since the drive for equal rights began.

The score is still zero. Not a single one of the killers has been convicted.

Instead of callously brushing off the horrifying travesty on justice that was the Hayneville case, Mr. Katzenbach should be launching a determined assault on the perverted jury practices common in so many areas of the old Confederacy.

Moreover, he should be throwing the full force of his office behind passage of legislation to place the strong arm of Federal protection around courageous Freedom Fighters in Dixie.

This Nation simply cannot stand any repeat doses of Hayneville justice.

[From the Hackensack (N.J.) Record, Oct. 6, 1965]

COLLABORATION IN A MOCKERY

Attorney General Katzenbach's comment on the latest miscarriage of justice in Alabama deserves to be remembered only as evidence that imperturbability can be carried too far. After all, he said of the Hayneville travesty, things like this are a part of the price we must pay for having the jury system—you just have to expect from time to time a little rape of justice.

It is a high price for fair, and let Medger Evers, Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, James Chaney, and Violet Liuzzo be called as witnesses. Call Jimmy Lee Jackson. Call the Reverend James Reeb. Call now the name of young Jonathan Daniels. It is impossible to agree with Mr. Katzenbach that to be expected from time to time is murder

with impunity. It is impossible to disagree with the dogged attorney general of Alabama, who declines to give up with a philosophic shrug. Said Attorney General Flowers:

"Now (in consequence of the acquittal at Hayneville) those who feel they have a right to kill, destroy, and cripple have been assured that license. It is our duty to do what is necessary to retrieve it."

The Federal Government can and should write and enforce law effectively forbidding interference, violent or passive, with any citizen's enjoyment of a right federally guaranteed. In ways that cannot be deprecated, the failure at Hayneville was a failure of the Federal establishment. To attribute it to the jury system and thus to weaken what should be a guardian of people's rights and liberties is merely to heighten the shrillness of the Hayneville mockery.

[From the Springfield (Ohio) News, Oct. 13, 1965]

DEFILED JUSTICE

Joseph L. Rauh, counsel for the National Leadership Council on Civil Rights, said aloud what some people must have been thinking after justice was defiled in Hayneville, Ala.

Mr. Rauh suggested that Congress dissolve the authority of State courts to try criminal cases involving civil rights matters. He wants Federal courts to handle them. He said civil rights leaders may take the request to Congress next session.

Sure, the Nation is incensed over the "not guilty" verdict for Thomas L. Coleman, the man who fatally shot a seminary student working in the rights movement. Too, this isn't the first person freed by juries filled with the same hate and bigotry as the accused. There is great temptation to nail the guilty with any means available.

However, it is serious business tampering with the American system of justice. By putting Federal courts in charge of civil rights cases, all States would have legitimate complaints about usurped rights. Their traditional sphere of jurisdiction in criminal actions would be destroyed. Through knee-jerk reaction to remedy a sick situation in the South, more harm than good would result.

Justice will come to the Haynevilles of the Nation when men are made to see the folly of their prejudicies, when brotherhood is more than a pious slogan. It's a longer way than by forcing justice through the Federal courts, but it's a surer way—despite the wear on grieving consciences.

[From the Brattleboro (Vt.) Reformer, Oct. 2, 1965]

HE WAS ACQUITTED

The slaying trial of a part-time Alabama deputy sheriff is over. He was acquitted. The defense admitted he shot Keene, N.H., seminarian Jonathan Daniels, who later died. But, the all-male (by Alabama law) all-white jury heard a white man's testimony that Daniels was armed. Colored witnesses said Daniels was not armed. The question became one of self-defense shooting or manslaughter. The court clerk, who is the defendant's cousin, read the jury's verdict. Innocent. It may have boiled down to the word of whites versus the word of Negroes. Now listen to the reverberations. They are getting loud, as expected.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 15, 1965]

HOW FIERCE THE FIRES OF HATRED ARE

As readers of the People's Forum must now be aware, any newspaper that attempts to take a rational view of the civil rights turmoil in the South is bound to hear from readers in that region. In recent weeks the torrent of abuse and defiance sent from the South to the Courant has grown loud. Although some of these letters have been printed in the Forum, others because of their incredible intemperance and length, have not been used. But they serve a purpose in giving New England people an inside glimpse into the minds of the extreme racists.

It is without doubt a manifestation of psychopathology and hatred, blended with an intolerance of strangers. Through most of these letters runs the theme that if outsiders would stay home and stop trying to change things, all would be well in the South. This is the kind of thinking that permeated the recent Coleman trial which resulted in the acquittal of a man who shot two clergymen in cold blood.

The same fevered irrationality was manifested again this week when two individuals who had been charged with the murder of a Negro teacher, Lemuel Penn, were again involved in violence without being arrested. These two Klansmen, Howard Sims and Cecil Myers, violently assaulted a Negro photographer in Crawfordville, Ga. They were released from custody with no charge filed against them.

One might suppose that after the murder of an innocent Negro educator as he drove along the highway minding his own business, the lust for blood would have been satisfied. But evidently it was not. Messrs. Sims and Myers have evidently merely had their appetites whetted. They had found that southern justice is colorblind, and protects the master race. The sad thing about this cult of violence is that it reflects the thinking of a great many southern people who do not realize that the winds of change are blowing violently, and that the hands of time cannot be held back by violence or even murder. Fortunately, for the South, there are those who recognize that fact. If it were not so, the backward parts of the South would be even bloodier than they are now. How marvelous the Negro has been in facing this violence with dignity and courage, and with Gandhi-like passivity.

[From the Detroit (Mich.) Free Press, Oct. 5, 1965]

NEW BLOT ON ALABAMA

When a jury in Alabama's Lowndes County found Tom Coleman innocent of murdering a civil rights worker whom he had gunned down, his wife said, "I knew it all the time."

So did everyone else even remotely familiar with Lowndes County's bigotry, predilection for bloodshed, and the primitives who rule it.

There was no more prospect that Coleman would be convicted than that President Johnson would appoint him to be Attorney General. For in Lowndes County murder isn't murder if the victim has a colored skin or believes that those who do have rights.

Frustration and outrage are the natural reactions among those who have been touched by civilization. But while voicing them can be a release for churning emotions, it does nothing to change things in Lowndes County and other enclaves like it.

Neither is there any useful effect in assuring that time will be the great healer, that at long last enlightenment must come even to such backwaters of prejudice and ignorance as Lowndes County.

Lowndes County hasn't changed in 100 years and if left to itself there is no cause to suppose it will change in another 100. Asking decent people to outwait its evils is asking too much of patience.

The Lowndes Counties must be made to feel pressures too uncomfortable to be borne. And there is no use talking about moral pressure. If Lowndes County were susceptible to feelings of morality, murder wouldn't be encouraged there.

What these pressures could be must be left to the devisings of Alabama and the Federal Government—preferably just Alabama. And that may be possible.

Deep South as Alabama is, it still has an abhorrence of the depths which Lowndes County represents. The first official reaction from the State was an assertion by Alabama's Attorney General Richmond Flowers that Coleman's acquittal represented "democratic process going down the drain of irrationality, bigotry, and improper enforcement of the law."

Flowers says he isn't through with the case yet and will search to discover whether "any further legal routes are available." We hope there are, and that Coleman can't get away with murder after all. But the prospect isn't bright. There is the guarantee against double jeopardy—and that must be preserved no matter how extreme the provocation for public wrath.

The cure will have to lie in what are called sanctions when they are applied among nations. What these might be we're not in a position to suggest. But if Alabama wants to erase its Lowndes County blot, it plainly is going to have to find effective sanctions and employ them rigorously.

[From the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer, Sept. 30, 1965]

SETBACK FOR JUSTICE IN SOUTH

Banishment of the Alabama attorney general and his staff from the prosecution of a sheriff's deputy accused of killing a civil rights worker is a sharp setback for hopes that justice can prevail in southern rights cases.

Attorney General Richmond Flowers twice had been denied requests for delays in the trial so he could seek a murder indictment against the deputy instead of the manslaughter charge on which he is being tried.

When request for delay was renewed because a key witness is still in a hospital recovering from wounds inflicted in the shooting, Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard ordered Flowers and his aids to withdraw from the prosecution, an order believed unprecedented in the State.

The case is proceeding without the key witness, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest who was with Jonathan M. Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student, when the latter was slain after a demonstration in Lowndes County.

Flowers, who has been making determined efforts to have rights cases tried on their merits, had contended that the evidence supports a more serious charge, that the injured priest is one of the State's principal witnesses and that the State cannot get a fair trial in Lowndes County.

There is no question about the unavailability of the key witness and an attorney general should be permitted to put his case for a murder indictment before a grand jury.

That he not only was blocked by the court on both appeals but was then barred from the trial reflects no credit on Judge Thagard or Alabama courts.

Circumvention of justice, with bench authority or acquiescence, should be a matter of the deepest concern to all persons of all races. Its condonement can boomerang against all segments of society, in Alabama and wherever laws exist.

[From the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Catholic, Oct. 7, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE TRIUMPHS AGAIN

Tom Coleman is a free man today in Lowndes County, Ala., and the citizens are rejoicing. He will soon be signing autographs at Ku Klux Klan meetings, and, no doubt, will shortly be back at his part-time deputy sheriff's job, guarding the highways and byways and protecting the people from the depredations of priests and seminarians trying to shoot their way into grocery stores.

Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard, stalwart symbol of impartial justice, is modestly tak-

ing credit for having outfoxed the prosecution by dismissing the attorney general's staff after it attempted to delay the Jonathan Daniels case until the only close eyewitness to the affair, Father Richard Morrisroe, was able to appear. A frivolous and "trifling" reason, Thagard called it.

Happiest of all, probably, is Col. Al Lingo, State police chief. His record remains unblemished, not a single conviction in a civil rights murder case.

In fact, the only unhappy man in Alabama today would appear to be Attorney General Richmond Flowers, who did his job with commendable skill, fought step by step through that incomprehensible maze of Lowndes County intractability in an effort to establish law, instead of Colonel Lingo, as the arbiter in the case, and who found himself dismissed and branded an outsider in his own State. In the Alabamian natural order of things, this designation makes him an approved target for violence. It was his own fault, of course. He sided with outsiders.

Alabama, it would seem, has rejected Richmond Flowers and claimed Coleman, Lingo, and Thagard for its own. God help them if it is really so.

How does Alabama feel? Does it really believe these two men of God, Daniels and Morrisroe, after being released (unarmed) from jail, walked over to a grocery store and began (now mysteriously armed) "looking for trouble?" Under the impact of what weird, perverted mystique does Alabama spring to the defense of a man who was seen to shoot down two men for no legally established reason other than hatred and resentment?

We cannot but feel that, excepting the attorney general's staff, the behavior of Alabama officials during the Daniels case was from beginning to end inexcusable, disreputable, and downright shady. It will come back to haunt that State even after, God willing, Alabama has rejected the persecution paranoia of Lowndes County for the sanity of Richmond Flowers.

As for the civil rights workers in the South: well, we realize it was cold comfort at best to believe that, should the ultimate price be required of them, the justice required by law would be done. Now that the jungle law that rules there has been again exposed, the temptation may arise to call a jungle a jungle and prepare accordingly. We feel confident that the workers will continue to resist the temptation.

It is a tragic dilemma that presents itself in Alabama and Mississippi: even to appear to be armed, it seems, invites murder; to remain defenseless also invites murder. As the old ironic saying goes, "Heads I win, tails you lose."

The whole business is the kind of thing that takes place in a nightmare—or in broad daylight on the streets of Lowndes County, Ala.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times, Oct. 2, 1965]

COLLAPSE OF CONSCIENCE

The outcome of the Coleman case confirms the law of the jungle in Alabama. Anyone who doesn't fit in can be murdered with impunity.

This outrage against elemental morality, this corruption of basic justice, this deadly enthronement of bigotry, are past damning.

In the collapse of Alabama's conscience one feels the deepest pity.

If the defense story is to be believed, two churchmen, Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal seminary student from Keene, N.H., and a Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, of Chicago, were shot at because one "was carrying a bright, shiny object that resembled a knife blade" and the other "something—a round object that looked like a gun barrel."

Neither object was found, however; no one could verify that he actually saw what he said he thought he saw; and there were witnesses who denied that either clergyman, one of whom was killed and the other badly wounded, had any such arms or anything that remotely resembled arms.

They wouldn't hold up the trial until the living victim, Father Morrisroe, could appear to testify. They wouldn't indict for murder, as Alabama Attorney General Richmond Flowers demanded.

The defendant, who had fired the killing and wounding shotgun blast was freed of a charge of manslaughter, his Alabama character considerably enhanced.

Defense counsel explained that the accused "had to do what he did * * * now these people come into our community, these agitators—where do we draw the line? We've got a right to protect ourselves. I think you all ought to thank Almighty God that you have a man like Tom Coleman in our country."

The procedure was as outrageous as it was maudlin.

Amidst the moral and legal chaos, one brave and responsible official, Attorney General Flowers, stands out. He tried to secure a proper indictment and a proper trial in the case, but his efforts were dismissed. His life has been threatened.

Maybe he will end up like the two clergymen, and some friend of the defendant will testify he saw "something like a knife in his hand," and it will never be found, but Alabamians will believe the story because, at their present level, they do not prefer the truth or even a search for the truth.

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Courant, Oct. 1, 1965]

AN UNHOLY SPECTACLE IN ALABAMA

There was only one bright spot in the somber, perjury-ridden murder trial now concluded in Hayneville, Ala. That was the vigorous but futile fight of the State's attorney general to introduce an element of decency and justice to the proceedings. He appeared in court with an armed guard, and said frankly that his life had been threatened because he insisted on an attempt to delay the trial until the principal accusing witness, a Catholic priest, had recovered sufficiently from gunshot wounds to testify against the defendant, a man with a drunken, brawling reputation.

The familiar name of Al Lingo ran through this pseudo trial, as it has through many sordid happenings in that unhappy State. Mr. Lingo personally rounded up witnesses to testify that the slain theological student and the grievously wounded priest had carried knife and pistol in their hands. Hence, according to the local folk, this killing was a sheer case of self-defense. The weapons, incidentally, were said to have been carried off by a nearby Negro right after the shooting.

If it were not for past performances this would be the most outlandish trial in history. For the judge, obviously committed to the defense, was unwilling to postpone the case despite the absence of the eyewitness who was himself shot. Said the assistant attorney general, Joe Breck Gantt: "Until the State of Alabama can present Father Morrisroe as a witness, the State has no case against Coleman. I therefore refuse to proceed. I cannot present testimony which I know to be perjured."

The judicial response by Circuit Judge T. Werth Taggard was to accuse the State official of "trifling with the court." He ordered Mr. Gantt from the court and turned the prosecution over to county solicitors. The outcome was never in doubt. Once again a jury has found that murder in the South can and does go unpunished. This trial is a disgrace to Alabama. Even worse, it holds the United States up to the contempt of the civilized world. Seldom in modern history has the machinery of justice been so perverted to serve depraved ends as in the acquittal of Tom Coleman of Hayneville. It is a name that should be long remembered, as symbolic of the inner sickness that afflicts this unhappy State.

[From the Newburgh (N.Y.) News, Oct. 1, 1965]

SOUTHERN JUSTICE

Acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman by an Alabama jury in the slaying of Jonathan M. Daniels, a white seminary student and civil rights worker, is the worst blot yet on the escutcheon of southern justice.

Alabama's attorney general refused to prosecute a manslaughter indictment returned against Coleman, because he said some testimony was perjured and because he was denied time in which to get vital evidence. Daniels and a Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, carried weapons when they were shot by Coleman, two witnesses contended, although both men had been released from jail only moments before the shootings.

The Alabama State official wanted an adjournment to permit Father Morrisroe to recover from his wound and appear as a witness.

Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard refused the postponement, although the slaying occurred only 15 weeks ago, and ordered presentation of the people's case by the same solicitor who had offered it to the grand jury.

Writing in the New York Herald Tribune, William Bradford Huie said the community of Hayneville was on trial in the case. Reports do indicate the community was virtually united in defense of Coleman, including both officials and citizens.

Defense attorneys admitted Coleman had shot the two civil rights workers, but contended he had shot in self-defense, because Daniels carried a knife and Father Morrisroe a pistol. Neither weapon was found afterward, but the defense claimed both had been spirited away by an unidentified Negro. Alabama's attorney general refused to believe this.

There can be no question this was an outrageous miscarriage of justice. There also can be no question that it is possible for it to happen again, unless the United States is to deny to States, counties, and communities the authority to dispose of criminal matters such as murder and manslaughter.

There have been similar miscarriages everywhere under our system of justice, due usually to success of the defense in drawing attention of the jurors to some other factor than the evidence. Prejudice and emotional fervor frequently have thwarted reason in the jury room, and as long as the South is obsessed by racial discrimination, this is the factor most likely to pop up there.

Meanwhile, civil rights workers must accept the fact that in the Deep South they are entering territory controlled by fanatics with a broad base of popular support.

It is open season on citizens of all races who try to help the southern Negro gain the same rights of citizenship enjoyed by whites.

They must carry on their fight, prepared to suffer and die for their convictions. Fortunately, the history of man shows that such risks never have been able to deter men and women of principle.

Within the pattern of law and reason, the Nation must continue to move toward fair treatment of Negroes and other minority groups. Sound legislation must be sought and enforced, with extremes of all kinds avoided, whatever the provocation.

This will be the most difficult thing of all to do.

[From the Gary (Ind.) Post-Tribune, Oct. 3, 1965]

SHOTGUN JUSTICE

There was no suspense at all in the trial of Thomas Coleman, charged with killing a white civil rights worker in Alabama.

When the Lowndes County jury acquitted him, after short deliberations, his wife said "I knew it all the time."

A member of the prosecution staff said, "What could you expect in this county?"

That pretty well sums up the story.

Coleman's victim was Jonathan Daniels, a young seminarian from New Hampshire, whose companion, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Catholic priest from Chicago, was severely wounded by a shotgun blast. Morrisroe had not recovered sufficiently to be able to testify, but of course, the trial couldn't wait for a key witness.

Coleman's lawyers maintained that "he did what he had to do" when he shot the two men in front of a store. It would be hard for a fiction writer to dream up a more ominous statement than that.

Coleman was not denied any of his rights—trial by jury and all the rest, which is proper. Shooting people with a shotgun, however, seems to be stretching one's rights a bit far, especially when it can be done with apparent immunity.

The Alabama attorney general and some others have expressed anger at the verdict. We agree with them that the majority of Alabama residents probably do not condone coldblooded killings. That doesn't change the fact that justice in Alabama is more fiction than fact.

Shotgun justice has no place in our system. It seems shockingly out of place, even in Alabama.

[From the Little Rock (Ark.) Arkansas Gazette, Oct. 2, 1965]

COLLAPSE OF JUSTICE A NATIONAL CONCERN

Two trials in civil rights killings have now been held at Hayneville, Ala., with a mistrial declared in one case and a verdict for the defendant returned in the other. In the first case defense counsel was permitted to make one of the most obscene summations ever heard in an American courtroom; in the second, concluded this week, the whole conduct of the court dirtied and disfigured the American system of justice.

Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent personality in Hayneville, was indicted for manslaughter in the slaying of an Episcopal ministerial student—the recommendation of the Alabama attorney general for a murder indictment notwithstanding. The case was hurried to trial as the judge refused a postponement and even ordered the attorney general, Richmond Flowers, out of the case. Mr. Flowers had sought a stay so that the State's key witness, a priest who was shot at the same time the student was killed, could recover from his wounds and testify.

This, then, is what the custodians of justice at Hayneville managed to do: Bring a minimal charge for which the maximum sentence would be 10 years; rush the case so it couldn't be adequately prosecuted; gain an acquittal that forever precludes, under the double-jeopardy prohibition, another prosecution in the killing.

Tom Coleman is free after pleading self-defense on the implausible grounds that he was threatened by his victim, a ministerial student, with a weapon that was never found. The acquittal in effect issues what Attorney General Flowers bitterly describes as "a license to kill." And in all the violent deaths attending the civil rights movement in the South, not a single killer has yet been tried and convicted.

The total failure of deep South justice in the racial murder cases testifies obviously to an inherent weakness in the concept of trial by jury. All of us have known that the jury system is no better than the people who make up the juries; where a community or State is afflicted with a moral sickness, as Hayneville and Alabama are afflicted, the system can and demonstrably does break down. Yet we are all aware, too, as U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach remarked in reference to the Coleman trial, that "this is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but it is not too high a price to pay."

Mr. Katzenbach's response was, however, a little too philosophical for our taste in the circumstances. There was a new element in the Coleman case—the systematic ordering of the processes of justice to make the proceedings not a trial but a travesty.

An expansion of the Federal jurisdiction in civil rights killings might bring a partial remedy. It is entirely possible that there is no remedy, as Mr. Katzenbach implies, but at the least it is the job of the Justice Department and the President himself to try to find one. The most exhaustive search for answers is demanded, for when the enforcement of law and justice collapses anywhere in the country it becomes a national problem of the gravest proportion.

Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, I am told that next month, Life magazine plans an article about one of the outstanding citizens of today's world, Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post. My wife and I have been privileged to count Marjorie Post as a friend, and we well know the care and sensitivity which she has brought to a great variety of interests and activities throughout her life.

Marjorie Merriweather Post is quietly known to many people for many different accomplishments in many different parts of the world. As a woman of substantial means, she has worked to apply her resources in ways that might benefit this generation and those that follow it. In this regard, I think it important to note that the thought which is said to have guided her in the use of her means is that of her father: "Do good with it."

In addition to the attention and the assistance she has given to education and to institutions of learning, Mrs. Post has also given of herself and her substance to the arts and to their encouragement. In the Nation's Capital, where Mrs. Post resides much of the year, she has worked to provide new advantages and opportunities for the youth of the city; and among her many endeavors in Washington, she has had special concern for the National Symphony Orchestra, the National Ballet, and from the outset, the National Cultural Center, later named the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts.

Though widely known for her warmth and charm, as well as for her taste and hospitality, Mrs. Post has never allowed the numerous benefactions and philanthropies for which she has been responsible to be made public. The list of citations she has received is indeed lengthy, and it covers works which range over several continents. These works span a half century of service to mankind, and they have encompassed diverse needs such as those growing out of the wars of this century, those which resulted from the depression of a generation ago, and those which have accompanied the new expansion of the arts in recent years.

I understand that the forthcoming issue of Life magazine, in which many of the possessions and items collected by Mrs. Post will be discussed, will also give attention to the homes she maintains. In that connection, I do not believe that many people know that though she has three homes, she has made provision for the 24 acres of her Washington residence to go eventually to the Smithsonian Institution, already the recipient of many treasures from her collections, and she has arranged for her mountain place in the Adirondacks eventually to be permanently available for the use of the C. W. Post College, named in honor of her father and located in New York.

In like manner, she has been working to insure that her Mar-A-Lago estate near Palm Beach will go to the State of Florida as a gift for use by the public. In appreciation, Mrs. Post was recognized last summer by the State of Florida for her efforts and for her generosity, and a public ceremony was held in the State capital of Tallahassee.

My distinguished colleagues from the State of Florida, Senator HOLLAND and Senator SMATHERS, join me in calling the attention of the Senate to the accomplishments and contributions made by Marjorie Merriweather Post over a long and full life. Their State has honored a woman who has served the Nation, and under unanimous consent I place a listing of citations and decorations and organizations reflecting the good works for which she has been responsible following my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD.

I also place the letter which Senator SMATHERS wrote me with his high regard for Mrs. Post, and in which he called attention to this listing, in the Appendix of the RECORD for today at the conclusion of my remarks. I know that Senator HOLLAND has a personal statement which he wants to make, and I will yield to him for it.

The material follows:

CITATIONS

American Museum of Natural History, life member, 1923.

Award of Merit for "Figurehead Design," Yacht *Sea Cloud*, 1932 (Italy).

U.S. Navy for use of *Sea Cloud* World War II, awarded 1948.

American Symphony Orchestra League Award for sponsorship of "Music for Young America," presentation, Providence, R.I., 1956.

Washington Board of Trade Award for Music in Nation's Capital, 1957.

South Plains Council of Boy Scouts of America, in appreciation for gift of Scout camp near Post, Tex., 1957.

The people of Garza County, Tex., Golden Jubilee Award, 1957.

American National Red Cross, certificate of appreciation, 1957.

District of Columbia Education Association, for notable services in the field of education, 1958.

American National Red Cross for services fund campaign, 1960.

National Society, Children American Revolution, for practical realism, 1960.

American National Red Cross, volunteer service certificate for staff assistance Palm Beach County Chapter, issued Washington, D.C., 1942.

C. W. Post College, Long Island, N.Y., patroness and benefactress, 1960.

Golden Anniversary Award, National Capital Area Council and Boy Scouts of America, 1960.

Federation of Women's Clubs for Philanthropic Achievement, 1958.

Variety Club, Tent No. 1, for interest in seven lively arts, Pittsburgh, 1961.

American National Red Cross, in appreciation of volunteer service, 1962.

Life member, Greater Southeast Community Hospital Foundation, 1962.

Trustees of Washington Ballet Guild, American Ballet Theater, 1962.

Smithsonian Institution for the presentation of the Napoleon-Marie Louise neckless, 1962.

American National Red Cross in appreciation for volunteer services in World War I, presented Washington, D.C., 1963.

Metropolitan Police Boys Club, member of the year, 1963.

National Federation of Music Clubs, citation award for contribution to musical, cultural, and artistic life, Pittsburgh convention, April 1963.

American Federation of Musicians for distinguished service in behalf of live music and musicians, April 1963.

Brotherhood Award, National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1963.

Friends of American University Award, patron 1963–64.

American National Red Cross, District of Columbia chapter, for loyalty and devotion, 1964.

Honorary Fellow, Smithsonian Institution, 1964.

Honor list, National Society of Interior Designers, for distinguished design (international award), May 1965.

Honorary citizen of Florida, resolution passed by Florida State Legislature, June 1965.

PHILANTHROPIES

Equipped No. 8 base hospital (2,000) beds Savenay, France, World War I.

Maintained food kitchens in the slums of New York, operated by Salvation Army, 1929–35.

Vice chairman, emergency unemployment drive, New York City, 1929–35.

Honorary chairman, Parcels for Belgian Prisoners & Parcels for Belgium, 1940–44.

Benefactress, District of Columbia chapter, Boy Scouts of America, building fund, August 1955, etc.

Sponsorship of "Music for Young America," since 1956.

Coparticipant with post division, General Foods Corp., et al., in building C. W. Post athletic field, Battle Creek, 1961.

Benefactress, Merriwether Post Boy Scout campsite, Woodrow Wilson Reservation, Lorton, Va.

Benefactress, C. W. Post College, Long Island University.

Private and personal educational and assistance funds.

DECORATIONS BY FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS

Cross of Honor, Order of Adolph de Nassau, Luxemburg, November 27, 1939.

Chevalier of the Order of Leopold, Belgium, November 29, 1939.

Commander of the Order of Juan Puablo Duarte, Dominican Republic, February 1946.

Officer of the Order of the Crown, Belgium, June 28, 1947.

Chevalier of the Legion of Honor, France, April 7, 1957.

Chevalier, Order of the Southern Cross, Brazil, December 12, 1958.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON FINANCE,
October 12, 1965.

Hon. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR COOPER: It has come to my attention that Life magazine intends to honor Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post, a distinguished American and an honorary citizen of my home State of Florida, in a forthcoming edition.

I believe such an article would be particularly appropriate because Mrs. Post has, through her philanthropies and other civic endeavors, made a substantial contribution toward building a better life in America and many nations around the world.

When the Legislature of the State of Florida last June passed a resolution naming Mrs. Post an honorary citizen of Florida, they expressed gratitude for Mrs. Post's offer to offer her estate, Mar-A-Lago, to Florida.

But the legislature also paid homage to a lady whose citations number a total of 30, who has used her personal resources to assistant worthwhile projects of lasting value. Music, art, history, youth groups and humanitarian assistance projects have benefited because of Mrs. Post's interest.

She has been decorated by no less than six foreign governments. Her philanthropies have ranged from equipping a 2,000-bed overseas hospital during World War I to providing food kitchens in New York City during the depression days. During World War II, she was a leading benefactor of beleaguered Belgium.

Domestically, Mrs. Post's assistance has helped the scouting movement, the Red Cross, music and the arts.

Because I believe Mrs. Post had made contributions to society which have often gone unheralded, I am taking the liberty of bringing to your attention a list of the citations which she has received, the decorations awarded her by foreign governments and the philanthropies in which she has engaged.

I am sure that you will agree with me that the record of public service which Mrs. Post has achieved is indeed a most noteworthy one.

With kindest personal regards, I am
Sincerely yours,
GEORGE A. SMATHERS,
U.S. Senator.

Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND
OF FLORIDA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, any enumeration of the great women of our time would necessarily include the name of Mrs. Marjorie Merriweather Post. I understand that Life magazine will, in a November issue, depict some of the highlights of the life and work of this remarkable American woman and I look forward with pleasure to viewing and reading the story.

For many years my State of Florida was privileged to claim Mrs. Post as a citizen and resident. Although this legal relationship was severed by Mrs. Post for personal business reasons, we still claim her as one of our own since she maintains a fabulous winter home at Palm Beach and has done so since the 1920's. Additionally, the Governor and the Legislature of the State of Florida, in June of this year, conferred honorary citizenship upon Mrs. Post in a formal ceremony at the State capitol in Tallahassee.

It is one thing to be the head of a great financial empire but quite another for one so situated to use for the good of mankind the power conferred by such a position. As heir to the fabulous cereal fortune, Mrs. Post has lived a glamorous and a luxurious life. However, if there could be a basis for measure, her philanthropies far exceed and outweigh her personal expenditures.

As one example, Mrs. Post has offered as a gift to the State of Florida her beautiful and expensive home at Palm Beach. Her purpose, although no particular strings were attached, is that the 100-room house, beautifully landscaped grounds and the 9-hole golf course would be used for the public benefit. An embarrassing oddity here is that the State cannot afford, under present authority vested in its board of parks and historic memorials, the high cost of maintenance of the vast property, much as it wants to accept it.

This is just one small incident of the generosity of this great lady. Space here will not permit a listing of the many, many things she has done for the betterment of our country and the brightening of the lives of thousands of people less fortunate than herself.

Florida is grateful to Mrs. Marjorie Post and exceedingly proud to have her even as an honorary citizen. We shall hope that she may soon see the advantage in again becoming one of our legal residents. The State would welcome her with open hearts and arms.

Congress Leads the Way

SPEECH
OF
HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, another session of Congress draws to a close. I am proud to have had the privilege to serve under you as our distinguished Speaker, while Vice President HUBERT H. HUMPHREY presided over the Senate and with our great President, Lyndon B. Johnson, showing the way.

The march of history is uncertain and unpredictable and, while we may speculate about the reasons for momentous events and movements in the affairs of a people, we rarely know the subtleties which give birth to them at a particular time and place.

I will not speculate on why this session of Congress was the place and our generation the time for the making of so much important American history. Suffice it to say it happened and we are all grateful.

For too many, the great war, the pitched battle, the devastation of the land, the enslavement of the people and the destruction of their homes is the

march of history. For us this is the backward slide of history to primeval time, when man lived in the dark cave with his club as his constant companion and dared to venture forth only in daylight. For me, history is the story of man, his emergence from ignorance to enlightenment and his forward stride toward social responsibility. In terms of these values, this session of Congress is America on the move.

I shall not detail all the things this Congress did, rather will I paint its accomplishments in broad strokes.

Since its first and foremost consideration was the people, the story of this Congress is the story of its concern for people, all people. We have proved that we are our brother's keeper.

This Congress gave us medicare, not merely as originally conceived, but improved and broadened as proposed by the best minds available. For the first time hospitalization and voluntary medical care are provided for our older people. All social security payments as well as payments under assistance programs for the dependent children, blind, and disabled were increased.

We remembered to care for our children. This Congress authorized $1.3 billion to improve elementary and secondary grade school education. It set up a 3-year program to aid school districts on the basis of the percentage of pupils from lower income families attending school in these districts. It also set up a 5-year program for supplemental educational centers, textbook and testing aid purchases, research in education, and help for State education departments.

Higher education was provided for our children. The Higher Education Act is a 5-year $5.5 billion program to help States support community service programs of colleges and universities, for grants to their libraries for training, research, and acquisition of materials, for teaching fellowships to raise the quality of instruction at smaller colleges and for scholarship grants and low interest loans to graduate and undergraduate students.

Without an educated electorate, democracy perishes—the victim of demagogs and other self-seekers. Educated children mean educated adults able to live finer lives as better citizens.

We improved our laws to get decent housing for our people; $7.5 billion is authorized for a 4-year housing program. The program includes urban renewal, housing for the elderly, college housing, 60,000 new units of public housing annually, and matching grants to communities for water and sewer facilities. A new program is initiated for rent subsidies for some of our elderly, handicapped and displaced low-income families. No down payments are required of veterans buying homes.

Decent housing for our people is essential. If democracy requires respect for the individual and opportunity for fulfillment of his aims in life, he must have the privilege to acquire a decent home. Hovels, squalor, and overcrowding in impoverished quarters are not the soil in which respect and fulfillment are attained. These are signs of democracy's decay and unless corrected threaten its survival.

A new Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development will give us better administration of housing matters and closer cooperation with our cities in relieving distressful conditions.

A healthy mind needs a healthy body. This Congress authorized special controls over depressant and stimulant drugs with strict penalties for offenses involving young people. Every package of cigarettes must carry the statement "cigarette smoking may be hazardous to your health."

While we like to see our business community earning healthy profits, the health of our people is more important.

Grants have been authorized to our communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diptheria, whooping cough, tetanus, and measles. Provision was made for a national technical institute to educate our deaf people. Grants were authorized for community mental health centers and for training of teachers for our mentally retarded and otherwise handicapped children. Regional medical centers, research laboratories, and health facilities to combat heart disease, cancer, and other maladies will be established with Federal money.

We have helped to continue prosperity for our people. We are in the midst of the longest continuous period of peacetime prosperity in our country's history. This, I believe, is the result of our better understanding of our economy and the enactment of appropriate measures to insure its continued expansion.

Among the things this Congress did to insure continued prosperity for our people was to reduce excise taxes by $4.6 billion a year. I have been urging such enactments in every Congress since 1947. Levies on such items as furs, jewelry, radios, TV sets, cameras, household appliances, musical instruments, and on cabarets and general admissions were repealed. The 10-percent tax on automobiles is to be gradually reduced.

One billion one hundred million dollars was authorized to institute and coordinate public works and other programs among the Federal, State and local authorities to revive the economy and improve the skills and health of Appalachian area residents.

To help meet our gold outflow problem, the Congress repealed the requirement that Federal Reserve deposits shall be backed by 25 percent gold reserves. This freed our gold to meet foreign demands and served notice on the world that we intend to honor our commitments without resorting to devaluing the dollar.

The Manpower Development and Training Act was extended for 3 years and the training period was extended from 52 weeks to 104 weeks.

A 4-year $3.3 billion program of public works by loans and grants to local governments and other public or private groups in economically deprived communities to develop industries, facilities and to create jobs was authorized. Additional millions were authorized for the Small Business Administration revolving fund to assist those struck by floods, tornadoes, and other disasters.

One billion eight hundred million dollars was authorized for antipoverty programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. This will help the less fortunate to become productive citizens.

Our natural resources will be preserved. Nature has been good to our land with its bountiful blessings. In the past we have been careless with them. We should remember that they do not belong to us. We are only trustees who are privileged to enjoy them during our lives and are responsible for their preservation so that they may be turned over to our children and those who come after them for their enjoyment.

The Congress implemented this principle by establishing a Federal Water Resources Council and River Basin Commission to coordinate planning for maximum use of resources and to assist the States in such planning. It fixed uniform policies for recreation facilities, fish and wildlife preserves and also for multipurpose water-resource projects. Nine hundred forty-four million dollars was authorized for flood control and navigation improvement projects in 13 river basins.

It expanded and extended for 5 years research and development programs for conversion of saline water; it extended loan programs to commercial fisheries; it increased aid to communities to combat water pollution and established a Water Pollution Control Administration.

All of those matters were important but more important were the laws enacted which dealt with human rights rather than material-privileges.

The improved voting rights law and the new immigration law that does away with the obnoxious and inhumane quota system were among the high spots of the accomplishments of this Congress.

Some will argue that all this impoverishes initiative and makes for a listles and dependent citizenry. The reverse is true. Relieved of the threat of an unfriendly and overpowering fate, man is freed to contribute his talent and effort to the community to make it a better place for him and his family, and to strive toward self-fulfillment and for meaning in his life, secure in the knowledge that his community stands with him in his fight against the common enemies, disease, poverty, ignorance, natural and man-made disasters, and other calamities to which he may fall prey.

In foreign affairs, the Congress had steadfastly supported the President. The anti-Arab boycott legislation, which I sponsored, was enacted. The foreign aid program was strengthened. Our participation in the World Bank and its affiliates was increased.

Our involvement in southeast Asia, while unfortunate, was not of our doing. Our national security, indeed that of the free world demands that we succesfully fulfill our commitments there and everywhere. We can and will do no less.

I have outlined some of the more important legislation that has been enacted by Congress to improve the well-being of the Nation.

The well-being of our people is a proper concern of our Government. Our older citizens remember the depression of the 1930's when our Nation was gripped by despair, its banks shut, its industrial machine creaking along at a fraction of its capacity. Our people dreaded the day and feared the future. There are still some who argue that our free enterprise system should be free of Government interference. These people object to legislation which seeks to eliminate poverty, squalor, ignorance, disease, and all the other indicia of a malfunctioning economy.

I disagree with them. Whenever our economy develops these symptoms, remedial action must be taken to eliminate their causes. Such action does not interfere with the system, rather it insures its survival. To ignore them could be fatal. We must care less for profits and more for the survival of a truly free enterprise system that creates those profits and gives to all of us the highest standard of living the world has ever seen.

When individuals cannot or will not do what is necessary and essential, government must step in and do it.

No one, I am certain, agrees with every last detail of all the laws we enacted. In fact, some even disagree with the principles involved. This right to disagree and to express that disagreement is what makes our country strong and so powerful.

But I daresay, that all of these laws initiated by the Congress and by the President will serve and serve well the too long neglected needs of our country.

The job is not done. It probably never will be. God willing, we will continue to strive forward next year in the best interest of the greatest number of our great country.

I must conclude this statement on a personal note and with a well deserved tribute to our Speaker, a truly wonderful Christian gentleman, a devoutly religious man who does not wear his religiosity on his sleeve but practices its highest moral principles in his daily life.

Since I came to Congress in 1947, I have had the finest cooperation from our Speakers and from the leadership of both major parties in arranging to accommodate my coreligionists of the Jewish faith so that we have never had a rollcall on a Jewish holiday that coincided with a legislative day.

This year the Rosh Hashana holidays—the Jewish New Year—fell on legislative days. Unfortunately, the parliamentary situation was such that it was impossible to extend the courtesy to the Jewish Members—15 of them—of forgoing rollcalls on those 2 days.

If we attended religious services either in our places of worship in our home districts or in the temples and synagogues which welcomed us in Washington, D.C., we could not possibly get to the floor of the House on time each day without violating our traditional practices.

With the warmly sincere and hearty cooperation of our distinguished Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, we were permitted to temporarily convert the nondemoninational congressional prayer room in the Capitol to a synagogue for our prayer services. We were then enabled to attend to our religious duties as well as our governmental obligations, serving both and doing violence to neither.

While keeping church and state completely separate, each gave the other full respect and obeisance.

Finally, I extend sincere thanks to my constitutents for having elected me to the 89th Congress, which President Johnson named "the greatest in American history."

Postal Efficiency Hurts Rail Passenger Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. HANSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the Post Office Department is no longer making as great a use of passenger trains in delivering the mail as it once did. As a result of the Department's increased reliance on highway trucks and rail-truck service, many passenger trains throughout the Nation are being forced to discontinue their services for financial reasons.

As the U.S. Representative from rural southwest Iowa, I have noted the ever-increasing flow of complaints from my constituents concerning the deterioration in the service of the Post Office Department. This would seem to indicate that the Department is not actually achieving its asserted "better service" in the movement of the mail through highway rather than railway transportation.

The Department's recent practices aid in developing a chain reaction which is extremely detrimental to the welfare of trade and commerce in southwest Iowa as well as rural communities across the Nation.

A recent article in the Des Moines Register describes this disturbing turn of events in a most efficient and complete manner. I offer this article for the benefit of my colleagues. The article follows:

POSTAL EFFICIENCY HURTS RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

The action of the Post Office Department in reducing its reliance on railroads for the movement of mail is having a side-effect of hastening the abandonment of rail passenger service, according to a Dow Jones survey.

According to the survey, published by the Wall Street Journal, the difference between a profitable passenger train service and a loss operation, or between a moderate loss and a severe loss is accounted for often by the mail moving contract.

TRUCKS—PIGGYBACK

The result is that passenger runs in many parts of the Nation are receiving a financial death blow as the Post Office Department diverts mail from passenger trains to highway trucks and to piggyback rail-truck service.

Postal officials contend they have "no legal right to continue transportation on trains" if better service "can be provided at less cost by highway transportation."

The locating of many of the 553 sectional postal centers in suburban centers, near important highways but away from downtown rail centers, has been a factor also in accelerating the postal department trend away from the use of train service.

The survey indicates that loss of mail revenues often pushes a train operation deep enough into the red for the road to convince State regulatory bodies or the Interstate Commerce Commission that it must be discontinued.

IOWA RUN

An example was the ICC permission to the Milwaukee Railroad to discontinue its trains Nos. 219 and 220, running 181 miles daily between Sioux Falls, S. Dak., and Manilla, Iowa, with connections to Chicago.

Both trains averaged about 40 coach and Pullman passengers per trip in 1964 and produced an out-of-pocket loss of $188,000. When the postal department, acting last March, removed mail worth about $102,000 annually in revenues, the Milwaukee acted to drop the runs.

For the year ended last June 30, the Post Office Department counts 61 passenger trains nationwide that lost their railway post office service. Railway men estimate 75 percent of the affected trains will be discontinued because of the revenue loss.

Intercity passenger trains now number less than 1,100 on all U.S. railroads, it's estimated, compared with some 3,400 as recently as the early 1950's.

Much of the loss has been blamed on increased use of the automobile, but with the shift of mail from train to truck accelerating, the Association of American Railroads forecasts the doom now for over two-thirds of existing runs, should they lose mail revenues.

In Washington, D.C., Postmaster General John A. Gronouski pointed out that railroads now operate only 11 percent of the trains (a drop from 10,000 to 1,100) which ran before World War II. At the same time, the annual volume of mail has increased from 29 to 72 billion pieces.

Federal Reserve Chairman Martin's Mumbo-Jumbo Fails To Disguise His Tight Money Policies That Threaten Continued Prosperity and Great Society Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, William McChesney Martin, Jr., occupies a very high office, one of the most important positions in the Government. He is Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board which determines the cost and availability of money to every man, woman, and child in America.

Adequate money and credit are vital to a strong and prosperous America. Credit at reasonable interest rates is the oil without which the wheels of business and commerce would stand still. When money is tight and interest rates high, experience shows that serious economic recession is always the result. Falling

employment, falling production, falling incomes are what is reaped when the Federal Reserve sows tight money.

Since Mr. Martin has been Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, we have had three serious recessions, all of which were during Mr. Eisenhower's administration. Due to the wise and sound policies of the Democratic administrations beginning in 1961, we have had unprecedented prosperity, but Mr. Martin and his all-powerful open market committee can bring an untimely end to that prosperity at any time.

At present there is very indication that Mr. Martin is doing just that. Interest rates on both short-term and long-term Government securities are at the highest since 1960, the year of our last tight money recession. Our banks do not have adequate reserves to finance the legitimate needs of businessmen, particularly as the busy Christmas season gets underway. Mr. Martin lives in an ivory tower. He does not understand the needs of the small businessman, the consumer, and the ordinary citizen. There are nearly 200 million Americans, yet Mr. Martin's policies reflect the interests of only a half dozen big Wall Street money market banks. Mr. Martin is far removed from the realities that face the American people.

On the front page of the Wall Street Journal of October 22, the following article appears:

Mysterious Martin sounds more Delphic than usual in fending off questions about Federal Reserve credit policies. Apparently to hint he isn't moving boldly to lift interest rates, the Reserve Board chairman recites Homer's line: "Ajax retreated, but so slowly and with such a firm and severe visage that the Trojans thought he was advancing."

It is indeed a national tragedy, even scandalous, that such an important Government official tries to make a joke out of the current monetary crisis which the Nation faces. I do not believe the American people take kindly to being fed poetic quips instead of reassurances that the Federal Reserve's monetary policies will not run counter to Government programs for prosperity backed by their elected officials.

Converse Rubber Co.: A David Among Goliaths

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, recently, one of the leading and most progressive manufacturing firms in New England, the Converse Rubber Co. of Malden, Mass., had its record of splendid accomplishment and progress recognized in the lead financial article in the Boston Globe.

I want to recommend this account of the Converse story to my colleagues here in the House, for I feel that it presents an outstanding example of American business success—a success won through hard work and imaginative planning, through solid, responsible management and through a sincere cultivation of good relations between employer and employee.

Converse Rubber operates in a field, Mr. Speaker, where it faces not only heavy domestic competition, but increasingly heavy foreign competition as well. As Mr. Stephen Stone, general manager and treasurer for the company, points out, one Far Eastern country alone has captured in recent years over one-third of our domestic protective footwear market and almost one-fifth of the canvas footwear business.

The Converse Rubber Co. is to be cited and warmly congratulated, Mr. Speaker, on her successes despite such competition, as well as for the solid contribution she has made to the economy of Massachusetts and New England. I know that many small- and medium-size manufacturing firms around the country will draw inspiration from the fine example Converse continues to set, and I welcome this opportunity to bring this example to the attention of the Congress:

CONVERSE RUBBER: DAVID THRIVES AMID THE GIANTS

(By Peter B. Greenough)

How, in an era when companies continally get bigger and brasher, does the industrial David survive? And even thrive in a throng of Goliaths?

"Because there are some holes an elephant can't squeeze through."

Stephen A. Stone, general manager and treasurer of Malden's Converse Rubber Co., speaking. Much less a rubber elephant, since Stone heads one of the largest processors of rubber in New England.

Sneakers, basketball shoes, sports footwear of every shape, rubber boots, overshoes, industrial clothing, foul-weather sailing gear, sou'westers, hockey pucks, skate scabbards—you name it, Converse makes it.

In the process of fashioning a wide range of sporting goods equipment, Converse keeps at work in Malden, 750 more at an Andover operation, plus another 1,000 up in Berlin, N.H. Toss in a Puerto Rican works and the company hires over 3,000.

While Stone cheerfully admits to being "almost paranoid" about giving actual sales figures (the company is closely held privately), a trained eye could gage output at about $30 million annually and not be far off.

Against such giants as Hood Division of B. F. Goodrich and United States Rubber Co., this is topflight performance. Especially in an area where foreign competition, notably from Japan and West Germany, has become excruciating.

Things weren't always so bouncy at Converse.

During the early thirties the company went through receivership. Every now and then someone up country digs stock certificates in the old company "out of mattress," says Stone, "and they aren't worth a darn."

In the post-World War II era, though, Converse has become a highly active participant in the zooming sports and recreation field, where annual growth runs at least 5 percent or more without signs of easing.

"The thing we've done that sets us apart from major competitors is attempt to carve out special manufacturing areas—we try to pick our own battlefield—and a prime example in the athletic field is basketball shoes," he says.

All the top pros, including the Celtics, wear Converse products. A fast man will wear out three pairs a season.

For several years Converse has had its operations linked by computer (the company is just in the process of installing its third different IBM model). They have a nationwide sales force, which leans heavily on retired basketball stars and sports figures (who also help design products).

Ordinarily soft-spoken, Stone becomes quite noisy on the subject of Japanese competition and the need, as he sees it, for "flexible tariffs."

The business, Stone points out, is a labor-intensive one where labor is 45 to 50 percent of costs (opposed to 3 percent in the petroleum business).

Automatically this puts him under the gun of low-wage industries. Since there already are 90 domestic concerns in this field (turning out 200 million pairs of rubber-soled sports shoes yearly), the "only controls we have is in allowing access to the American market," Stone insists.

How much has outside competition hurt? Through 1964 the Japanese had captured 35 percent of our domestic protective footwear market and 18 percent of the canvas footwear business.

Admittedly Stone has mixed emotions over the whole question since "we're all consumers."

"But God knows, we have no right to demand $5 an hour as a producer and then demand 50 cents worth of goods when wearing our consumer's hat. This makes no sense."

Stone concedes that it is hard to take a protectionist position these days, especially when they blow a short fuse in Washington over the matter of flexible tariffs or the so-called American selling price arrangement.

Under the circumstances, his firm shows an enormous capacity for "making do" in a rugged field. To which he responds with a short story:

A woman goes into a grocery store and asks, "How much are your bananas?"

"Fourteen cents, lady."

"But they're only 12 cents across the street."

"Has he got any?"

"No."

"Well, I'll tell you, lady, when I haven't got any, my price'll be 12 cents too."

Stone hopes America's freer trading policy will let him stay in the 14-cent banana business. For now, at least, he's top banana.

Travesty of Justice—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH SCOTT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a sampling of editorials from newspapers west of the Mississippi commenting on the recent miscarriage of justice in a Hayneville, Ala., courtroom.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Oct. 1, 1965]

TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

An Alabama jury has acquitted Thomas Coleman in the fatal shooting of a minis-

terial student who had made the unpardonable error of urging Alabama Negroes to vote. Although the verdict was expected, even the most cynical observer of southern courts must be shocked and nauseated by the travesty of justice in this case.

The Lowndes County jury deliberated just 2 hours. It freed Coleman even though the defense conceded he had done the shooting. The defense claimed self-defense, but no weapon was found on the victim and several eyewitnesses refuted the self-defense claim.

The conduct of the trial judge was as appalling as the jury's verdict. The judge refused to grant the Alabama attorney general's request for postponement to permit a key witness—a Chicago priest who was also shot by Coleman—to recuperate sufficiently to testify. The judge proceeded to kick the attorney general out of the case and order immediate trial despite the State's protest that it was not ready.

No amount of preparation and testimony would have made much difference in this case. The result was foretold when the grand jury would indict only for manslaughter. The unpleasant truth is that all-white Alabama jurors preferred to violate their oaths as jurors than to punish a hometown boy for crimes against civil rights workers.

The result of the Alabama trial might well be to incite and encourage further violence against Negroes and civil rights advocates. Congress should take note of the Alabama case and give serious consideration to strengthening Federal civil rights law so that crimes such as this come under Federal jurisdiction. If Alabama is incapable of living up to its responsibility to safeguard the rights of individuals and administer justice, it leaves the Federal Government no choice but to attempt to see that justice is done.

[From the Whittier (Calif.) News, Oct. 8, 1965]

A TRAVESTY ON U.S. LAW

One of several facts arising out of the recent trial of an Alabama special deputy sheriff for shooting down a divinity student and a priest, one of whom died, was that in some parts of this country Federal laws still do not apply.

The trial occurred in a State court before a jury of local people. It acquitted the defendant on the basis of self-defense, even though witnesses testified that the slain man and the priest had no weapons on them.

As such, the trial was a travesty on justice. Yet no one acquainted with life in the rural South over the past few decades has ever had any doubt that justice for the Negro has been a travesty there. Now it turns out that justice for even a Negro's helper or friend also is a travesty.

The jury that acquitted the white man was one of white people. The courtroom was segregated during the trial. Federal laws may provide that no such occurrences are legal—but Federal laws still do not apply in some areas.

They will not apply so long as local officials can get away with not applying them. In some cases this has been the accepted standard of procedure for 100 years. There will be no voluntary change overnight.

[From the Bakersfield (Calif.) Californian, Oct. 4, 1965]

TRAVESTY IN ALABAMA

To say that justice has broken down in Deep South courts is a delicate and dishonest way of putting it. There never has been any in Alabama and Mississippi for Negroes or the Caucasians who dare to go to bat for them.

Last week's travesty of a trial in Hayneville, Ala.—a vulgar humbug which affronted the Nation—points up the need to resolve this intolerable situation—and soon. If it isn't resolved, these two States will remain what they've been in the past—shooting galleries for wool hats and buckras with Negroes and their Caucasian sympathizers as targets.

Moreover, these bawdy miscarriages of justice increase riot threats by encouraging people to take things in their own hands. The U.S. Government, backed by a mighty propaganda machine, hasn't made any efforts to combat Deep South hooliganism with education. No leaflets emphasizing the need to end bloodshed have been showered on these two States.

But Washington is moving against the Ku Klux Klan in an investigation triggered by the slaying of Mrs. Viola Gregg Liuzzo, another victim of cowardly night riders.

It will be conducted by a subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and, according to the Christian Science Monitor, promises to be the year's stormiest inquiry.

Brutal murders and an impassioned call from President Johnson made history's first full-scale investigation of the Klan inevitable.

Robert M. Shelton, Jr., of Tuscaloosa, Ala., imperial wizard of the United Klans, Knights of the KKK, has charged the murder was part of a "trumped up Communist plot to destroy the right wing in America."

If the inquiry is run the way it should be run. Shelton will get his chance to document that charge. And other witnesses will also get their chance to back their contentions that the Klan is a secret terror organization able to thwart the law and spread fear.

The box score of killings that triggered this investigation reads: Five murders within a few short months—13 alleged members of the KKK said to be involved in the killings, and no convictions.

President Johnson has already had his say about the death of Mrs. Liuzzo. "Mrs. Liuzzo went to Alabama to serve the struggle for justice," the President said. "She was murdered by the enemies of justice who for decades have used the rope and the gun and the tar and the feathers to terrorize their neighbors." He blamed the Klan for what he called "a horrible crime."

An inquiry into the machinations of this hooded organization appears long overdue.

[From the Minot (N. Dak.) News, Oct. 12, 1965]

UNFAIR JURY PRACTICE

A lot of people in both South and North who cherish the concept of justice have been disturbed by an Alabama jury's finding that Thomas L. Coleman was innocent of manslaughter in the fatal shooting of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminarian who had been engaged in civil rights work. They have been disturbed, indeed, by many things about the case. One of the points raised by those who object to the proceedings is that the jury which freed the defendant was composed of whites, though there is a large Negro population in the county. This is a point germane to numerous trails in the South.

Happily, there is reason to believe that the practice of barring Negroes from jury service is coming to the end of the road. A strong indication of this was evident when a Federal district court in Mississippi reversed two death penalty sentences on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the juries. These reversals were properly hailed by the American Civil Liberties Union as a major advance for due process and equal protection under the law.

Denial of these American rights was cited by Judge Claude F. Clayton in his opinions reversing th convictions of George A. Gordon and William Smith, Jr., both Negroes. "With respect to the allegation of racial exclusion from the jury system," his opinion in the Smith case stated, "the parties agree that in the year of the trial only 3 Negroes were on the jury list and in the 10 years preceding the trial only 5 Negroes were on the jury list, which contained approximately 300 names each year." This, he noted, though Negroes constituted more than 62 percent of persons available for jury service. There is no place for such discriminatory practices in the American system of justice.

[From the Ogden (Utah) Standard-Examiner, Oct. 2, 1965]

ALABAMA JUSTICE

The acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman on manslaughter charges by a jury in Hayneville, Ala., has brought new criticism throughout the country of the way justice is administered in Alabama.

There's good reason for this skepticism about the propriety of the trial of the part-time deputy sheriff who was accused of killing a young civil rights worker.

A State's attorny had been assigned to prosecute the case. He asked for a postponement on the grounds a companion of the victim, also wounded by Coleman, had not recovered enough to testify.

Instead of granting the delay, the court threw the State's attorney out and proceeded with a local prosecutor. Coleman claimed self-defense, insisting both Jonathan M. Daniels, the slain youth, and the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago, were armd.

Since the Reverend Morrisroe couldn't appear there was no one to challenge Coleman's claim. The jury deliberated only 90 minutes before freeing the defendant.

Gov. John W. King of New Hampshire, where Daniels lived, called the Hayneville trial a "travesty of justice." We agree.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Spokesman, Oct. 7, 1965]

CONGRESS MAY HAVE TO ENACT LEGISLATION AGAINST RACIAL KILLERS

The Hayneville fiasco, in which an all-white Alabama jury turned loose the admitted killer of a white civil rights worker, serves to remind us that there are some serious flaws in our jury system, that may have to be corrected by Federal legislation.

That Hayneville jury was not a jury in the sense that we understand the term in the North. That is, it was not drawn from a panel picked by lot from lists of qualified electors. It was picked up off the street, from among persons hanging around the courthouse evidently without anything more pressing to do.

This is the kind of jury that will turn loose admitted killers, if they are white, and throw the book at innocents and minor offenders, if they are Negro.

The problem inherent in this situation is recognized by reasonable southerners, and in some communities steps have been taken to correct it. One important step which many communities have taken, has been to set up an orderly system of drawing juries, by putting all qualified electors on jury lists and calling up panels from which jurors are selected by lot, just as we do here. An important aspect of this plan is an agreement by leading citizens not to beg off when called for such duty. That such an agreement is needed in order to maintain proper dignity and integrity indicates how bad the jury problem is in the South.

A related problem, of course, is judges. The judiciary in the Hayneville case was shockingly biased. The attorney general, who planned to conduct the prosecution, was undercut by the circuit court. A murder charge was discarded, and the killer was prosecuted on the lesser charge of manslaughter. The trial was rushed so that the principal witness could not testify. He is hospitalized with wounds inflicted by the

killer at the time his companion was shot to death.

Judges like these will disappear from the courts as Negroes begin to exercise their right to vote, and join up with decent white southerners to elect better qualified men to the bench.

This is what will happen in the long run. In the short run, men like the Hayneville killer are running loose. They have been given every encouragement to believe that it is open season on civil rights workers and Negroes. The killings, we expect, will continue, unless Congress and the Federal administration take steps to protect our citizens.

[From the Fullerton (Calif.) News-Tribune, Oct. 12, 1965]

THE FINAL ASSESSMENT

The odor that arises from Hayneville, Ala., is not a new scent.

Tom Coleman, his friends, and neighbors say, is not guilty of killing the young Episcopalian seminarian who sought to put his beliefs into action. In fact, Tom Coleman was not charged with the crime of murder, but merely with manslaughter, which may also be accidental.

The death of young Daniels was not accidental, the world knows that. The world suspects that the acquittal of Tom Coleman was not accidental, either.

Alabama's attorney general is outraged. His words are strong, for a prosecutor. One does not normally indict the judge.

If post mortem justice has been denied Coleman, for the time, a lesson has been reiterated. Justice may never be administered in the midst of passion, and it would appear that the Coleman verdict, whether right or wrong, was thus administered.

Alabama is a State sorely tried by cruel social pressures. Whether a man be white or black, if he is now in Alabama he is wrestling with situations that may break him.

And yet through all the mistakes and the heartaches, there comes a great knowledge of what has been done and what must be done. Through the years we struggle to reason and righteousness, and often stumble on the way. If the young Mr. Daniels' friends need comfort, it may be remembered that those who burned Joan of Arc were also exonerated. When the final assessment was made, the Maid of Orleans was triumphant.

[From the Anchorage (Alaska) News, Oct. 2, 1965]

JUSTICE IN THE SOUTHERN COURTROOM

It's entirely possible that the Catholic priest and Episcopal seminary student did approach the Hayneville, Ala., deputy sheriff with a gun and open pocketknife, as was claimed at the trial. It's entirely possible that the deputy had to blast away in self-defense to protect himself from these men of God.

At least the jury that acquitted the deputy of killing the student and critically wounding the priest evidentally was convinced that these were the circumstances.

We certainly have no intention of questioning the judgment of a trial court and jury in Alabama from as far away as Alaska. All we have to go on are press accounts of the testimony and the original statements made by the deputy after the shooting. The statements were widely publicized and hardly expresesd remorse. But, of course, he could have been misquoted.

To the best of our recollection, no white southern jury has yet convicted any white southerner in any of the most notable civil rights slayings in recent years—whether the victim was a Negro or white civil rights worker. But then, all of those brought to trial could very well have been innocent.

It has been said that until recent years it was rather rare to have any kind of trial at all in such cases. Personally, we are not sure which is best. If a trial is to be held then it should result in justice. Perhaps justice is being served. But it's hard to tell at this distance.

[From the Redwood City (Calif.) Tribune, Oct. 4, 1965]

WAS THIS JUSTICE, ALABAMA STYLE?

It was to demonstrate their belief in the Negro civil rights cause that Jonathan Daniels, an Episcopal ministerial student from New Hampshire, and the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago, went to Hayneville, Ala., in August.

As it turned out, they bore witness to the mockery of Alabama justice instead.

The two young men were released from a civil rights demonstration lockup in the Hayneville jail on August 20. They walked one block, and were felled by a shotgun blast. Mr. Daniels was slain, Father Morrisroe severely wounded.

Thomas L. Coleman, 55, a volunteer deputy sheriff, was arrested and accused of first-degree murder. The Lowndes County grand jury refused to support that charge, however, and indicted him for manslaughter instead. For shooting the priest, Coleman was charged with assault and battery, a misdemeanor.

The trial lasted 1 day. A prosecution witness, who turned out to be a buddy of Coleman's, testified that the victims brandished a knife and a gun before Coleman mowed them down. Two defense witnesses said they saw Negroes hover over the bleeding men and remove the weapons. But they couldn't identify the Negroes.

Four other prosecution witnesses, all Negroes, testified that the ministers were emptyhanded when Coleman shot. A statement by one of the victims denying the existence of a weapon also was read.

The jury was composed of Tom Coleman's peers—his friends and neighbors, all white. They heard eight prominent Alabamians testify that he had the highest reputation in the community. One reporter saw a juror, filing out of the courtroom, wink at Coleman.

The verdict? Acquittal. Justice was done in Alabama. Done indeed.

[From the San Jose (Calif.) Mercury, Oct. 1, 1965]

ALL THE HAYNEVILLES BUILDING TROUBLE

It is impossible to escape the conclusion that some areas of the South are buying a large measure of future trouble for themselves.

A jury of 12 white men in Hayneville, Ala., this week acquitted Thomas L. Coleman, a special deputy sheriff, of murder in the shotgun slaying of a ministerial student. He also wounded a priest. The clergymen were engaged in civil rights activities in Lowndes County.

Coleman's defense was that he acted in self-defense, that the clergymen threatened him with knife and a gun. It was an incredible story, but the jury believed it because it wanted to believe it.

And herein lies the danger for communities such as Hayneville.

The rule of law breaks down when citizens believe that those entrusted with the law's power will not or cannot wield that power for the protection of all. Persons who believe, in short, that the law cannot or will not protect them no longer respect the law. They will not obey it, and they will, if pressed hard enough, resort to violence to achieve release of frustration—since the redress of grievances is foreclosed to them.

This state of mind can spell nothing but trouble for Hayneville and communities like it. This is the tragedy of subverting the rule of law.

[From the Minneapolis (Minn.) Tribune, Oct. 1, 1965]

THE SAD STATE OF ALABAMA JUSTICE

That old horse, which can be led to water but can't be made to drink, is galloping through some Alabama courtrooms again.

The latest antics came when Circuit Judge T. Werth Thagard probably made Alabama history by kicking the State attorney general from the prosecution side of a manslaughter case against a part-time deputy sheriff and when a jury acquitted the deputy Thursday. With all due respect for judicial discretion, the plain reason behind the judge's maneuver was that Attorney General Richmond Flowers thinks that Alabama's record in civil-rights slaying prosecution stinks, but too many Alabamans want to keep it that way.

The right to a fair trial usually is thought of in terms of the defendant. Yet, Flowers rightly contended that the State didn't have a chance in Lowndes County, which has the dubious distinction of being the death place of Jonathan M. Daniels, a civil-rights worker who allegedly was slain by Deputy Sheriff Thomas L. Coleman, and of Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker from Detroit.

Down there, as Flowers has noted, too many judges and juries look upon a civil-rights slaying as a community service. That feeling has meant that, since 1960, not a single white person has been convicted in more than two dozen civil rights slayings from North Carolina to Mississippi. Hopefully, this situation will change when the Voting Rights Act gives southern Negroes and moderates enough political power to convince judges, regular prosecutors and juries that they are required to enforce the law and not community prejudices.

Justice is given a lot of credit for being blind, but it is a national shame when a few judges and juries are, too.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 1, 1965]

HAYNEVILLE'S PARODY OF JUSTICE

An obscene judicial travesty has just concluded in a courtroom in Hayneville, Ala., and the stench and shame of this proceeding hover over the entire Nation.

The so-called trial and predictable acquittal of Thomas L. Coleman, accused of the shotgun killing of a young Episcopal seminarian and civil rights worker, cannot be forgotten or shrugged off as simply another example of what we have come to expect of southern justice. To do so would be to give tacit acceptance to a system that is an outrage and a peril.

For what happened in Hayneville was far more than a local or a State or a regional matter. What happened in Hayneville was a blatant assault on the American legal process as a whole, an attack on values and responsibilities which we, as a people, claim to hold sacred. Whether we know it or not, whether we like it or not, Hayneville has touched all our lives.

The verdict of the Coleman trial jury can't be appealed. But surely the conduct of the hearing, a ludicrous and frightful parody of the rules of evidence and of proper courtroom procedure, does provide ample incentive for action aimed at the root causes of this grotesque business.

For what kind of trial is it, after all, when the prosecutor introduces unsupported claims to the jury in the defendant's behalf which not even defense witnesses had testified to?

What kind of trial is it when the gun and the knife allegedly carried by Coleman's two victims, the slain seminarian and the seriously wounded Roman Catholic priest, are not produced?

What kind of trial is it when the chief prosecution witness, the priest who was shot in the back, is too ill to testify and the judge orders the trial to proceed anyway?

This dreary catalog of legal absurdities could be repeated at length, as it was in the courtroom, but to little purpose. And so the judge cracked his jokes, the jurors and Klansmen present laughed, and in less than 2 hours, Tom Coleman was found not guilty by a panel of men who were, in every sense, his peers.

Can anything now be done? To all purposes the Coleman case is closed. But what was represented by it remains an open matter, demanding action.

Action first from the Justice Department and its agencies, in registering the Negro voters of Lowndes County, in vigorously enforcing the 1875 Federal law prohibiting discrimination in jury selection, in being present in every courtroom where a case involving civil rights is being tried.

Action by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, to look into the Coleman case and others like it, and to make recommendations for corrective measures.

Action finally by the American Bar Association, which by its notable silence on Jim Crow justice has failed in a major duty.

We repeat: the distortion of justice which has just taken place in Hayneville, Ala., is no local matter alone. It is a national disgrace, and until it is dealt with its corruption will infect us all.

[From the Phoenix (Ariz.) Gazette, Oct. 6, 1965]

OUR IMPERFECT GODSEND

To assume that Thomas Coleman acted in self-defense in the killing of Jonathan M. Daniels, a seminary student gunned down last August during civil rights disturbances at Hayneville, Ala., is to stretch human credulity to the breaking point. Coleman's jury so ruled last week, however, and it must be recorded as a blot on both Alabama and, to some extent, on the American jury system.

Predictably, the breakdown in justice at Hayneville has flushed out the more virulent civil rightists who now trumpet that the Federal Government must "involve" itself in the trial of persons accused of felonies in connection with the civil rights movement. They imply the need for constitutional changes that would permit—we assume—non-jury trials, or venue changes in civil rights cases to assure the seating of juries not unduly sympathetic with the motives of the accused.

Unfortunately for their ambitions, the Constitution is crystal clear on this point and we should all offer up a fervent prayer of thanks that it is. The sixth amendment bars, unequivocably, the sort of trial by Federal commissar, or by star chamber proceedings, that they hint at and that has terrorized one civilization after another since the dawn of time.

We can froth at obvious miscarriages of justice and belabor the occasional stupidity, vindictiveness, and unreasoning prejudice of juries, but the guarantee of the accused to be tried by a jury of his peers "in the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," is too priceless to be compromised for any cause. For every bigoted jury, happily, there are 100 wise and courageous ones.

Civil rights leaders have every right in the world to be furious at the Hayneville decision. But no one should know better than they that the very freedoms they seek for the Negro will never be attained if the American people are persuaded to trade off one freedom for another.

[From the Portland (Oreg.) Oregon Journal, Oct. 2, 1965]

THE THINGS NEGROES KNOW

The reasons Negroes riot in blind rage and abandon, as in Los Angeles' Watts district, are complex. But incontrovertibly wrong as such rioting is, knowledge of verdicts like the one just returned in Hayneville, Ala., can be seized upon by dissidents to attempt justification of their illegal violence.

An all-white jury acquitted an influential white man, Tom Coleman, of manslaughter. Coleman had admitted killing one white civil rights worker with a shotgun and wounding another, but claimed he acted in self-defense. To return the "not guilty" verdict, the jury had to endorse the defense's claim that the civil rights workers, an Episcopal divinity student and a Roman Catholic priest, threatened to attack Coleman with a gun and a knife.

Well, maybe so, maybe so. But it strains belief. Even Alabama's own attorney general denounced the unfairness of the court atmosphere against the prosecution so violently before the trial opened that the judge threw him out of the case. The subsequent verdict maintains the sickening evidence that in certain parts of the South a white man accused of killing a Negro or a Negro's friend cannot be convicted.

[From the Hanford (Calif.) Sentinel, Oct. 4, 1965]

JIM CROW JUSTICE

Last week, in the same Hayneville, Ala., courthouse where Mrs. Viola Liuzzio's murder went unprosecuted, a jury acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of the shotgun slaying of a young Episcopal seminarian and civil rights worker.

It was, said the Los Angeles Times in an excellent editorial, "an obscene judicial travesty."

Can anything be done about the lack of law enforcement and prosecution in the South, or is it, as some have said, one of the few penalties of the prized American jury system?

Murder is a crime by an individual in most cases. But murder unprosecuted is a crime by a community, a county or a whole State. In a sense, such an unprosecuted killing becomes a murder by the Nation. And most certainly it is a national disgrace.

Although the Coleman case is now most likely closed, the situation that permitted this abortion of justice continues in the South. Can anything be done about it?

The Times offers three suggestions:

"Action first from the Justice Department and its agencies, in registering the Negro voters of Lowndes County, in vigorously enforcing the 1875 Federal law prohibiting discrimination in jury selection, in being present in every courtroom where a case involving civil rights is being tried.

"Action by the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice, to look into the Coleman case and others like it, and to make recommendations for corrective measures.

"Action finally by the American Bar Association, which by its notable silence on Jim Crow justice has failed in a major duty."

Each of these suggestions, we believe, is worthy. In the long view, the granting of voting rights to the Negroes of the county offers the most hope. Lowndes County's Negro population is more than 80 percent. If these people were proportionately represented, official civil rights oppression against them would not be possible.

Another source of hope is the pending investigation of the Ku Klux Klan by a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee, under the chairmanship of Representative EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana.

In a few short months in the South there have been five civil rights murders. Thirteen alleged members of the Klan are said to be involved in these killings. Certainly there is grist for the investigative mill in these criminal deaths, and the national publicity resulting from the investigation should help to repudiate everything the Klan stands for.

We may continue to hope, too, that the good people of the South, the great majority of the people, will eventually bring about changes in government and law enforcement. There is much evidence that the good people are prevailing in many areas, that integration is being accomplished with a minimum of trouble.

[From the Seattle (Wash.) Post-Intelligencer, Oct. 6, 1965]

ALABAMA ON TRIAL

Last August 20 two shotgun blasts shattered the rural calm of Hayneville, Ala. One killed Jonathan Daniels, a white seminarian and civil rights worker from Keene, N.H. The other seriously wounded Rev. Richard Morrisroe, a Roman Catholic priest from Chicago.

The man placed on trial for the slaying was Thomas L. Coleman, a prominent citizen of Hayneville with deep roots in the community. He was acquitted on grounds of self-defense.

These are the bare facts of what is probably one of the most horrifying episodes in the history of racial violence in the South. For the Coleman trial was patently a trial in name only, and bore little or no resemblance to a genuine legal proceeding.

Coleman was judged by an all-white jury in a county where Negroes far outnumber whites. The attorney general of Alabama was barred from prosecuting the case because he insisted on postponing the trial to await the testimony of Father Morrisroe, now in a hospital. The testimony of Negroes that no weapons were carried by the slain and wounded men was ignored. The testimony of white men that such weapons were carried was admitted, though no weapons were submitted as defense exhibits.

To describe the trial as a travesty is to understate its shocking nature. Its record, according to press reports, is replete with so many mockeries of the judicial process that it is difficult to believe it actually occurred the way it did.

But what must be believed is this: The Hayneville community, from which the trial jury was drawn, saw no wrong in the slayer's deed. It therefore freed him. The inescapable conclusion to be drawn is that in some areas of the Nation civil rights workers must proceed at their own risk, denied the protection of law and be conscious that, if they are slain, their killers will go unpunished.

This is the lesson of Hayneville. It was the lesson of Philadelphia, Miss., last summer. It is the lesson taught by still other communities since the Negro began his struggle for equal citizenship.

It is a lesson the Nation cannot tolerate, and a means must be found to achieve a legislative way out of this ghastly impasse.

[From the Salem (Oreg.) Oregon Statesman, Oct. 4, 1965]

NEVER VERSUS SOME DAY

The acquittal of a white part-time deputy sheriff in Alabama in the slaying of a civil rights worker is not surprising. Whites simply do not convict whites in the South for killing Negroes, and a white civil rights worker would receive less consideration than a Negro.

This instance of a "callous disregard for the taking of a human life," to quote Alabama's moderate Attorney General Richmond Flowers, is more flagrant than most, however. In this case there was no question as to who did the shooting. In order to return a "not guilty" verdict, the jurors had to assert that a seminary student and a priest would go armed and would threaten to attack a man armed with a shotgun on the streets of an Alabama town.

The surprising thing about this verdict and so many like it is that the Negroes in the South accept it without civil disorder.

The Federal civil rights legislation has been a great step forward, but the Negro knows that most of the laws which govern his day-by-day life are passed by southern legislatures and administered by southern sheriffs. This is "white man's law."

It takes tremendous reservoirs of patience to submit to this lopsided law in the hopes that some day it may be changed. The change is coming, but at a slow pace. Not too long ago, a white man wouldn't have been brought to trial at all in the killing of a Negro.

Perhaps next month or next year, Negroes will be allowed on juries. Perhaps some day a white juror will accept the word of a Negro witness without fear of recrimination from the other members of the white community.

That the Negro, after being told "never" by the southern whites, can still say "some day" is a great tribute to these patient people.

[From the Tulsa (Okla.) World, Oct. 10, 1965]

THE STATES' RESPONSIBILITY

A group called the National Leadership Conference on Civil Rights has determined to seek a new law in Congress next year—taking all civil rights criminal cases out of State courts and placing them before Federal Judges.

The conference is composed of more than 100 church, union, and civil rights organizations. Its goal would be ridiculous if it were not so precisely in step with the current trend of national legislation.

We cannot condone this further move in the direction of Federal takeover of States' rights and prerogatives. We intend to protest and resist the trend, along with all others who see more and more freedom and individual rights being trampled with each passing month.

But our case is weakened by events such as those that took place recently in the county courthouse of Hayneville, Ala. In that courthouse a local white man was acquitted by an all-white jury of manslaughter in the death of an Episcopal seminarian from New Hampshire.

We have to agree with many critics who say idealitsic northerners who head South to reform a century-old way of life are asking for trouble. We have to say they are foolish in their idealism. But this in no way excuses the brutal assaults and outright murders that have been perpetrated on these misguided crusaders.

We will not go into the details of the trial at Hayneville. It is sufficient to say that civil rightists are calling it a "travesty," a "judicial farce" and "an obscene caricature of justice." And on the basis of the reports we have seen, both the crime and the verdict are impossible to defend.

But the larger damage of this kind of judgment from southern courts is to provide the foes of States' rights exactly the kind of ammunition they need.

The trial at Hayneville is the springboard the Conference on Civil Rights is using to press its demand for taking all civil rights cases out of State courts.

One travesty in Alabama does not mean that no southern court is able to serve justice. But the Haynevilles of the South can pile up into an indictment that will smother the most avid defenders of States' rights.

If the States are going to escape complete domination by the Federal Government they will have to act responsibly. In the field of human rights this means they cannot allow outsiders to be attacked and murdered, no matter how unpopular their causes may be—nor permit civil rights trials to make a mockery of justice.

[From the Salt Lake City (Utah) Tribune, Oct. 5, 1965]

ALABAMA NIGHTMARE

Painful confusion and despair must mark the feelings of most responsible Americans, of both the North and South, in the wake of the jury performance last week at Hayneville, Ala.

One cannot say at this distance that the jury there should have convicted Tom Coleman of murder in the shotgun killing of Jonathan Daniels, civil rights worker. Nobody who did not sit with the jury can say with complete certainty whether the jury rendered a just decision. But in view of the published facts about this case and similar ones involving Negroes and white civil rights workers in the Deep South, one cannot suppress a sense of revulsion and sorrow. Another severe blow has been dealt the jury system which lies at the root of our traditional rights. The alternative to calm deliberate court decision is mob action and the emotionalism of mob action smothers justice.

Hayneville takes its place alongside Philadelphia, Miss., where the code of the hills is supreme. And the ugly ramifications build up against the South particularly, and to some degree against the United States, in the world court of public opinion.

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star, Oct. 1, 1965]

ANOTHER WRONG UNANSWERED

A jury has acquitted Thomas L. Coleman of manslaughter in the death last summer in Alabama of a young civil rights worker. The situation, at best, leaves one wondering if the scales of justice still are in balance.

The civil rights worker killed was an Episcopal seminarian who was working alongside a Catholic priest, now in a Chicago hospital as a result of gunshot wounds received when his companion was killed. Both men were fired upon by Coleman, a part-time deputy sheriff, as they got out of a car to enter a place to eat.

Coleman's defense was that he fired in self-defense. Despite the character of the man killed and his companion and the testimony of witnesses that neither man was armed, the jury apparently bought the self-defense plea.

News accounts show hardly anything but sketchy testimony to support the contention that either of the men shot had any weapons on him, much less in his hand. Nor is the story a very plausible one for an Episcopal seminarian and a Catholic priest.

In total the defense claim was a weak one and one that carried little supporting evidence. The prosecution, on the other hand, seemed to leave little doubt that the death of the civil rights worker was completely without cause.

The pattern of acquittal is one that has held true in a great many such cases in the bitter civil rights struggle in the South. When men can kill without fear of public indignation and with virtual assurance of no legal accountability, our society has been infected with a most lethal germ.

[From the Sioux City (Iowa) Journal, Oct. 4, 1965]

ALABAMA TRIAL

Public opinion is bound to change, sometimes quickly, with the racial-connected goings-on in the South, especially in those States where resistance to civil rights has been militant.

There was no question but what there was a substantial public opinion against the white South when the first civil rights protests disclosed discriminations previously unknown to many.

There was no question but what there was a swing in public opinion as civil rights advocates put on the pressure for action now in civil rights matters, this time against the demonstrators in the belief that the proposed changes were too fast for many communities.

It swung back again when the whites, and by implication the Klan, began shooting civil rights people. It continued against the whites when Alabama refused to indict a suspected slayer for murder, but brought in a manslaughter charge instead. It continued again when the State attorney general was tossed out of the manslaughter trial. It grew sharply greater when an all-white jury returned a rapid fire verdict of "not guilty" in the case.

The defendant may have been just as innocent of the crime as the jury said he was. Like it or not, that is the official disposition of the case and is what the record will show. But the State of Alabama is nevertheless indicted in public opinion because the trial was too close to a familiar southern pattern in which a white defendant is quickly cleared by an all-white jury of a crime against Negroes or whites who sympathize with, and try to help, the civil rights cause.

The State attorney general's castigation of the trial and verdict suggests the probable fact: Rightly or wrongly, no single incident could cement the civil rights people more solidly than this case will; rightly or wrongly, the case and verdict will hurt the State of Alabama more than any other single incident for many years to come.

Presentation of William Paca Awards to the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors, the Honorable John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the Honorable John P. Lomenzo, Secretary of State, New York, at the New York Hilton Hotel on Saturday Evening, October 2, 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday evening, October 2, at the New York Hilton Hotel in New York City, the Italian Executives of America, Inc., paid tribute to the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors, Hon. John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and Hon. John P. Lomenzo, secretary of state, New York, by presenting them with William Paca Awards. As you know, William Paca, of Maryland, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a descendant of the noble Paca and Aquila families of southern Italy. He served as a distinguished jurist and Governor of the State of Maryland.

Under the permission heretofore granted me by unanimous consent of the House, I include the program on this

occasion as well as the modest remarks of my close friend for many, many years, the Honorable Anthony F. Crissalli. Commissioner Crissalli is a fine, unassuming gentleman and I believe his brief humble remarks prove this. His remarks follow:

REMARKS BY MR. CRISSALLI

Mr. Chairman, Reverend Father, honored guests, friends, thank you, Mr. Chairman, for those precious remarks. You are either a diplomat or a fabricator of the truth. I know you are not a diplomat.

Really, I don't know what to say. I am not a speaker and I am too emotional right now.

This is a great honor. I don't know what I have done to deserve it. I shall never forget it.

I am twice honored to be here with such distinguished gentlemen—the Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the secretary of state of New York.

I want to thank this outstanding Italian-American organization, its officers, and its members for this honor. I wish the Italian Executives of America, Inc. lots of success.

I want to thank you all for being here. In honoring me, you honor my family and my name and I thank you.

What's more important, you honor good citizenship, the thousands of immigrants who come here from all parts of the world and who do some good every day for our great country, God bless it.

For them, for my family, for myself—from the bottom of my heart, thank you very much.

PROGRAM

National Anthem.

Invocation: Very Rev. Charles E. Divinney, St. Charles Church, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Welcome: Hon. Anthony M. Salvati, chairman; William Paca, Dinner Committee.

Presiding officer: Hon. Sylvester J. Garamella, national president, Italian Executives of America, Inc.

Presentation of William Paca Awards "for outstanding service in government by an American of Italian heritage."

Recipients: Hon. Anthony F. Crissalli, Acting U.S. Commissioner of Jurors; Hon. John P. Lomenzo, secretary of state, State of New York; Hon. John A. Volpe, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Guest speaker: Hon. Michael A. Musmanno, justice of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

Arthur V. Wynne, Jr., Partner of Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau, Livingson, N.J., Elected President of World Clipping Bureau Federation at West Berlin Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, each of us in the Senate, I think, is well aware of the value of clippings from newspapers and other publications. The "clips," as they are called, provide much useful information as well as an indication of how our individual Senate performances are being received back home.

Clipping services have grown into big business as Government officials, corporations, and other organizations and individuals have found it in their interest to maintain increasingly closer touch with public opinion.

Today clipping services operate in many cities and several even span the Nation. They also are in business in foreign countries. In 1953, the clipping services organized into a World Clipping Bureau Federation.

A few weeks back, the Federation held its 13th annual congress in West Berlin and, I am glad to say, chose a constituent of mine as its president. He is Arthur V. Wynne, Jr., partner of Burrelle's Press Clipping Bureau in Livingston, N.J. It is, I am told, one of only three press clipping services with nationwide operations. Mr. Wynne succeeds Count Gerard de Chambure, proprietor of L'Argus de la Presse, in Paris, who has served as president of the federation since its founding.

Two years ago, Mr. Wynne became the first American to serve as an officer of the federation when he was elected vice president at a congress in Geneva. His election to the presidency this year was unanimous among the 75 members of the federation from more than 40 countries around the world.

As president of the world federation, Mr. Wynne will preside over a program that includes improving the standards of the press clipping profession, prevention of infringements and illegal practices and development of business and friendly relations among all press clipping bureaus throughout the world.

That Prolific Writer, Ex-Ambassador Henry S. Villard

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in the January 1964 issue of Harper's magazine, Ex-Ambassador Henry S. Villard wrote an open letter to me, published in that issue. Shortly after its publication, I received a letter under date January 8, 1964, addressed to me by Deputy Under Secretary of State for Administration William J. Crockett. I have never released this letter, which has been in my files since that date, and would not do so now were it not for the fact that the ex-Ambassador's literary talents have been expanded to the point where he has now written a book, "Affairs at State," which does a great disservice to the men and women of the American Foreign Service.

The letter addressed to me by Secretary Crockett reads as follows:

DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR ADMINISTRATION,
Washington, January 8, 1964.

DEAR MR. ROONEY: The Department appreciates the opportunity to comment on the article by former Ambassador Henry S. Villard in the January issue of Harper's magazine.

It is a helter-skelter piece of literary fantasy.

The former Ambassador's story of the bathroom windows at Dakar illustrates the point. The "picture window" he refers to is, in fact, a pair of French doors leading onto a small balcony extending the length of the master suite. These doors match those of the master bedroom and are an integral part of the architectural treatment of the exterior of the official residence. Both openings have full-length louvered shutters which can be closed to prevent visibility from the outside.

The absurdity of the situation is that an Ambassador, earning at least $20,000 a year, and having a representation allowance, a Government-furnished chauffeur-driven car, a Government-furnished house, filled with Government furniture, Government china, Government glassware and silverware, and staffed with Government-paid servants, would find it necessary to ask the Department for funds to buy a set of bathroom curtains, even if the Department failed to furnish them in the first place.

The Ambassador's treatment of the problems of the Foreign Service and the management complexities within the State Department follows this pattern throughout the article.

Certainly no one would quarrel with the statement that the Department has grown in size since Cordell Hull became Secretary of State in 1933. This is because its functions and responsibilities have increased—enormously so since World War II as the United States assumed leadership of a free world beset by a multiplicity of problems alien to Mr. Hull's era.

There is no denying the fact that the world's problems are a great deal more complex today than they were in the days of "Old State," and no matter how nostalgically former Ambassador Villard or anyone else longs for those days, they won't return. The world is what it is and that is the way the State Department and the rest of the U.S. Government must deal with it.

Going back just 10 years ago, the United States had representation in 73 countries and operated 227 posts abroad. In 1954, we issued 434,644 passports and operated the Department in Washington with an authorized strength of 3,691 officers and clerks. Now we have representation in 109 countries with operations at 274 posts. In 1963, we issued 1,018,488 passports. In 1964, our authorized employment in the Department is 4,404 positions or an increase over the 10-year period of about 20 percent in staff to handle operational increases of more than 50 percent in the case of countries with which the United States maintains diplomatic relations, and of over 100 percent in passport issuances. These two statistics are representative of the overall increase in workload that has been achieved with minimal increases in Washington staffing.

The Ambassador points to the African Bureau as an example of "that bureaucratic behemoth on the banks of the Potomac." As a matter of fact, not literary fancy, the African Bureau now has responsibility for policy with respect to U.S. operations in 39 countries. We are represented in these countries by 34 embassies, 7 consulates general, 14 consulates, one consular agency, and 2 branch offices for a total of 58 locations. The total number of officers and clerks in the African Bureau backstopping this operation in Washington at the present time is 148. In addition to supervising and supporting the 540 Americans running our overseas establishments in that part of the world, the African Bureau must coordinate and furnish policy guidance to 10 other U.S. agencies that have operations in Africa. These other programs have a total of more than 3,300 American employees in Africa.

The African Bureau, in addition to conducting its own operations, must consult

frequently with other agencies. And this is true of other geographical bureaus. Virtually every agency of Government has a legitimate interest in some aspect of foreign affairs, and a vital concern in foreign policy decisions. The Department is not the sole dispenser of foreign policy; it is the coordinator of an ever-increasingly complicated set of multiagency operations. Under these circumstances decisions do take more time. Many also require difficult interagency clearances, but the State Departments' affairs are not conducted by committee consultation and decision.

By and large, the Department's work in relation to U.S. operations in the field is expeditiously handled, partially because we have, to the maximum extent possible, decentralized operations and management to the field. But, of course, there are occasions when Washington and only Washington can make a final decision because of the interagency complexities of a problem.

The Department of State has been a good manager in the utilization of the funds and positions granted to it by Congress. We have always endeavored to put whatever is necessary of our money and people on the front lines of our farflung activities in the field. At the same time, we must insure that field activities are adequately supported by Washington staff.

The 1965 submission of our budget will represent the fourth year in which the Department has not requested (or received) a net increase in staff.

Certainly there have been times when we have been forced to curtail travel and to give overseas operations less than our people have requested, but the essential needs of the Department and the Foreign Service have been met over the years.

Insofar as the personnel of the Foreign Service are concerned, they have fared well at the hands of Congress. We have received a fair hearing for our legislative proposals and to illustrate our budgetary support there is enclosed a 10-year table showing the increase of differentials and allowances paid to the Foreign Service from 1955 to 1964. There is more than a 100-percent increase in these allowances, while total American employment abroad on State Department rolls increased from 3,443 Americans in 1955 to 4,735 in 1964 or about a 40-percent increase in personnel staffing. This speaks rather well, I believe, for the support we have sought, and that Congress has provided, for Foreign Service personnel stationed abroad.

Mr. Villard's description of congressional travel is as absurd as the rest of his article. We in the Department believe that it is vitally important to the national interest for Members of Congress to travel abroad as extensively as possible, both during and after the sessions of Congress. We also believe that it is right and proper that members of the Foreign Service meet, greet, and entertain Members of Congress. In this way, Members of Congress see and evaluate the men and women of the Foreign Service who are representing America abroad.

Ambassador Villard's complaint that Foreign Service officers must occasionally personally pay for this kind of hospitality is, to my mind, uncalled for. A Foreign Service officer does not decline an overseas assignment because he cannot afford to serve. Nor do most Foreign Service officers feel they must be reimbursed for every act of hospitality.

We fully support the case for larger representational allowances, but a look at other allowances and differentials paid to the American Foreign Service today would convince almost anyone that our most essential needs are covered and that an officer might well afford an occasional act of hospitality—cocktails, lunch, or even a dinner—for a visiting Congressman or an official of the local government without expecting U.S. reimbursement. I am certain most of the responsible officers of the Foreign Service share this feeling.

In closing, we assure you that the problems of organization, operation, and staffing in the Department have our constant attention. We don't know all the answers—perhaps we don't even know all the problems—but we are making consistent progress in reducing staff and in cutting costs at every opportunity. There are places where aditional improvement can be made, and we need both the understanding and support of the Congress, of the press, and of the public, rather than irresponsible attacks such as the line taken in the Villard article.

We enclose for your further information a list of management improvements made in the past year in the operation of the Department, with an estimated saving for each of these items.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM J. CROCKETT.

(Enclosures: Summary of Overseas American Differential and Allowances. List of Management Improvements. Statement on Dakar Residence.)

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Summary of overseas American differentials and allowances, fiscal years 1955 through 1964

Allowances	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964
Post	$772,143	$814,623	$858,774	$709,346	$706,967	$727,885	$775,096	$882,195	$1,029,212	$1,101,300
Quarters	2,100,943	2,230,380	2,527,528	3,249,128	3,246,278	3,319,129	3,633,309	3,628,220	3,805,054	4,008,300
Temporay lodging	259,614	254,051	340,098	384,794	356,672	374,159	377,625	386,373	520,908	544,100
Supplementary post			13,302	18,082	25,950	47,721	50,735	64,795	90,726	98,600
Separate maintenance	22,141	18,038	21,450	16,397	12,660	9,806	20,454	58,540	34,194	35,400
Marine guard	560,534	568,658	642,657	676,104	584,116	513,180	491,687	488,855	449,331	464,700
Transfer	75,890	63,768	295,387	75,105	75,000	70,403	81,768	98,943	89,746	92,300
Education		234,200	306,750	397,650	398,000	486,628	700,866	651,200	875,263	920,300
Home service transfer		40,145	139,425	61,880	62,000	63,028	64,228	57,662	76,665	77,000
Subtotal, allowances	3,791,265	4,223,863	5,145,371	5,588,486	5,467,643	5,611,939	6,195,768	6,316,783	6,971,099	7,342,000
Differentials	504,151	932,774	1,192,973	1,541,461	1,510,288	1,539,045	1,854,743	2,277,915	2,367,757	2,456,000
Representation	503,720	606,698	794,191	598,909	748,590	823,103	867,985	925,000	949,660	973,000
Official residence	421,873	433,331	506,279	498,208	545,460	572,415	611,003	695,957	885,751	929,595
Total	5,221,009	6,196,666	7,638,814	8,227,064	8,271,981	8,546,502	9,529,499	10,215,655	11,174,267	11,700,595
Overseas medical costs for Foreign Service personnel	189,489	226,916	310,800	316,370	516,784	546,408	660,876	494,393	744,744	757,612
Rest and recuperation travel									52,874	260,900

DECEMBER 11, 1963.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: COST REDUCTIONS

Your memorandum of November 30 to the heads of departments asks for a report of major cost reduction actions taken during the past year and the steps proposed for next year to tighten operations and effect savings. This memorandum deals with the regular operations of the Department of State. Separate reports are being submitted to you on the operations of the Agency for International Development, the Peace Corps, and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

The appropriations for this Department, as is the case with all Government agencies, are continually increasing. Although I see no prospect of overall reductions in our expenditures, we have made substantial progress in reducing costs and effecting economies to assure that the Government receives a dollar's value for every dollar spent. In this rapidly changing world, we need to constantly assess priorities—to eliminate the marginal to provide for the essential—to hold expenses to reasonable limits.

During the past 2 years, the Department has conducted diplomatic and consular activities throughout the world without any increase in manpower. To achieve this, we have streamlined procedures, reduced reporting requirements, closed marginal consulates, and eliminated low-priority functions. The manpower reductions achieved by these actions have enabled us to assign additional personnel to the crises areas of the world, to new or expanding activities, to staff new consulates and embassies, and to meet increased consular and other workloads.

The following are examples of major actions taken during the past year to reduce costs:

1. Thirteen consular posts have been closed, reducing costs by $500,000 a year.

2. Regulations requiring the use of economy air travel have been applied, reducing costs substantially.

3. Political and economic reports of marginal utility have been eliminated. In Germany alone reductions in political reporting have resulted in reductions totaling $113,000 a year.

4. Administrative staffs of State, AID, and USIA have been consolidated in six countries in Africa, resulting in substantial economies. In the Sudan, reductions total $200,000 a year; in Ivory Coast, $78,000.

5. In 13 countries in Africa, the responsibility for administering the AID program has been assigned to the Ambassador, eliminating the need for a separate AID country program director. This action has made it unnecesasry to establish AID positions, resulting in economies totaling $240,000.

6. Regional offices of our security and foreign buildings' programs, as well as certain attachés with regional responsibilities, have been consolidated or moved to excess currency countries, with the combined objective of reducing costs and dollar outflow.

7. Intensive efforts have been made to increase the use of foreign currencies in our educational exchange programs. These efforts have resulted in increased use of excess currencies, by conversion to hard currencies and by other special arrangements. In fiscal year 1963 more than $29 million—about 50 percent of the total educational exchange program—was spent in foreign currencies. This was $10 million more than

in any preceding fiscal year. About $11 million was in excess currencies.

These actions are illustrative of the Department's efforts to reduce the costs and effect economies. A more detailed listing has been included in our reports to the Bureau of the Budget on the manpower utilization program and the special balance-of-payments review.

Our plans for the coming year center primarily on continuing the efforts of the past year. Responsible officials of the Department and our missions abroad have been instructed to be constantly on the alert for ways of carrying on their operations with prudence and effectiveness.

Several actions we are planning are especially significant:

1. The Department, in close cooperation with Treasury, is working out plans to centralize in Washington or at regional Treasury offices overseas the disbursing now performed by 66 individual embassies. We expect that cost reductions totaling $376,000 will result.

2. We plan to extend the use of economy air travel. Our current estimate of additional cost reduction is $450,000 annually.

The attachment to this memorandum gives other examples of actions the Department has taken in the past year, as well as those planned for the coming year.

I assure you of my full support in conducting the business of the Department of State in the spirit of prudence and economy which you have pledged to the Congress and the American people.

(Ensclosures: (1) List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs, (2) steps to be taken in the coming year.

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs

	Reduction in costs (annually)
1. 13 consulates closed (Europe: Salzburg, Austria; Edmonton, Canada; Manchester, England; LeHavre, France; Cork, Ireland; Venice, Italy; Basel, Switzerland; Geneva, Switzerland;* Cardiff, Wales; Sarajevo, Yugoslavia; Latin America: Santos, Brazil; Near East: Haifa, Israel; Far East: Penang, Malaya)	$500,000
2. 6 consolidated administrative management organizations (CAMO) established: Abidjan, Ivory Coast; Freetown, Sierra Leone; Khartoum, Sudan; Libreville, Gabon; Yaounde, Cameroon; Léopoldville Congo (cost reductions estimated for Abidjan and Khartoum. Other estimates of reduction being developed)	278,000
3. Responsibility for AID programs assigned to Ambassadors in 13 countries, eliminating need for AID country director. The countries are: Chad, Central African Republic, Congo (Brazzaville) Upper Volta, Niger, Dahomey, Togo, Malagasy Republic, Senegal, Algeria, Ivory Coast, Gabon, Cameroon	240,000
4. Regulations requiring economy air travel applied. All domestic flights and all overseas flights of less than 6 hours duration are made economy class	(1)

*U.S. Mission remains in Geneva.
[1] No estimate.

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
4. Regulations—Continued	
5. Office of protocol handled increased work (created by expanding diplomatic missions in Washington and more visits of foreign officials) without increased staff, by simplifying procedures	(1)
6. The Office of Public Affairs reassigned personnel from functions of lower priority to meet new needs in the Department's public information program	(1)
7. The historical office, by new procedures, reduced the premium costs of handling classified documents in compilation printing of foreign relations volumes	(1)
8. The foreign reporting staff in the Bureau of Economic Affairs has eliminated 1,000 marginal economic and commercial reports per month. This means 1,000,000 less documents a year coming into Washington from missions abroad	(1)
9. The manpower devoted to the Cuba visa waiver program was reduced because of declining workload	$50,000
10. Paperwork reduced by reducing the number of mandatory visa opinions referred to Washington by posts abroad	(1)
11. Paperwork reduced by delegating to posts abroad authority to seek routine waivers direct from INS field offices, rather than through the Department in Washington	(1)
12. The visa lookout books of the Department and INS have been merged into a single reference book for posts abroad, using automatic data processing methods. This simplifies the name check of visa applicants by visa officers abroad	(1)
13. Consular reports from posts abroad reduced by 30,000 documents annually	--------
14. Passport issuances were further decentralized to U.S. field offices	(1)
15. Surplus equipment of the Department used in passport agencies	--------
16. The Bureau of African Affairs reorganized, abolishing one office and redistributing functions. This action permitted meeting new demands for manpower devoted to southern Africa (totaling $100,000) without increasing total personnel	(1)
17. The Bureau of African Affairs eliminated lower priority positions abroad to provide personnel for new posts at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, and Blantyre, Nyasaland; and for establishing an Embassy in newly independent Zanzibar	(1)
18. Fiscal work for 7 African posts centralized in Nairobi, Kenya	18,000
19. Twelve local national positions eliminated from other African posts to provide new needs of the Embassy in Léopoldville	(1)

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
20. The Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs abolished 33 lower priority positions to meet urgent new requirements at posts in the Far East	(1)
21. A regional supply center in Tokyo serviced nearby posts, with reductions in commodity and shipping costs	$15,000
22. Marginal political reporting eliminated in posts in Germany	113,000
23. Personnel reduced in the Bureau of Administration by streamlining procedures and improving manpower utilization	314,000
24. Improvements in routings effected in the worldwide courier service. Even with cost reductions service was provided to 4 new posts and services improved to 6 others	40,000
25. Improved operating procedures have made it possible for the board of examiners to process an 81 percent increase in applications for Foreign Service appointments without increasing personnel	(1)
26. Format of biographic register and foreign service list revised to achieve reductions in publication costs	50,000
27. Methods of handling truck and ocean freight shipments unaccompanied baggage and shipment of household effects improved	82,000
28. The library increased borrowing from other libraries and arranged for free acquisition of telephone directories for distribution to overseas posts	35,000
29. Old furniture refinished and 9 pieces of switchboard equipment removed	30,000
30. New supply system established for U.S.-manufactured office machines for posts abroad	30,000
31. Exhaustive operational appraisals to assure maximum efficiency were made of the following offices: Reproduction and distribution, publications, library, budget and finance, and security	(1)
32. Travel cost of the security program reduced by improving itineraries of investigators, eliminating team-travel abroad to the full extent possible, realinement of geographic areas served by regional offices	(1)
33. Realinement consolidation or elimination of regional foreign buildings offices, field service engineers and interior design functions	200,000
34. The Bureau of Near Eastern Affairs abolished 18 lower priority positions (costing $148,000) to meet urgent needs at other posts in the area	(1)
35. Cost-sharing agreements have been negotiated with Austria, Germany and Sweden under which these countries contribute to the exchange of persons program	750,000

Department of State—List of actions taken in the past year to reduce costs—Continued

	Reduction in costs (annually)
36. The passport office issued or renewed 1,018,000 passports in fiscal year 1963, compared with 867,000 last year. Issuances per man-year increased from 2,286 in 1962 to 2,605 in 1963	(1)

[1] No estimate.

Department of State—Steps to be taken in the coming year

ACTION

	Estimated reduction in annual costs
1. Centralized disbursing by Treasury for 66 Embassies	$376.000
2. Extension of economy class air travel	450,000
3. Extensive review of consular operations in Mexico to determine whether consular offices there should be eliminated or consolidated	(1)
4. Continued application of automated data processing facilities—11 projects now under way	(1)
5. Elimination of the microfilming of telegrams	(1)
6. Completion of extensive surveys now underway jointly with AID and USIA to reduce or halt the continuing rise of joint administrative costs abroad	(1)
7. Continued alertness by all officials to ways of economizing in day-to-day operations	(1)

[1] No estimate.

DAKAR RESIDENCE

The residence in Dakar was completed in 1960 at a cost of $260,095; the land was a gift.

The picture window referred to in the article is in fact a pair of French doors leading onto a small balcony which extends the length of the master suite. The doors match those of the master bedroom and are part of the architectural treatment of the residence. Both openings have full length louvered shutters which can be closed to prevent visibility if desired.

In addition, curtain material was purchased and shipped to Dakar to adequately provide coverage for all window and door openings. The actual making of the curtains was performed at Dakar to insure proper fitting. It appears that the material was not economically used and the bathroom opening was not originally curtained. This was subsequently corrected.

The present Ambassador has found the house most satisfactory both from a personal point of view as well as for his official entertainment purposes.

Mr. Speaker, now as the result of some recent impartial reviews of "Affairs at State," written by the same Henry S. Villard, I have asked a highly cultured American Ambassador to review this book using his professional knowledge as a basis. The following is his unedited report:

"Affairs at State," a new book by former Ambassador Henry Serrano Villard, has been described as "a career diplomat's candid appraisal of the U.S. Foreign Service."

A reader who knows the facts closes the covers of that book with sadness and disappointment.

Everyone can agree with Villard's premise that "the hard core Foreign Service officer would like nothing better than to see the quality of the service he performs for his fellow Americans improved by adequate funds, by the elimination of politics, by a high standard of entrance requirements, and by a topnotch organization in which the human equation in his profession is not sacrificed to the Moloch of bureaucracy" (p. 240). But Villard, in his own inimitable fashion, cannot escape many distorted statements of fact and many half-truths.

They cry for correction.

Villard uses his book to attack members of the House Subcommittee on State Department Appropriations—and veteran Chairman JOHN J. ROONEY.

Villard denounces that group for its appropriations for the State Department and for funds for official representation—which, he asserts, "ROONEY and his associates find as hard to swallow as a cup of hemlock." (p. 107).

He further alleges that "the Rooney rulings on how the State Department spends its money—and how much it gets—are absolute. None of his colleagues cares to cross him; there is no appeal from his decisions; and no one actively connected with the Foreign Service would dare to offend him for fear that the State Department's budgetary request might be adversely affected" (p. 108).

He attacks ROONEY's Irish immigrant background; denounces a "representative" Foreign Service; scores minority groups, such as Negroes, Indians, and Puerto Ricans; flays administrators and managers; and wants to turn the clock back to a Foreign Service comprised of an Ivy League "elite."

Now, many people are devoted to the Foreign Service of the United States. "Of the United States" means just that—not the Foreign Service of the Eastern seaboard; not of the west coast; not of the Southwest.

The record will show that ROONEY and his colleagues regard the Foreign Service of the United States as the first point of contact with other nations of the world; that it must represent the United States at its best.

ROONEY's experience with the Department of State and the Foreign Service spans a period of more than 20 years. During this time he has observed innumerable members of the Department and the Foreign Service in Washington and at posts throughout the world.

As chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee for the Department of State and the Foreign Service, he has participated in scores of congressional actions involving foreign affairs operations.

"We in the Congress, like our constituents, want capable men and women running our foreign affairs," he has said. "We want only the best—loyal, diligent, patriotic Americans with ability and skill.

"I have seen the great strides which have been made over the years to attain this goal. As a Congressman and as a citizen I salute this progress.

"I salute the dedicated men and women of the Foreign Service who serve our Nation around the world."

Obviously, there is, and will continue to be, resentment of Villard's unfounded charges.

Let's take up a few of his misstatements:

The author asserts that "congressional niggardliness in the annual appropriations for the Foreign Service is notorious. Despite the most painstaking estimates of the minimum amounts it considers necessary, the State Department is regularly denied what it asks for. Its supporters and defenders, wherever one looks, seem always absent" (p. 2).

Let's look at the record for the past 10 years:

In fiscal year 1956 the regular State Department appropriation was $147,200,000. In fiscal year 1966 the estimate had jumped to $396,400,000—or almost $400 million.

And during that same year the item on "Salaries and expenses"—the lifeblood of the budget—had jumped from $79 million in fiscal year 1956 to an estimated $182 million in fiscal year 1966.

A net increase, it should be noted, of $103 million. Hardly "niggardly."

Then there is the author's charge that the Department's "representation allowance" has been wholly inadequate (p. 109). That representation allowance—which runs to almost $1 million a year—is for official, foreign representation, not for entertaining visiting Americans or former college classmates junketing abroad. The House Appropriations Subcommittee has increased the amount year after year.

It is the view of ROONEY and his colleagues that a million dollars or so should buy quite a few drinks and quite a few dinners. It might be added that no Member of the Congress receives any official representation funds for entertaining visiting constituents who come to Washington.

The State Department is allowed this item in the budget because it reimburses in part those expenditures authorized by law which Foreign Service officers incur. Incur, it should be pointed out, in establishing and maintaining contacts with local government officials and prominent members of local groups.

In 1956 the Department was allowed a total of $575,000.

The House Appropriation Subcommittee has increased those representation allowances over the years.

In 1961 it had jumped to $872,000.

In 1965 it had jumped to $993,000.

And it was estimated that the representation allowances for 1966 will be well over a million dollars—or $1,050,000.

No American taxpayer considers these sums "niggardly." Nor does the State Department consider theim "niggardly."

The State Department's official representa-the fund should be used sparingly. Its purpose is not to "wine and dine" the world.

It will be a sad day indeed—and a sad commentary on America's bountiful generosity to peoples everywhere—when, as Villard contends, "the day may come when the battle was lost for the free world for want of a caviar canape" (p. 115).

Despite Villard's contemptuous "niggardliness" statement, the Department proceeded to do its business. Of course, it has tightened its belt, but it has operated with millions of dollars from the taxpayers' pockets. Let's see how well it managed:

The distinguished Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, told members of the House Appropriations Committee how the Department got along each year on nearly $400 million:

"During the past 4 years," he told the chairman and members of the committee in February 1965, "we have succeeded in making significant improvement in the management of the Department both at home and abroad. We have streamlined many activities. We have eliminated marginal functions. We have made economies. We have strengthened our organization, and improved our facilities and the quality of our personnel. * * *

"We have met our many problems and heavy workload without increases in personnel," the Secretary continued. "The number of people in the Department today is approximately the same as it was 4 years ago—indeed 12 years ago. This has been possible because we—with the help and understanding of this committee—have improved the management of the Department. It has also been due to the hard work of our personnel.

"I am satisfied that we have pursued a hard-hitting and consistent attack on inefficient, out-dated and marginal operations. We have increased productivity in passport and consular activities, closed marginal posts, automated routine work, trimmed publications and reporting requirements. We estimate that improvements of this kind have made it possible to reprogram some $4.5 mil-

lion to new or higher priority work. Most of these actions have been reported to this committee previously. We will continue to improve our operations and increase efficiency. * * *"

Secretary Rusk told members of the House subcommittee:

"Mr. Chairman, I am proud of what we have accomplished in the past 4 years. I am proud also of the personnel of the Department, both at home and abroad. They have willingly assumed greater individual workloads. They have maintained a high degree of morale and esprit de corps. They have unstintingly served our Nation and the cause of peace.

"I am also greatly appreciative of the support we have received from you and other members of this committee. * * * In summary, Mr. Chairman, with the sympathetic understanding and cooperation of this committee, we have made solid progress. We are—to use the President's inaugural words—'always trying and always gaining'."

The State Department apparently got along very well with the money the committee allowed. The Secretary wasn't complaining.

Now, let's take another charge in Villard's book:

The former Ambassador asserts, on page 6, that "from the moment a young Foreign Service officer enters the confines of bureaucracy, he feels the disciplines of caution and conformity. * * *"

Villard conveys a totally false impression of the dedicated men and women of the Foreign Service.

The Director General of the Foreign Service of the United States, Ambassador Joseph Palmer II, recently told the distinguished members of the 19th selection boards, who are now reviewing the records of 5,200 officers that the Service is "staffed * * * by men and women of the highest standards of excellence. * * *"

"We need only to look at the recent examples of Mike Hoyt and the members of the Stanleyville staff who, despite the mental and physical strains to which they were subjected for months on end, put service above self with dignity, courage and professional skill.

"Or take John Clingerman who, without thought for himself (the Director General continued), volunteered to go into Stanleyville in the first waves of airborne forces to contribute his unique knowledge of the local scene to the effectiveness of the rescue operation. Or think about the young officers in the Vietnam village program who daily risk their lives for the opportunity to apply their professional competence to the solution of the dangerous and stubborn problems of that explosive situation. * * *"

Caution and conformity indeed.

Or, let's take another of Villard's half-truths about today's State Department—this one on page 12: " * * * its top posts bartered away for political purposes, its career men ignored in ambassadorial appointments."

At the present time, there are 79 career officers serving as Ambassadors, or 74 percent of the total. This is an alltime high.

Director General Palmer has drawn attention to the fact that it has been a long time since Foreign Service officers have served simultaneously as Chiefs of Mission in Paris, Rome, Moscow, Mexico City, and a considerable number of other missions around the world.

President Johnson himself has declared—at his press conference on March 19 this year—that "I believe the quality of the talent and capacity in the top positions of the Federal service, and in the other positions as well, is without parallel in modern times. This high level of quality is going to be maintained. I am determined that the American people shall be served by the very best talent available, chosen on the basis of principles and performance—not politics or speculation."

But Villard maintains that the "ultimate prizes" of the career service are "carried off by politicians." (P. 15.)

He also discusses "the lengthy, unwieldy administrative tail, which, to the detriment of efficient operations, threatens to wag the politico-geographic dog." (P. 19.)

Now, it can be said, based on the record, that some highly capable administrative people in State have played a vital role in attempting to eliminate duplication and inefficiency, and to reduce costs.

Director General Palmer has said that the business of foreign affairs is not the sole responsibility of the professional diplomat.

"Let me be specific," Ambassador Palmer says. "We all—or most of us—instinctively recognize and accept that knowledge of the art of managing a post overseas—or a unit at home—is essential to the successful accomplishment of our mission. And yet I sense that many of us are uncomfortable with modern management concepts, primarily because we have difficulty in understanding them."

Villard decries the "watering down" of the Foreign Service by hiring Negroes and other minority groups to staff the posts at home and abroad.

His apparent prejudice is showing when he contends (p. 29), "But padding the rolls with Negroes under the impetus of civil rights is another matter * * *." "Even the Puerto Rican and Indian minorities now have their claimants for a place in the sun of foreign affairs, and if room must be made for them, somebody else must move over." (P. 30.)

Thank God this is a democracy, where everyone—regardless of his race or the color of his skin—can have an opportunity to represent the United States abroad.

And thank God that even though ROONEY's parents were immigrants, and even though he was born in Brooklyn, he has been given the opportunity to represent millions of constituents in the great Halls of Congress.

The author reports that "The old service of the Rogers Act was frankly an elite corps." (p. 152). He laments the fact that "the Department instead of searching for candidates trained only in political science, wants men and women with 'broad' training who can fill positions in administrative, consular and economic affairs." (p. 157).

Well, what's wrong with that?

Mr. Palmer, the Director General of the Foreign Service, hits the nail on the head when he says that some of the members of that Service "are so substantively oriented in the field of foreign affairs, that we have difficulty in comprehending, absorbing, and adapting new ideas and concepts in other fields that may be of great value—and even essential—to use in the conduct of our business."

Villard is nostalgic for the good, old days. So are many of us. But they are gone forever.

He wistfully says that "of late the rich old blood has been further diluted" (p. 175) by opening the Foreign Service to other groups, such as personnel from the U.S. Information Agency, and to civil service personnel in foreign affairs agencies.

It is difficult to buy the statements by the author (p. 200) that "dispossessed career men roam the corridors looking for employment commensurate with their rank and experience" and (p. 202) that "* * * on leaving the Department's payroll, an Ambassador is consigned to oblivion."

Only recently Secretary Rusk invited more than 1,000 retired Foreign Service officers to attend a Foreign Service Day conference on November 12 to map plans for utilizing the services of retired personnel. Many distinguished officers have been called back for special assignments.

Who would want to subscribe to the author's recommendation that we should "look for candidates among the qualified few rather than the geographically distributed thousands" (p. 221)? Let us not turn this great Nation into a "silk stocking district."

The Foreign Service should be strengthened and supported to meet the challenge of our times. But it must be built on the foundations of democracy.

Dr. Charles P. Covino Receives Awards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, on April 14, 1965, at the Overseas Club in New York City, the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma of the Eloy International Foundation of the Republic of Panama was awarded to Dr. Charles P. Covino, of Belleville, N.J. This is the highest honor of the foundation. Dr. Covino, president of the General Magnaplate Corp., is an outstanding engineer who has worked to advance public safety in travel. Under unanimous consent I place the highlights of the proceedings of the award ceremony at the Overseas Club on April 14, 1965, in the Appendix of the RECORD:

(After the invocation, Dr. Lester Beacher read from a letter by Omego Alfaro, secretary-general of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation of the Republic of Panama, and grandson of the man in whose memory the foundation has been established. The letter said, in part:)

"Mr. Charles P. Covino * * * richly deserves our top honor, the Grand Cross * * *. Our best wishes (are with him and his family)."

(Dr. Beacher introduced Maj. Gen. Robert E. Condon.)

General CONDON. My tribute is that as we honor this young man, who has achieved some eight or nine degrees, whose whole attention is given to the betterment of opportunity through science, who is a recognized scientist in our beloved country and in the countries of the world, we honor ourselves. We contribute in a small measure to the example he has set. Our tribute today is to a fine young man, Mr. Charles P. Covino.

(Dr. Beacher then introduced American Provost Dr. Herman A. Bayern:)

Dr. BAYERN. We are gathered here this evening to honor a great humanitarian, educator, scientist, inventor, engineer, and industrialist. Mr. Charles P. Covino, you have been awarded the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross by the unanimous vote of the board of dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation in recognition of your outstanding contribution to mankind in the field of science through the introduction of reliable construction materials, and through the techniques you have devised in nondestructive testing; of your invention of space-age lubricants, now used throughout American industry; of your service as a volunteer engineering consultant to Columbus Hospital in Newark, N.J.; of your efforts to assist the physically disabled; of your response to the Pope's appeal to help the poor of South America, and of your work with the Association of International Exchange Students of Economics. Your accomplishments

rest squarely within the framework of the aims and purposes of this foundation. The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation, named for Equadors martyred soldier, statesman, and patriot, seeks the perpetuation of the principles of justice, truth, and friendship among the peoples and nations of the world. The philosophy of General Alfaro was based on service to his fellow human beings, and to the cause of international peace. Your activities, Mr. Covino, both public and private, come within the framework of this philosophy. In recognition of this, the ruling body of this foundation grants you its highest honor, the Eloy Alfaro Grand Cross and Diploma.

Mr. Covino, with this honor you join a most distinguished group of Americans including Presidents Johnson, Kennedy, Eisenhower, Truman, and Roosevelt, Generals MacArthur and McAuliffe, Governor Rockefeller and former Governor Harriman, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

It now gives me great pleasure to call on Dr. John Maurice Keesing, barrister and international provost, to honor Mr. Covino by making the investiture at this time.

(Dr. Keesing spoke of the inter-American family of nations, discussing the excess of political activity and the nature of Marxism in Latin America. He concluded:)

Dr. KEESING. Let the nations of the Americas assist each other. These nations are greatly in need of men who will actively seek amelioration in inter-American relationships. Such a man is the recipient of our highest award, Mr. Charles Covino.

Mr. Covino, there are so many people of distinction who have been granted this high award that I would like to take the opportunity of having one of my distinguished colleagues, one of the great legal representatives of the State of New York, present this Diploma to you.

I call on the Honorable Henry E. Alexander.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Covino, I will now translate for you the contents of this Diploma as a part of your award. The Eloy Alfaro International Foundation recognize the special value of the services rendered by Charles P. Covino in support of the objectives of this institution. He has been awarded the Cross of the Eloy Alfaro International Foundation. This diploma with the seal of the foundation is presented in the city of Panama, Republic of Panama on the 28th day of January, 1965, and is signed by the officers of this foundation, the three sons of the late Ambassador Coron Alfaro and the grandsons of Gen. Eloy Alfaro.

Dr. BEACHER. At this point, without further ado, I present to you Mr. Charles Covino.

Mr. COVINO. Dr. Keesing, Dr. Bayern, General Condon, Dr. Beacher, friends, ladies and gentlemen, I am deeply moved by the honor you have conferred upon me today. By the gracious statements of your American Provost, and by the compliment you all pay me by your presence.

I shall continue to dedicate my time to the cause of vehicular and construction safety and to those humanitarian causes that require my attention. It is with great interest and satisfaction that I note the action by some physicians to urge automobile manufacturers to engineer for safety rather than for style. When we realize that every day millions entrust their lives and well-being to the safety of aircraft and automobiles, showing full faith in our technology, it is a clear call to our manufacturers to justify that faith. Advances in technology combined with new materials and plastics can reduce the chance of accidents through material failure or faulty engineering. The safety of such vehicles is as important to our welfare as the purity of the drugs that we buy. Let us hope that all automobile manufacturers will eventually place safety ahead of style and profit.

Again, I thank you for this honor and send my compliments to the board of dignitaries of the Eloy Alfaro Foundation of Panama. I shall regard the decoration as a constant reminder of the debt that each of us owes to his fellow man, and endeavor to honor that debt all the days of my life.

Thank you very much.

Eight-Year-Old William T. Euker Asks Approval of World Record for Mile and 1,500 Meters Run by Young Boy Category, and U.S. Record

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, I do not believe that the U.S. Senate has the authority to recognize world records for a boy of 8 running the mile and the 1,500 meters in an amazing fast time but we can extend congratulations to William T. Euker, 310 West Fremont Street, Arlington Heights, Ill., and his parents, Mr. and Mrs. William F. Euker, for the perseverance of child and parent, and the physical abilities and stamina of young William T. Euker. For the information of those who desire to read of accomplishments by juveniles instead of headlines by juvenile delinquents, I submit the letter of William F. Euker to Mr. Clifford H. Buck, president of the AAU, and the reply of Stephen Archer, secretary of the AAU to me pertaining to the claim of a world's record for William T. Euker as noted above, also, apropos to the high honor above, I submit a recent press release from the AAU which notes a high honor for St. Peter School of Skokie, Ill., which became the first elementary school in history to have 100 percent of the boys and girls in the 8 grades to qualify for the AAU achievement certificates, plus other pertinent data on youth achievement:

AMATEUR ATHLETIC UNION OF THE UNITED STATES,

New York, N.Y.

Hon. EVERETT MCK. DIRKSEN,
The Capitol,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: Thank you for your interest in the recent athletic accomplishments of 8-year-old William T. Euker who ran 1,500 meters in 6:00.2 and then completed a mile in 6:25.7. This achievement is certainly outstanding.

There are no age group world records listed by the International Amateur Athletic Federation, world governing body for track and field and for which the AAU is the U.S. member. Although the AAU does have national records for the regular events on its AAU Junior Olympics program, the 1,500-meter run and the 1-mile run are longer distances than we prescribe in this program for youngsters. Mr. Euker did send a complete copy of all information to the AAU track and field records committee chairman, Mr. A. R. Post. I am certain that Mr. Post will consider this an outstanding achievement although there may be some difficulty in obtaining official recognition for the run.

We are proud of the athletic achievements of our young boys and girls who have had an opportunity to run, jump, and throw in the junior programs provided by the AAU. I can assure you that in the past year over 2 million boys and girls participated in the AAU junior programs in seven sports.

In our physical fitness testing program we have just compiled statistics for the academic year 1964–65. You will be interested to know that the St. Peter School in Skokie, Ill., under physical education instructor Fred Batista, had the first perfect record in history for an elementary school. The boys and girls, grades one through eight, all passed the AAU test, a total of 1,187 in all. This is a significant achievement.

Sincerely,

STEPHEN M. ARCHER,
Secretary.

OCTOBER 20, 1965.

MR. CLIFFORD H. BUCK,
President, Amateur Athletic Union of the United States, Amateur Athletic House, New York, N.Y.

GENTLEMEN: We are herewith submitting for your consideration and approval for a world record and U.S. citizens' record, the times shown in the attached certification. The certifications cover the mile run and the 1,500 meters by an 8-year-old boy. The claimant's name is William T. Buker, 310 West Fremont Street, Arlington Heights, Ill., birthday, September 7, 1957.

The times as indicated are 6:25.7 for the mile and 6:00.2 for the 1,500 meters.

We have conscientiously endeavored to follow all the applicable rules and regulations found in the AAU's official 1965 general rules, in this attempt to establish our claim.

As you might expect, we encountered some difficulty in establishing the conditions by which this record attempt could be made; however, a bona fide effort has been made to scrupulously follow the procedures laid down by your organization. Consequently, we sincerely hope your sports committee and/or record committee will give this request their special consideration and ultimate approval.

Needless to say, we would encourage any investigation of this claim you feel is necessary to establish its validity and will cooperate completely with any individual or group you care to designate to accomplish this purpose.

You undoubtedly understand and appreciate the fact that the development of this boy as a distance runner occurred over a period of years—4, to be exact—and it has been necessary to give him some outside incentive to continue his daily practice sessions. Incidentally, those practice sessions have been carefully regulated and supervised. Unfortunately, however, there are no competitive distance races sponsored for boys of this age; consequently, his development is left to the individual parent or an interested coach. (I have chronicled this development, and it is available for inspection.) It is with the idea of creating a further incentive for development that we are hopeful you will recognize and approve the attached claim. In this way, the needed stimulus for instituting and conducting such programs in the future will become manifest.

It is an American tradition to strive to be the best, and it is in this tradition we acknowledge championship achievements. Hence, the development of all youngsters and acknowledging their achievements must surely be a primary responsibility of the organization which claims preemption in the Government and control of this sport.

We thank you in advance for your time and attentive evaluation of our claim.

Respectfully submitted in behalf of William T. Buker,

WILLIAM F. BUKER.

NEW YORK.—More than three-quarters of a million boys and girls attained the standards of the Amateur Athletic Union physical fitness test in the last 12 months, according to John S. Nagy, AAU physical fitness chairman.

Mr. Nagy pointed out, "This has been the most productive year since the AAU testing program was inaugurated in 1948 with 1.3 million youngsters between the ages of 6 and 18 participating. We are proud that 57 percent of these boys and girls attained the standards, representing a slight increase from the previous record of 56.1 percent a year ago."

The Quaker Oats Co., a food company, is now the national sponsor of this program which is conducted locally by schools, municipal recreation departments, summer camps, as well as by the CYO, YMCA, and YMHA in every State in the Nation.

The St. Peter School of Skokie, Ill., became the first elementary school in history to have 100 percent of the boys and girls in the eight grades qualify for the AAU achievement certificates.

Nagy commended the physical education program at the school conducted by Fred Batista, saying, "He's the physical education man of the year in my book. Fred worked personally with many of the 1,187 students to help them strengthen their weaknesses in order to pass each of the 5 required and 1 optional skill test devised to measure speed, strength, agility, and endurance."

In the final tabulation of figures for the year, the State of Ohio with 66,615 qualified boys and girls earned No. 1 rating in the Nation displacing Texas which dropped to second with 62,735. Rounding the top 6 States in number of physically fit youngsters were Illinois, 49,436; New York, 46,444; California, 36,938; and Massachusetts, 33,847.

On the basis of percentage of youngsters attaining the standards, Texas boys and girls proved themselves most physically fit in the AAU national program as 64 percent of those participating earned AAU achievement certificates. In line with the national trend, the girls compiled a slightly better record than the boys in the Lone Star State, Nagy who is also commissioner of recreation for Cleveland noted.

Among the other States, the leaders were Ohio, 62.7; Massachusetts, 63.5; Florida, 63.0; Pennsylvania, 62.7; New York, 62.1; Illinois, 61.8; and Indiana, 61.3 percent, respectively.

Based on the percentage of youngsters passing the tests, the following schools and organizations with over 90 percent attaining the standards, were named 1964–65 national leaders in the following categories:

High school, girls: Kodiak, Alaska.

High school, boys: East Providence, R.I.

Junior high school, girls: Pentucket Regional, West Newbury, Mass.

Elementary schools, boys and girls: Rose Hill Kans.

Preparatory schools, boys: Episcopal Academy, Philadelphia, Pa.

Foreign schools: American High School, Heidelberg, Germany.

School system: elementary and junior high schools of Abilene, Tex.

Recreation departments: Brooklyn, Minn. and Joseph Lee Playfield, Baltimore.

Camps, boys and girls: Kehoe-France Camps, Metairie, La.

Camps, boys: Anglewood Camp, Elkins Park, Pa.

Camps, girls: Camp Fay-Gah, Liberty, N.Y.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE NATIONAL LEADERS

Kodiak Senior High School: Miss Tootsie Alford, physical education teacher at the school, has been cited for the fourth straight year for her work where 209 out of 220 met the standards this year.

East Providence, R.I. Senior High School: 143 out of 151 boys earned AAU achievement certificates. Head of the department of physical education is Orlando L. Savastane.

Pentucket Regional Junior High School, West Newbury, Mass.: 175 out of 190 girls earned AAU achievement certificates. The physical education instructor is Miss Alta B. Herron.

Rose Hill Elementary School, Kansas: In the 8 grades 219 out of 228 boys and 165 out of 175 girls met the standards. William L. Tolliver is principal of the school.

St. Peter Elementary School, Skokie, Ill.: 100 percent was achieved among 562 boys and 625 girls achieving the AAU standards. This is the first elementary school to reach 100 percent. The physical education teacher is Fred Batista.

The Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia topped the boys' prep school list for the third time in the last 4 years. For grades 4 through 12, 508 out of 547 met the AAU standards. The director of physical education is Dick Borkowski; the headmaster is James H. McK. Quinn.

Abilene, Tex.: "Shorty" Lawson is the director of physical education for a system which includes 23 elementary and junior high schools participating in the program. Overall, the passing percentage was between 85 and 90 percent, but the system was included as outstanding for the third straight year.

Joseph Lee Playfield in Baltimore, youngsters between 6 and 15 participating found 489 out of 500 boys and 517 out of 527 girls achieving the AAU standards. The director of the recreation center is Adam E. Murdock. The tests were administered during December and January 1964–65.

Brooklyn Park Recreation Department, Brooklyn Park, Minn.: Boys and girls between 6 and 15 participated. 980 out of 1076 boys and 279 out of 312 girls earned AAU achievement certificates. Dennis C. Palm is the recreation director.

Heidelberg (Germany) American High School: 188 out of 213 girls in grade 8 through 12 met the standards. Miss Jean Hanson is physical education teacher in charge of the program.

Anglewood Day Camp, Elkins, Park, Pa.: 450 out of 463 boys between 6 and 11 met the AAU standards. The physical fitness instructor at the camp was Robert W. Bunch.

Camp Fay-Gah, Liberty, N.Y.: 125 out of 130 girls between 6 and 15 met the AAU standards. The head counselor is Mrs. Blanche Kahn.

Kehoe-France Camp, Metairie, La.: 122 out of 135 boys and 90 out of 93 girls met the standards. The directors of the camp are Frank A. and Patricia Kehoe France.

Note.—In the other categories none of the leaders achieved the 90 percent rating required for selection as a national leader.

Eulogy to Joseph F. Barr

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP A. HART

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HART. Mr. President, last June 25 a great patriot and inspiring leader in the veterans community passed away. Joseph F. Barr, former national executive director and a past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans, died in Washington following a lifetime of service to his fellow veterans as well as the entire American Jewish community.

In October 1954, he retired from his post as assistant associate general counsel to the Veterans' Administration to assume office as the Jewish War Veterans national commander for the year 1954–55. For the next decade he gave of himself unstintingly in a large variety of community activities.

An Army veteran of World War I, Joe Barr served as chairman of the Armed Services Committee of the Jewish Welfare Board for more than 20 years. He was the first vice president of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington. As national executive director of the Jewish War Veterans and as a life long member of other national veterans organizations he played a leading role in presenting forcefully the veteran's point of view to the legislative and executive branches of the Government. To many of us he was adviser and confidant.

Surviving Mr. Barr are his wife, Beatrice, his sons, Martin and John, and three grandchildren.

In a special memorial service during the 70th annual national convention of the Jewish War Veterans this past September two of Joe Barr's lifetime comrades, outstanding members of the bar and veterans leaders in their own community, rendered moving eulogies which crystallized the very essence of Joe Barr's long service to his fellow man. I was so impressed by these statements regarding a man who had performed valuable service as a public servant and as a community leader that I place them in the Appendix of the RECORD.

Eulogy by Mr. Henry Albert, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans from Jamaica, N.Y.:

The pages of the Jewish War Veterans' history are emblazoned with great figures, giants in stature, standing out because of their service and dedication to the ideals and objectives of the oldest war veterans organization in the United States. Their achievements and sacrifices have been far and above the call of duty.

Of course, there were and are other great leaders in Jewish War Veterans' but tonight I have been given the privilege to speak of only one—past national commander, Joseph F. Barr.

I deeply appreciate this honor, especially since Joe's beloved Hilda is here with us. She contributed so much to Joe's success. She was the traditional good wife who so often is found behind the successful man.

I worked side by side with Joe for more than a quarter of a century. I knew him. I respected him for his loyalty. I admired him for his intellect and his honesty. I revered him for his dedication to those principles of life so many of us shared with him. I knew him as a comrade. I loved him as a friend.

Joe's contribution to the veteran shall never be forgotten as long as the Jewish War Veterans exists. His love of this country was boundless. Yet his patriotism in no way lessened or conflicted with his devotion to the ancient faith of his forefathers. Nor did it in any way weaken his determination to fight for his coreligionists whenever their rights were threatened. He was living proof of the postulate that "love of God and love of country" go hand in hand.

For almost half a century after he had served this country in the time of war, Joe gave without stint the very essence of his life in the never-ending struggle to preserve those rights and liberties given to us by the laws and Constitution of the United States. He knew well how these are not to be taken

for granted but have to be defended at all costs. For this reason he found in the objectives of the Jewish War Veterans a credo entirely in keeping with his personal philosophy of life, as an American and as a Jew: To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating and whatever their target, and to uphold the fair name of the Jew and to fight his battle whenever justly assailed.

Joe Barr left an indelible mark on the history of the veterans' movement in this country during the years he was allowed to dwell among us. He also made his imprint on the archives of the national Jewish organizations comprising the NCRAC. His work and contributions in connection with the Jewish Welfare Board and various other unselfish activities in and around Washington are well known. Permit me, therefore, to close my brief remarks by recalling the beautiful and immortal stanza, so appropriate, when the Persian poet wrote:

"The moving finger writes; and, having writ,
Moves on: nor all thy piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all thy tears wash out a word of it."
RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM.

Eulogy by Mr. Frederick S. Harris, past national commander of the Jewish War Veterans from Meriden, Conn.:

As Henry Albert has so admirably stated, Joseph F. Barr throughout his illustrious and brilliant career left monumental milestones as he traveled the road of life. You will find the recorded pages in the history of the Jewish War Veterans and in the history of our national shrine. But his accomplishments and achievements stand reflected also in the life of the Nation, in the life of the Jewish community and in the records of mankind. The world was a better place to live in because he had lived in it.

There existed between Joe Barr and me a sort of Damon and Pythias friendship. I should like to take from that friendship a few moments to speak of Joe Barr the man.

His parents brought him at an early age to these shores and settled in Boston. There he grew into manhood. As a youth he had the usual refinements of Jewish education, studying the Talmud and the works of our learned sages. He was an excellent student. Such was his admiration for our great teachers and sages that he soon dedicated his life and efforts in following their precepts. In addition to his studies of Jewish traditions and justice he was an avid student of history and the New Testament. He soon became an authority of these subjects. He was able to quote chapter and verse from either the Old or New Testaments and could give any historical fact with accuracy.

Often our families would vacation together and I recall even now his patient explanation to his sons and mine the precepts of religious wisdom and the meaning and significance of historical events that shaped the destinies of mankind and nations.

Blessed with a keen mind and the ability to put thoughts into understandable speech, touched with humor when the same was suggested, Joe's services were constantly sought after and were readily and graciously extended.

As most of you know, Joe studied law and soon after World War I became a member of the staff of the Legal Department of the then Veterans Bureau. In these duties he used his legal knowledge to assist in the interpretation of the laws passed by the Congress for the benefit of veterans and their dependents, becoming one of the outstanding lawyers of that agency.

In his warmth as a man, his counsel was sought by his fellow employees who brought their personal problems to him for solution and advice and to whom he always lent a most willing ear.

He spent hours and days in championing the causes of humanity such as civil rights, the dignity of his fellow Jews and fighting their battles wherever assailed in the true concept of the purposes of the Jewish War Veterans.

His dedication of service to his fellow man was always on the broad base of human rights without regard to ethnic or color lines. To him a man was first God's greatest creation, a human being, and as such was entitled to the rights and dignities vouchsafed for him by the laws of God and the Constitution of the United States. For these things Joe gave his knowledge, his energies and his life.

To put it succinctly, Joe Barr, of blessed memory, was a man among men, a devoted and beloved husband and father and a devoted advocate of human dignity.

This is the image of a friend, for to all of us he was a friend, whose memory we cherish. We could hold him in no higher reverence than to dedicate ourselves to those godly precepts which he so humanly exemplified.

Credit Union Loans Cost Less

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the September issue of the Camp Pendleton, Calif., Federal Credit Union Newsletter advises marines stationed at that base, that by borrowing money from the credit union, they can achieve great savings as opposed to borrowing from a national mail-order finance company.

To prove the point, the newsletter carries an easy-to-read chart which shows the amount of loan, the cost of the loan if obtained from the finance company, the cost of the loan if obtained from the credit union, and the total savings. As an example, a loan of $530 would cost the marine $166 in interest if the loan were made from the finance company. However, if the same loan were obtained at the credit union, the marine would pay only $64.72 in interest, a saving of $101.28. Comparable savings would be made on all loans obtained from the credit union regardless of the amount borrowed.

Mr. Speaker, military credit unions have been operating in the United States for many years, but only in the past months have they received a long overdue blessing from the Department of Defense. It is easy to see, after glancing at the Camp Pendleton chart, why credit unions perform such a vital service to members of our Armed Forces. It is my fondest wish and hope that the Department of Defense will soon provide the machinery for establishing credit unions on military bases overseas. There is no reason, either in law or logic, why servicemen in the United States should be able to use the facilities of a credit union, while the same service is denied to servicemen on duty in a foreign country.

I am including in my remarks a copy of the chart prepared by the Camp Pendleton Federal Credit Union.

CREDIT UNION LOANS COST LESS

Can you use an extra $25 to $116? These are the actual savings that you get when borrowing from your credit union rather than from ——— Finance, a national mail order loan company. ———'s rates are typical of many other loan companies that direct their advertising to military personnel through Navy Times and other publications. Compare the amount that you are interested in borrowing and note the savings through the credit union.

Cash you receive	Finance company		Camp Pendleton FCU		Total savings
	24 monthly payments	Interest cost	24 monthly payments	Interest cost	
$107	$6	$37	$4.95	$11.80	$25.20
$305	17	105	14.37	39.88	63.12
$530	29	166	24.78	64.72	101.28
$812	43	220	38.35	108.40	111.60
$1,212	62	276	57.15	159.60	116.40

The above loan chart is furnished for cost comparison only. The repayment terms are those used by ——— Finance, but would be adjusted by the credit union to fit our member's particular need and ability to repay.

Rotten Tomatoes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MURPHY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, during this year, I repeatedly called to the attention of the Congress and the Nation the disastrous consequences of the Secretary of Labor's refusal to allow the entrance of sufficient supplemental labor to meet the needs of California agriculture.

As the Wall Street Journal editorial points out, the Secretary of Labor's experiment "clearly has not had the desired effect." The Secretary's actions again show what happens when Washington bureaucrats substitute their ivory tower brainstorms for the experience of our citizens in the field and at the local levels. Again the myth that meddling by Washington will solve our problems is exploded.

I commend this Wall Street Journal editorial to the attention of my colleagues, Mr. President.

ROTTEN TOMATOES

The U.S. decision to bar Mexican harvest workers from California this year, although intended to provide more jobs for Americans, clearly hasn't had the desired effect. In fact,

there are indications it may have exactly the opposite result.

Labor unions were disturbed because the Mexicans, accustomed to skimpy pay rates at home, eagerly accepted the strenuous field jobs at wages that were low by U.S. standards. California's growers, however, steadily maintained that American were either "too soft" for the work or were just unwilling to accept it, even at considerably higher wages. Not surprisingly, Washington bowed to the unions' view.

Now it appears that the growers knew what they were talking about. Take the tomato crop. With the 37,000 Mexicans that helped out last year barred from the country, did U.S. workers rush to fill the gap? At first, yes. But many soon gave up. As Robert L. Gibson, president of Libby, McNeill & Libby, says, "We took many such men by bus to our fields. Some would last an hour, some a day."

Nor is the situation improving. The Agriculture Department recently reported that the September farm-labor force was a record low for the month, mostly because the foreigners were absent. The shortage exists, the report said, despite sharp wage increases as employers seek to lure domestic workers as replacements.

Consequently there weren't enough hands to harvest this year's tomato crop, and Labor Secretary Wirtz—under pressure from growers and from California officials—had to hedge a bit. First he agreed to admit 8,000 Mexicans and, later, 10,000 more. Despite these stopgap measures part of the perishable crop couldn't be picked and some tomatoes were left to rot. The ensuing shortage is, of course, being reflected in higher consumer prices for tomatoes and tomato products.

Naturally enough the growers and packers are looking for a way out of this mess, and the search could take them clear out of the country. According to Libby's Mr. Gibson, his company "is looking very deeply" into establishing a canning operation in Mexico. If that happens it may drain not only field jobs from California but many others as well.

So perhaps Congress would do well to reconsider its decision—before this particular union-dictated effort to rearrange the economy produces results worse than a few rotten tomatoes.

The Wild Rivers Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the newly created Idaho Water Resource Board met last month in Lewiston, Idaho, to conduct a 2-day hearing on the future of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers. These are two of the streams to be included in the proposed national wild rivers system which would be established by S. 1446, the bill which I introduced, and which has been favorably reported by the Senate Interior Committee.

I personally appeared and testified on behalf of the bill at the Lewiston hearing. I place my statement at this point in the Appendix of the RECORD:

THE WILD RIVERS BILL

(Statement of Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho, chairman of the Public Lands Subcommitee of the U.S. Senate Interior Committee, before the Idaho Water Resources Board held in Lewiston, Idaho, relative to S. 1446)

Gentlemen, I am happy to appear before you to testify on behalf of the wild rivers bill. I am the sponsor of this bill. Eight months ago, on March 8, 1965, I introduced the measure in the U.S. Senate. Thirty-one Senators joined me in cosponsorship.

This is the second public hearing to be held in Idaho on the wild rivers bill. The first was held in Boise, on May 18, by a special Senate subcommittee, on which I served as chairman. My colleague, Senator LEN JORDAN, was also a member of this subcommittee, as was Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, of Wyoming. Fifty-four witneses testified at the Boise hearing. Written statements were submitted by 119 others who were unable to appear personally. Of those who took a position, 141 generally favored enactment of the will rivers bill, while 26 either opposed it, or objected to certain of its provisions. Altogether, 129 printed pages of testimony were taken at the Boise hearing. This testimony has been published in full, forming part of the public record of the extensive hearings conducted in each State requesting them, as well as in Washington, D.C. I have asked that a set of these published hearings be sent to each member of this board, so that you may review all of the evidence before the Senate Interior Committee, when it devoted 6 days of executive sessions to the markup of the bill, and then, by a vote of 11 to 5, reported the bill favorably to the Senate itself.

A week ago today, the wild rivers bill was scheduled by the leadership to be taken up in the Senate. I have no doubt it would have passed by a lopsided majority, with strong support coming from both sides of the aisle.

However, in deference to this board, and in order that every possible opportunity might be extended to Idahoans desiring to be heard, I asked Senate majority leader MIKE MANSFIELD to defer action on the bill. He consented to my request. As a consequence, it will not be possible for the Senate to consider the wild rivers bill until it reconvenes next year.

The record, then, on the question of timing, is quite incontrovertible. The supporters of this measure have never urged hasty or ill-considered action. By the time the bill comes to a vote on its merits in the Senate, it will have been scrutinized by the Senate Interior Committee for nearly a full year. A series of public hearings will have been held, at which a total of 156 witnesses will have personally testified, with a record compiled of some 611 printed pages. In Idaho itself, two full-dress public hearings will have been completed, one under the auspices of the Senate committee having jurisdiction, and the other under the direction of this Board. To my recollection, this in itself is unprecedented.

I, myself, welcome all the attention that can be focused on the wild rivers bill. I am glad that this board is placing its sights on the "ultimate uses of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers." Ultimate is the right word, for it suggests that we adhere to a common purpose: assigning these two magnificent mountain rivers to a use most beneficial to the economy of Idaho and the general well-being of her people.

We in Idaho are blessed with an abundance of water, much of which we shall want to harness behind dams. Fortunately, we are also favored with a great many potential damsites. If all of them, on each and every river, remain open for dam building, we shall have relinquished our entire river system to this particular use. Other public uses, equally important to our economy and to the preservation of a wholesome outdoor life for our people, will be left without statutory protection. In this situation, since the licensing of dams is left up to public agencies which exist for this purpose, the end result is perfectly evident: Ultimately, in the absence of a national wild rivers system, which the bill in question would create, every feasible site will eventually be used for dam construction. The past 50 years offers no evidence whatever that dam builders will voluntarily stop building dams. Unless laws are enacted to save some of our remaining free-flowing rivers in their natural, untamed state, wild rivers shall vanish from our land.

I recognize that it is the purpose of this Board to plan for the utilization of Idaho water. Necessarily, you have become a part of the dam building business, even though the money to finance future dams in Idaho will continue to come—owing to the lack of adequate local means—mainly from Federal rather than State, revenues.

I say this because we must be candid with one another. In no sense do I deprecate the importance of dams. I have been a devoted advocate of dams for Idaho, throughout my tenure in the Senate. When the Hells Canyon Dam was made a scare word in southern Idaho, I fought for its authorization, because it seemed to me inexcusable to squander so monumental a site on an insufficient development.

In the same manner, I worked doggedly for congressional approval of the Dworshak Dam, threatening a one-man filibuster in the Senate in the closing hours of the session. This $200 million dam, the highest in the Northwest, which we renamed in memory of my former colleague, the late Senator Henry Dworshak, is now a building on the North Fork of the Clearwater.

Coming up the Snake, like mighty steps on a giant's staircase, is a whole set of Federal dams—Ice Harbor, Lower Monumental, Little Goose, Lower Granite, and Asotin—for which I have sought appropriations in the Senate each year. We have kept the building of this massive network on schedule, with the result that Lewiston, Idaho, will become a port, with direct access to the Pacific, by the end of the decade.

Other dams I have favored will soon be built in this great region, High Mountain Sheep to the south of us, and Libby Dam to the north. Bills which I sponsored to authorize the Fremont Dam, the Lower Teton Dam, and the Ririe Dam in southern Idaho, have been approved by Congress and signed into law by the President. Just a few weeks ago, Congressman COMPTON I. WHITE and I announced a joint plan to seek authorization of a southwest Idaho water development project, the largest in the history of the State, which would ultimately reclaim 500,000 acres of desert land, and generate more than half a million kilowatts of electricity.

This plan calls for an unprecedented half-billion dollar investment in Idaho's future development. I urge you, as members of this board, to give the same measure of interest to this vast dam-building program, as you have evidenced in your immediate concern over the wild rivers bill.

The record speaks for itself. I am anything but an enemy of dams. In the face of the most determined opposition of Idaho sportsmen, and fish and wildlife groups, I fought for the construction of Bruces Eddy, now the Dworshak Dam. Wherever the evidence shows that a proposed dam will do

more good than harm, I shall work for it. But, by the same token, wherever the evidence shows that a dam will do more harm than good, I shall work against it—with equal fervor.

This brings me back to the wild rivers bill and the reasons why I so strongly endorse it. Insofar as Idaho is concerned, the case for the wild rivers bill is simply the case against the building of the dams which are projected for construction on the Salmon and the Middle Fork of the Clearwater River. These dams has been planned, the sites for them have been designated; their dimensions, storage capacity, and the high and lower water elevations of their respective reservoirs, have been carefully calculated. We know how much electricity they will generate, for, apart from what they may contribute to flood control, these are single-purpose dams, designed to produce hydroelectric power. The dams are as follows:

ON THE CLEARWATER

Penny Cliffs: to be located 4 miles upstream on the Middle Fork above Kooskia. Its reservoir would extend 19 miles up the Middle Fork to the junction of the Selway and Lochsa, then 29 miles on up the Selway, and 20 miles on up the Lochsa. The height of the dam: 620 feet.

ON THE SALMON

Lower Canyon: to be located on the Salmon half a mile above its confluence with the Snake. The reservoir would extend upstream about 70 miles to the site of the proposed Freedom Dam. The height of the dam: 665 feet.

Freedom Dam: this would be about 17 miles downstream from Riggins and 3 miles above White Bird. At normal pool elevation, the reservoir would extend 24 miles up the Salmon to a point 7 miles above Riggins. The height of the dam: 300 feet.

Crevice Dam: to be located on the Salmon about 13 miles above Riggins, Idaho. The reservoir would extend 65 miles up the Salmon, and 10 miles up the South Fork of the Salmon. The height of the dam: 725 feet.

These specifications are the most authoritative available. They are taken from the Water Resource Development, Columbia River Basin Report of the Army Corps of Engineers, dated June 1958.

Under the law, as it now stands, the Federal Power Commission could license the construction of any or all of these dams, upon application of a private power company, or a combination of companies, just as the FPC recently issued a license to the Pacific Northwest Power Co., for construction of the High Mountain Sheep Dam on the Snake River.

There are those who believe that hydroelectric dams should be built wherever application is made to build them, and I would expect these people to oppose the enactment of a wild rivers bill. Certain private power companies (I am pleased to say that the Washington Water Power Co. is not among them) may prefer to see the damsites on the Clearwater and Salmon Rivers left open for their future use. The same may be true for certain public power groups.

On this question, we must simply choose sides. I have chosen mine. I think the weight of the evidence, in terms of what best serves the general public good, overwhelmingly favors saving, unobstructed, these particular rivers so that we might preserve and promote their great recreational value, now and in the years ahead. If we oppose giving these magnificent rivers, which are assets of unique and incomparable value to Idaho, statutory protection now, while there is still time, we shall have only ourselves to blame later, when time has run out. It is not enough to say, as some have contended, that we can settle whether or not to build the dams when the question arises, that is, when the application is filed.

Gentlemen, once an application is filed, who will do the deciding? Not the people of Idaho; there will be no public referendum. Not the members of this board, for you lack the jurisdiction to decide. Not the Idaho delegation in Congress, for we lack the numbers to guarantee the outcome of any vote. Not, indeed, the Congress itself, for it has yet to wrest jurisdiction from the Federal Power Commission, once an application for a license has been duly brought before it.

Let's not fool ourselves. The wild river bill is necessary, if jurisdiction is to be taken from the Federal Power Commission to license dams within the system the legislation creates. Without the bill, once an application has been filled to construct a power dam on the Salmon or Clearwater rivers, the decision will rest with the Federal Power Commission, and with that Commission alone. You may be satisfied to leave it that way. I am not.

Nor am I impressed with the argument that further study is needed before any judgment can be reached for or againt the inclusion of the designated parts of the Salmon and Clearwater rivers in a national wild rivers systems. What additional information, not now available, will more delay furnish? What facts are now lacking? For 50 years, we have been accumulating exhaustive data on the whole Columbia-Snake River drainage. We have the complete record of the river flows year by year, of the salmon runs, the flood cycles, and the navigational, irrigational, and hydroelectric potential of every river and tributary in the Northwest.

We have all the necessary information at hand. The issue should not be dodged on the flimsy pretext that more facts are needed. The question is simply whether we want to take timely action to give statutory protection to these segments of the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers, or whether we do not. Placing these rivers in the study category of the bill, without any valid reason, would cut the heart out of the proposed wild river system, and leave the bill a shambles. This is why the Senate Interior Committee rejected the proposal, when it was offered as an amendment in the markup session.

I do not contend that the wild rivers bill will cost us nothnig. Everything worth having has its price. In the case of this legislation, the price would entail some loss in optimum flood control, particularly as it might affect certain downstream areas in Oregon and Washington. There would also be the loss of the hydroelectric power potential at the sites I have mentioned. Again, the principal impact would be borne by Oregon and Washington, since most of the electricity generated at these dams would be siphoned off to meet the needs of these more highly industrialized and more densely populated neighbor States. In any event, we have scores of damsites on other Idaho rivers to meet our future power needs for as many years ahead as hydroproduced electricty is ever likely to remain competitive with power generated at nuclear plants, where efficiency of operation steadily improves and costs continue to decline.

So the price we must pay for a wild rivers bill can hardly be regarded as onerous. The benefits, however, loading the opposite side of the scale, are very important indeed.

First of all, there is the preservation of the fishery itself, a perpetual source of wealth and pleasure, unless we permit its destruction, either through the erection of high dams, past which the fingerling salmon cannot successfully maneuver, or through our failure to properly regulate the capture of the parent fish on their upstream migration to the spawning beds in Idaho.

You have asked experts to testify on the fish problem, and they can best give you the impressive figures as to the value of this resource. My concern is that appropriate action be taken by the States, acting in concert with the Federal Government, to nourish and protect the migratory fish run mothered by the Salmon and Clearwater Rivers. To this end, very recently, I sought and obtained funds in the Senate to commence construction of a Federal salmon hatchery near Kooskia—a million dollar project.

I am advised by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service that, if present plans for such hatcheries and other protective measures are fully implemented, the migratory runs on the Salmon and Clearwater can be doubled, provided, of course, that the rivers remain free-flowing. This is the basic reason why the wild rivers bill has received such a positive endorsement by the Idaho Fish and Game Commission.

Other departments of the State government also join in support of this proposed legislation. Governor Robert E. Smylie, who urges the enactment of the wild rivers bill, tells us that he conferred with the State forestry and reclamation agencies, which joined with the Idaho Fish and Game Commission in the preparation of the Governor's statement on behalf of the bill. Thus a Republican State administration has acted to demonstrate the broad, bipartisan support which the wild rivers proposal enjoys in Idaho.

No doubt this has been occasioned, in part, by a realization of the growing importance of outdoor recreation to the economy of Idaho. Tourism—the discovery of Idaho by the Nation, hunting, fishing, the confinement of megalopolist—this is the most dynamic force at work in creating new income for the people of our State. The figures are startling. Ten years ago, tourism was a $48 million annual business in Idaho. Last year, according to the figures of the Idaho Department of Commerce and Development, tourism accounted for $160 million in earned income for Idaho. This year, the figure is expected to rise above $175 million. In two handfuls of years, tourism has plunged upward to become Idaho's third most important source of revenue.

And the expansion has just begun. In the next 35 years, the population of this country will double. The demand for outdoor recreation will triple. The great majority of Americans will be more affluent and have more time for recreation. Projections indicate that they will have more than twice as much disposable per capita income and paid vacation time as in 1960. Their average work week will have decreased from 39 hours to 32 hours. Idaho's future as a vactionland is filled with promise.

What we make of it depends upon how well we husband our scenic and recreational resources. It depends, in short, upon how farsighted we are in insisting upon a wisely balanced development of our natural endowment. In places, where the terrain permits, we shall want to use unappropriated water for new reclamation projects; in other places, on rivers already obstructed, we shall want to build new power dams; but in still other places, in areas of mountain-locked grandeur where the water still runs fast, pure and free, we should seek to preserve our finest untamed streams by including them within a national wild rivers system.

Nowhere in America are there left such jewels, among our remaining wild rivers, as the Salmon and the Clearwater systems. An extensive survey by study teams substantiates that claim. Naturally, these should be the lead-off rivers in the bill. Anyone who has come to know the pristine mystique of the Selway, or the rampaging white waters of the Salmon, must appreciate how supremely these rivers qualify as the core for any wild rivers bill. To them, in the initial system established by the bill, we add segments of the Rogue in Oregon, the Rio Grande in New Mexico, and the Eleven Point in Missouri.

As the bill is now drawn, it includes the Salmon from the town of North Fork down-

stream to its confluence with the Snake, and the entire Middle Fork; the Middle Fork of the Clearwater from Kooskia upstream to Lowell; the Lochsa from Lowell to Powell Ranger Station, and the Selway from Lowell upstream to its origin.

Precaution has been taken to fully protect established water rights, and to make certain that State water laws are not infringed in any way. The Senate Interior Committee hammered out amendments to the original language to make doubly sure that the status quo with respect to water law remains unchanged. These amendments are in section 5 of the bill, and are spelled out in the committee report which urges enactment.

Although S. 1446 might be regarded as a corollary to the Wilderness Act, it is very different in concept and application. A limited area along the banks of the river would be included in the system, which would be administered to promote maximum public use and enjoyment. Unlike the restrictions on use in a wilderness area, this bill recognizes and adopts the multiple-use principle. Timber harvesting and livestock grazing which do not substantially interfere with the use and enjoyment of the river will continue along the banklands. Mining would also be allowed, although claims on the banklands located after the effective date of the act would be subject to reasonable regulation to protect the river against pollution. The bill also contains no prohibition against the construction of needed roads or bridges.

Except for the acquisition of scenic easements, the bill confers no power of condemnation of private property along the Salmon or Clearwater rivers. An amendment I offered, prohibits condemnation where 75 percent or more of the acreage within the wild river area is publicly owned. Both Idaho rivers would fall in this category. The bill does allow for condemnation for scenic easements, where these may be needed.

Nothing in the bill affects the jurisdiction or administration authority of the States with respect to fish and wildlife.

Obstruction of wild rivers by damming normally accomplished through construction or licensing by Federal agencies would be prohibited, except as expressly authorized by Congress.

In addition to these several safeguards, there is also the amendment adopted in the closing session of the Interior Committee which would establish a National Wild Rivers Review Commission to inform the Congress if changing public needs dictate that wild river status should be altered. This amendment was proposed by my colleague, Senator JORDAN, and I supported it.

The Interior Committee, in its report to the Senate, pointed to this amendment as one which would allow a river to be removed from the system, if a greater public need for another use should later develop. However, even without the amendment, it would always be open to Congress to remove rivers from the system, should changing conditions make this desirable. In brief, we can place these segments of the Salmon and Clearwater rivers within the protection of the bill now, and still admit to the possibility that a higher public need for turning them to some other use might conceivably emerge in the future. But we can't have it the other way around. Once a dam is built, a wild river is lost forevermore.

The cause I plead for is not mine alone. It is that of the President of the United States, who has urged the enactment of this measure; it is that of the foremost conservationists of this country; it is that of the people of Idaho, the large majority of whom, I am persuaded, earnestly favor this bill.

But, I cannot say, with conviction, that the cause finds much support on this board. Before these hearings were called, before any of this testimony was given, I read in the newspapers that an informal poll had been taken among the members of this board on the Wild Rivers Bill. The chairman, George L. Crookham, was reported to have disclosed that six members of the board opposed the bill, one member favored it, and one member took no position. Frankly, gentlemen, if I were accused of murder, and six of my eight judges had announced to the press, prior to my trial, that they believed me guilty, I wouldn't be very optimistic about my chances of being acquitted in their court.

Yet, I have come here to bear witness to my belief in your integrity and good faith. I recognize the importance which attaches to the responsibility you hold. I trust you will act with broad vision so that, in this State, conservation may be the companion of development. In the utilization of our water, I hope you will advocate a balanced program, where no one interest will dominate to the exclusion of others, neither the farmers' spade, the anglers' hook, nor "Reddy-Kilowatt's" switch.

A few months ago, Burton J. Rowles, a writer, movie producer, and lover of the great outdoors, spent some time on the Clearwater and the Salmon. He said they only ask "freedom to flow and to retain purity, in return for supporting life and providing pleasure." The defenses of such a river, he said, "are no stronger than man's concern for its vitality, expressed in his guardianship."

To guard the Salmon and the Clearwater, I am confident we shall find the needed sentinels, here in Idaho, and in the Halls of Congress.

Human Investment Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES B. PEARSON
OF KANSAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PEARSON. Mr. President, it is heartening to many of us and, particularly, I am sure, to the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], to note the continually increasing support for the Human Investment Act. This support is being expressed not only in Congress, but by individuals and organizations across the Nation who are concerned about our manpower problems.

Looking beyond the latest official jobless rate of 4.4 percent, we can discount, to a degree, that segment of these approximately 3 million Americans who may be idle of their own accord, or who are not breadwinners, or who are between jobs. Yet, there still remains what has come to be known as our hard-core unemployed.

Recent in depth studies of our manpower problems indicate the existence of well over 2 million job openings going begging. The conclusion must be drawn, then, that our problem arises from the lack of skills—not the lack of jobs.

The jobless are not statistics. The jobless are men and women, each a human being with dignity and worth. Welfare rolls are not their goal in life. Many of the highly publicized Federal training programs are not supplying the proper and sufficient answers either.

S. 2509 does provide a constructive approach toward meeting this skills shortage and thus alleviating the unemployment problem. This legislation would encourage the private sector of our economy to place increased emphasis on already existing job-training programs by providing a tax credit incentive. Certainly both labor and management have excellent records of long standing in the field of job training. Is it necessary for the Federal Government to go into this area in which it cannot possibly match the effectiveness of private programs? I think not.

However, it is both just and necessary that the Federal Government encourage the private sector to increase its efforts. We give tax credits for investments in machines and equipment. Can we do less for investments in human beings?

It is a privilege, then, for me to join with the many who have commended Senator PROUTY here in the Senate and a number of Representatives in the House for this thoughtful approach to this area of concern and I would be honored if, at the next printing, Senator PROUTY will add my name to the many other Senators who are cosponsoring S. 2509, the Human Investment Act.

"Lou Johnson of the Los Angeles Dodgers"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, in the October 15, 1965, Louisville Courier-Journal appears an article on a famous Kentuckian who played a primary role in the Los Angeles Dodgers' recent winning of the world championship of baseball. Earl Ruby, sports editor of the Courier-Journal, wrote that the White House would be surprised to learn that "L.B.J." also was responsible for winning the world series, but the "L.B.J." about which he wrote was Louis Brown "Lou" Johnson, who hails from Lexington, Ky. I ask unanimous consent that this news article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD for today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, Oct. 15, 1965]

"L.B.J." SHOWS THE WAY TO WORLD CHAMPIONSHIP

(By Earl Ruby)

The White House will be surprised to learn that "L.B.J." won the world baseball championship yesterday for the Los Angeles Dodgers.

The win is credited—and most rightly so—to Sandy Koufax, one of the greatest portside pitchers of modern times.

But a pitcher can't win, no matter how far he goes, without a run by his mates. And that's what Louis Brown Johnson (L.B.J.) provided in the seventh and last game of the World Series at Minneapolis-St. Paul.

The lanky athlete from Lexington, Ky., waited 13 years for this moment. Nobody could have been more ready.

The Dodgers and Twins were tied at three games each and deadlocked 0–0 going into the fourth inning of the deciding game when Johnson came to bat. Then, on a one-and-one pitch, Lou connected solidly and the ball sailed out over left field so high the fielders didn't even bother to chase it. The ball hit the foul pole, which is in fair territory, and bounced into the stands for a home run.

Another run was scored later in that inning by Ron Fairly, but it was just icing on the cake.

After the game, the Kentuckian grabbed Koufax and yelled, "Sandy, you're the greatest." Asked by writers how he felt, coming out of the minors to win the world championship, he said, "I feel like crying, but it won't come out."

CHANCE BY ACCIDENT

Injury: Johnson received his big opportunity as the result of an accident. The accident happened on May 1, when star outfielder Tommy Davis suffered a broken ankle sliding into second base.

When manager Walt Alston began looking around for a replacement, two coaches—Preston Gomez and Danny Ozard—both recommended Johnson, who was pastiming with the Dodger farm at Spokane. Alston called up the skinny fellow, and Lou joined the team at Cincinnati on May 4.

Lou exceeded all expectations of the coaches as a daring, fearless player. He provided the punch that put the Dodgers in the Series and the drive that brought them out of it a winner.

Although known more for his basketball than his baseball when a student at Dunbar High in Lexington, Lou was signed by the Yankees in 1953.

"Why did you sign that contract instead of continuing with basketball?" he was asked. * * * "Man, that's simple," he replied "They gave me $500 in cash, and cash was what my family needed most. The money lasted just three hours—just long enough to pay up the bill to keep my kid brothers and sisters in school."

The Yanks turned him loose after one miserable season, and Zeke Bonura, manager of the Lexington team in the Mountain States League, grabbed him for the season of 1954. The club collapsed in midseason, up to its ears in debt.

Under baseball law, Lou had to be made a free agent again, but Zeke confided to Ed Ashford, the team president, "If we could sell Johnson for what he's worth, we could pay every bill we've got."

WHISTLESTOP A YEAR

Choo Choo: From that day until he joined the Dodgers, Johnson averaged more than one whistlestop a year—at about $450 a month. Seventeen clubs held his contract at various times over 13 years.

How much of an impression he made on anyone was indicated by the fact that, at the mature age of 32 and after 12 long seasons of play, he came to the big team at a salary of only $11,000. Buzzie Bavasi immediately gave him a $2,000 raise, and Johnson went to work to show he was worth it.

"My wife, Doris, and I had just about decided that we had spent our last year in baseball when the call came from Los Angeles," he said yesterday. "I' sure glad we hung on."

He did so well during the regular season that Koufax himself said after the pennant had been clinched, "Johnsons the guy. If it hadn't been for the job he did, we wouldn't be here today."

Johnson fought so fearlessly that he frequently crowded the plate like Frank Robinson and wouldn't budge an inch. He dared 'em to hit him. They obliged. He was hit in the head and he was hit in the hip and the arm.

It wasn't enough that he was being brained on the field. On one of his early overnight hops, the team station wagon blew a tire, threw him out on the road and sliced off a part of his right ear. But, scars and all, he came through when the Dodgers needed him—and his homer yesterday brought his total for the year to 14—the most hit by any member of the team.

Lou's father died several years ago, but his mother, Mrs. Sidney Bell Johnson, still lives in Lexington. Lou was one of four brothers who starred at Dunbar High. George and David played football. Calvin played baseball and Lou played baseball, basketball and football.

Lou made All-State in basketball twice—in 1950 and 1951—and helped his team place third in the National Negro High School Championships at Nashville in 1950.

He has been married twice. His first son, George, lives in Lexington with his first wife. A second son, Lou, lives with the star in Los Angeles.

S. P. Roach, Lou's coach at Dunbar, summed him up yesterday in this way:

"He's a tremendous competitor, who never knows when he's whipped. I guess that's why he was still fighting for recognition when the Dodgers called for him."

Working Toward President Johnson's Great Society: A Report to the People of Alaska on the Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ERNEST GRUENING

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, I include my statement summarizing for the people of Alaska the major accomplishments of the 1st session of the 89th Congress:

CONGRESS AND THE GREAT SOCIETY

Throughout the country, and properly so, there is praise for the magnificent manner in which President Lyndon Johnson is working with the Congress to obtain enactment of a domestic legislative program designed to make the Great Society a reality.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress has responded positively to his inspired leadership, enacting one piece of major legislation after another in a workmanlike manner.

But withal it should be noted that given the determined and dedicated leadership of President Johnson—given the will to achieve of this session of the Congress—these accomplishment could not have occurred if they had not reflected the belief of the vast majority of Americans that the time had come to translate some of the dreams of a better life for all into actualities.

Perhaps for Alaska and Alaskans no Congress will ever equal the 85th Congress which voted for Statehood for Alaska.

And, from the standpoint of Alaska and Alaskans, it will take some doing for any Congress to equal the performance of the 88th Congress which provided so promptly and so generously urgently needed disaster relief for Alaska when it suffered the ravages of the Good Friday earthquake.

But in its own right, the 89th Congress in its 1st session has set a record on the domestic scene unequaled since the memorable first 100 days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. President Johnson's domestic program has emphasized social progress.

It has insured the voting rights of all people; provided hospital care for the elderly; made sweeping reductions in excise taxes; enlarged the scope of educational assistance; attacked the problem of air and water pollution; and made strides in reducing poverty and improving education and training for the unemployed. Let me list the positive examples.

HOSPITAL CARE—SOCIAL SECURITY

While former President Truman, one of the original sponsors of Government-supported medical care looked on in Independence, Mo., the President signed into Public Law—Public Law 89–97—the administration-backed Hospital Care—Social Security Act.

The legislation has long been misnamed "medicare." It provides hospital care and should be known as "hospicare."

Alaska, a young State, has a young population, but many Alaskans are supporting aged parents in the lower 48 and are confronted with ever-mounting expenses for their hospital and nursing home care. The long-awaited Federal health insurance program will ease this problem.

The measure provides a health care insurance program for persons 65 or older, increases social security cash benefits, and expands the Kerr-Mills program of medical assistance to the indigent aged, child health care programs, and other Federal-State public assistance programs. Many of the social security benefits took effect in September 1965, when some 20 million persons started receiving retroactive social security cash benefits totaling about $1 billion. The basic hospital plan which becomes effective July 1, 1966, will benefit about 19 million aged, providing up to 90 days of hospital care, 100 days of nursing home care, and 100 home health-care visits. The supplementary health plan will benefit about 16.9 million aged. Social security cash benefits affecting about 20 million persons provided a 7-percent across-the-board increase in old-age survivors and disability insurance benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965.

Also included in the Social Security Act was my amendment, cosponsored by my able colleague, Senator E. L. (BOB) BARTLETT, validating social security coverage agreements with Alaska school districts previously determined not to be "political subdivisions" within the meaning of section 218.

To my knowledge, I have known many men and women who have completed successful work careers and who have retired with savings and pensions apparently ample to live in comparative comfort for the rest of their lives. Then these individuals have been struck by

severe illnesses and in a very brief period have seen their life's savings drained away in paying for the high costs of medical and hospital care and drugs.

For people in such circumstances, this legislation marks a milestone and will go far to enable them to meet the overwhelming burden of hospital expenses—and some medical expenses—attendant all too often on old age.

REGIONAL MEDICAL PROGRAMS—PUBLIC LAW 89–239

This act authorizes a 3-year $340 million grant program to assist in establishing and operating an estimated 25 regionally coordinated medical complexes for the study of heart disease, cancer, stroke, and related diseases.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89–110

And of course the piece of "monumental legislation," as the President has termed it, was the Voting Rights Act of 1965, Public Law 89–110, to prevent denial of voting rights because of race or color. It suspends the use of literacy tests or similar voter qualification devices, and authorizes Federal examiners to register all eligible voters when there is evidence of continued discrimination by the States. It contains a declaration that if State poll taxes deny or abridge the right to vote the Attorney General is directed to institute court action immediately against the enforcement of poll taxes which do in fact deny or abridge a person's right to vote. I cosponsored this bill which, when implemented, will make our Nation stronger and more free.

HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89–117

A monumental piece of legislation for which President Johnson can claim credit is the Housing Act of 1965. It authorizes a 4-year, $7.8-billion housing program, extends existing programs, and provides for a new supplementary rent program for low-income families limited to $150 million in total new contract authority for fiscal years 1966–69. Regrettably, funds for the supplementary rent program were not appropriated.

This is the most comprehensive housing act ever passed. It should lead us ever closed to realization of the goal of decent housing for every American.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89–174

Another measure of importance which I cosponsored in the Senate is an act which establishes a Department of Housing and Urban Development. Such a Department will make possible greatly improved administration of the principal Federal assistance programs for housing and development of the Nation's communities. It will further cooperation with State and local governments and agencies in assisting urban planning and development. It consolidates the functions, powers, and duties of the Housing and Home Finance Agency, the Federal Housing Administration, and the Federal National Mortgage Association.

We are an urban nation. More than two-thirds of our population today, more than 130 million persons, live in urban areas. These urban areas cross city, county, and State lines.

Anyone who doubts the untoward aspects of the increasing urban sprawl need not go far to find it. On the east coast, the population lives nearly house to house, door to door from the north of Boston to the south of Washington, D.C.

The President has reminded us:

In the remainder of this century—in less than 40 years—urban population will double, city land will double, and we will have to build in our cities as much as all that we have built since the first colonist arrived on these shores. It is as if we had 40 years to rebuild the entire urban United States.

The challenge is staggering, but I am convinced that we can meet it.

We of Alaska live in a vast area where the facilities of the Department of Housing and Urban Development will be useful. We have cities which have grown fast and often haphazardly and the growth is only begun in Alaska. We can use constructively the aids proposed.

EXCISE TAX REDUCTION—PUBLIC LAW 89–44

The Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965 is a sweeping measure which ends approximately $4.7 billion in Federal wartime excise taxes on jewelry, handbags, television sets, appliances, luggage, toilet articles, furs, cameras, musical instruments, phonograph records, playing cards, and sporting goods except fishing equipment. The 10-percent automobile tax will be reduced in stages decreasing to 1 percent by January 1, 1969. This measure will result in increased purchasing power and a resultant expansion in the economy which in the long run will mean an increase in total Federal revenues at lower tax rates.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89–10

Long debated in the Congress, Federal aid to education at last has received congressional approval. The receptive mood of the Congress, the country, and the administration have been important motivating factors leading to passage of H.R. 2362. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorizes $1.344 billion in Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools for fiscal 1966; a 3-year program of Federal grants to States for allocation to school districts with large numbers of children from low-income families; a 5-year program of grants for books and library materials; a 5-year program of grants for supplementary educational centers and services; a 5-year $100 million authorization for construction and operation of regional facilities for educational research; a 5-year program for grants to stimulate and assist States in strengthening the leadership resources of their State educational agencies and a 2-year extension of Federal aid to impacted areas.

America urgently needs the tools embodied in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Education and democracy are one and inseparable. The foundation of a democratic society is a citizenry able to think for itself—and not merely willing, but determined to do so.

In 1810 Thomas Jefferson wrote:

The information of the people at large can alone make them the safe, as they are the sole, depository of our political and religious freedom.

Thomas Jefferson said many times that education was the most effective weapon men had against tyranny.

He wrote in 1818:

If the children * * * are untaught, their ignorance and vices will, in future life, cost us much dearer in their consequences, than it would have done, in their correction, by a good education.

We know he was right.

I supported and cosponsored this bill. Aid to education long has been needed. The goals of the Great Society cannot be implemented until the educational need for all of our Nation's children is met fully. This act will strengthen Alaska's educational system by $1,989,422 annually.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Public Law 89–329 authorizes a 3-year, $2.3 billion higher education program. It will provide Federal scholarships for needy students, funds to strengthen colleges, and establishes a 2-year National Teacher Corps whose members would serve in poverty-stricken areas to improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged youngsters. Funding must still be obtained for the Teachers Corp.

Included in the law is my amendment which permits federally chartered credit unions to participate in making loans to students.

In his January 12, 1965, education message to the Congress, President Johnson documented the need to encourage every child to get as much education as he has the ability to take. The President traced the development of educational opportunities in this country from the time of the Northwest Ordinance of the Continental Congress in 1787 which proclaimed that schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.

Times change. What was adequate becomes obsolete. What was once progressive no longer is adequate to meet the challenges of the Great Society.

This act is designed to make available to all children, regardless of environment or parental income, the opportunity to learn.

AID TO APPALACHIA—PUBLIC LAW 89–4

A great achievement of the administration and the Congress is the authorization of $1.1 billion to help Appalachia. It aids the economically underdeveloped 11-State Appalachian region by establishing the Appalachia Regional Commission. Of the $1.1 billion to be spent, $840 million is for Federal grants to help pay for a 5-year highway construction program. A 2-year authorization of $252.4 million will be used to finance various economic development projects. I was a cosponsor of this legislation which will go a long way toward eliminating poverty and putting back to work some of the human resources that are presently being wasted. The Great Society cannot afford this tragic loss of its most valuable resource—its people.

EXTENSION OF MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89–15

Another administration bill that received approval of the Congress is the act extending the Manpower Development and Training Act to June 30, 1969,

which authorizes $454 million for fiscal 1966 and provides up to 2 years training in classrooms or on the job for persons unemployed because of lack of education or skills.

Inserted was the amendment proposed by the Alaska congressional delegation which permits the Secretary of Labor to provide subsistence and travel allowances beyond the maximum ordinarily specified because higher costs in Alaska create an unnecessary financial hardship on trainees. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 was designed to train workers to equip them to fill available jobs. It was oriented primarily toward experienced workers who had lost their jobs because of technological change. As an indication of the success of the program, employment for 72 percent of those completing institutional training and 94 percent of those completing on-the-job training had been found as of December 31, 1964. All 50 States are participating in the program.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY

Congress also acted to insure adequate succession procedures in proposing a constitutional amendment which fixes conditions and procedures for succession of the Vice President to the Presidency in the event of the Chief Executive's disability, and which provides for filling a vacancy in the Vice Presidency subject to congressional confirmation. I was a cosponsor of this amendment of article II, section 1, clause 5 of the Constitution which must be ratified now by 38 States within 7 years.

WATER POLLUTION CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

The administration properly has taken a positive stand on conservation and protection of our natural resources. I was a cosponsor of S. 4 which gives the Federal Government authority to establish purity standards for interstate streams if the States through which the waters flow fail to establish approved standards by June of 1967. The act increases the authorizations for sewage treatment grants, including an increase to $150 million a year for the next 2 years in the total authorization and an increase to $1,200,000 individual projects and to $4,800,000 for multicommunity projects.

SALINE WATER

Public Law 89-118 extends for 5 years to June 30, 1972, an expanded research and development program for conversion of saline water. One hundred and eighty five million dollars have been authorized for this project. Already our fresh water resources are dangerously low in many parts of the Nation.

FEDERAL WATER PROJECT RECREATION ACT

Public Law 89-72 establishes prospective standard guidelines on the allocation and reimbursability of recreation, fish, and wildlife costs on Federal multiple-purpose water resource projects.

AIR POLLUTION CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89-272

Another bill, S. 306, which is important insofar as clean air is concerned, and of which I was a cosponsor, requires standards and proposed regulations to control pollution from gasoline and diesel powered vehicles. Approved by Congress, the act establishes a Federal air pollution control laboratory and authorizes grants for research to improve methods for disposal of solid waste.

DISASTER RELIEF—SBA—PUBLIC LAW 89-59

A matter of considerable consequence to Alaskans is an amendment to the Small Business Act, Public Law 89-59, providing for an increase in the maturity of Small Business Administration disaster loans from 20 to 30 years, suspending for up to 5 years on the payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at the discretion of the Administrator; and for increasing the Small Business Administration's revolving fund by $50 million.

INDIAN ADULT EDUCATION—PUBLIC LAW 89-14

Of special importance to Alaskans is Public Law 89-14 which increases the authorization for Indian adult vocational education by $3 million thereby raising it to $15 million annually.

TLINGIT AND HAIDA INDIANS—PUBLIC LAW 89-130

I sponsored this measure which was cosponsored by Senators BARTLETT and MANSFIELD. Public Law 89-130 amends the act of June 19, 1935—49 Stat. 388, as amended, relating to the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska. It amends the definition of Tlingit and Haida Indians and recognizes a central council which would have authority to make plans for use of judgment funds expected to be awarded the tribes in the very near future. It authorizes the advancement and expenditure of any appropriation to satisfy the judgment for any purpose authorized by the official central council, including per capita payments, and for the preparation of a current roll of all Tlingit and Haida Indians. Under the law it is required that following appropriation of funds to satisfy the award, Tlingit and Haida Indians shall submit an additional legislative proposal providing for the use of their money based upon approved plans and recommendations.

ADMINISTRATION ON AGING

Congress also created an Administration on Aging, in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to coordinate information and service for State and local governments, to administer grants and promote research on problems of the aging. This is just one facet of the many-pronged attack that is being launched to bring relief to the problems of the elderly.

EXTENSION OF COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES—PUBLIC LAW 89-109

The Congress acted favorably on the administration's health program by extending for 3 fiscal years, 1966-68, authority for grants to States and communities for mass immunization programs against polio, diphtheria, whooping cough, and tetanus. Measles was included in the immunization program. The new public law extends for 1 year general and special health services, including those for migratory workers, chronically ill and aged, and grants for research to improve such services.

NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES—PUBLIC LAW 89-209

Public Law 89-209 establishes a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to develop and promote a broadly conceived national policy of support for the arts and humanities throughout the United States. This is long overdue legislation.

When I introduced the humanities bill, S. 111, at the start of this Congress, I said that humanities encompass the study of the past to create a rewarding future. I pointed out that while we have some splendid blocks upon which to build because learned men of past centuries and vanished civilizations have left us their contributions, some of which we have found, that we dare not be content. The search for knowledge, for quality, must continue.

As the sponsor of S. 111, I am especially pleased that President Johnson endorsed the concept of a national foundation to aid the humanities and arts. This act will help develop the cultural achievements of the Great Society.

ALASKA PUBLIC WORKS

Public works projects in Alaska will be funded by more than $3.3 million provided in the public works appropriation bill, Public Law 89-299. The bill as agreed upon by Senate and House conferees includes $800,000 for preconstruction planning of the Snettishham hydroelectric project near Juneau.

Eliminated in conference was $250,000 added by the Senate to expedite completion of the Snettishham project. I hope the amount can be included in the first supplemental appropriation bill to be considered when Congress reconvenes in January. If the added funding can be approved, power will be produced at Snetishham by 1970.

No funds could be requested for the proposed Rampart Dam project on the Yukon River since that work first must be authorized by the Congress. Studies now under way should be completed when Congress reconvenes so the Alaska congressional delegation can work for authorization and the start of funding of the biggest hydroelectric project in North America, a project long needed in Alaska.

Also included in Public Law 89-299 was $7,000 for flood control study on the Kuskokwim River at Bethel, which had not been in the President's budget as submitted to Congress. Other items were $7,000 for a navigation study of Humboldt Harbor at Sand Point and $6,000 for a navigations study of the harbor at Metlakatla.

Funding for Alaska includes $400,000 to start work on the Anchorage Harbor based on a study made by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The corps estimates the total cost of dredging the harbor to a 35-foot-deep water depth and building two jetties will be $5,722,000.

Other items are: $1,170,000 for the construction and rehabilitation of the Eklutna project and these general investigations for navigation: Auke Bay, $15,000; Dry Straits-Wrangell Narrows, $50,000; Gastineau Channel, $75,000; Knik and Turnagain Arms, $12,000;

Kobuk River, $25,000; Kodiak Harbor, small boat basin, $20,000; Naknek Harbor, $5,000; and Sergius Narrows, $23,000.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION

Public Law 89–285 provides for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems. This law brings increased meaning to the phrase "America the beautiful."

Great credit for pointing up the need for this highway beautification act goes to our President and his lovely wife, Lady Bird. Mrs. Johnson is an activist. By her action and support of this legislation, she has truly shown how much more beautiful the countryside of America can be when it is properly cared for.

It should be noted that Alaska has no billboard problem. As Governor of the Territory in 1945, I urged adoption of proposed legislation forbidding erection of billboards on the highways. This was done, and later further safeguards were added to the law.

We know that our population increase has made it necessary to change some of America the beautiful. But necessary changes need not be repudiations of America the beautiful.

ASSATEAGUE ISLAND NATIONAL SEASHORE—PUBLIC LAW 89–195

This act provides for the establishment of the Assateague Island National Seashore in the States of Maryland and Virginia. It is another positive step to preserve for future generations some of our beautiful scenic areas.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AMENDMENTS OF 1965 PUBLIC LAW 89–253

Public Law 89–253 extends all economic opportunity programs to June 30, 1968. It authorizes appropriations totaling $1,785 billion for fiscal 1966.

PACIFIC NORTHWEST DISASTER RELIEF—PUBLIC LAW 89–41

Remembering the Good Friday earthquake and the Federal assistance that we received, Alaskans can well appreciate the humane purposes of this act, which provides assistance to residents of Oregon, Washington, California, Nevada, and Idaho for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the catastrophic floods of December 1964 and January and February 1965.

IMMIGRATION REFORM—PUBLIC LAW 89–236

Public Law 89–236 abolishes the national origins quota system in immigration effective July 1, 1968. It provides for admission of immediate relatives of American citizens and fixes the annual limit of 170,000 from all former quota countries, and 120,000 from Western Hemisphere, giving preference to persons with skills and professional abilities.

DRUG CONTROL—PUBLIC LAW 89–74

Public Law 89–74 provides for regulation and control of manufacturers of depressant and stimulant drugs.

MILITARY PAY INCREASE—PUBLIC LAW 89–132

Public Law 89–132 provides an average 10.4 percent basic pay increase for officers and enlisted members of the uniformed services; total $1 billion.

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION—PUBLIC LAW 89–188

Public Law 89–188 provides construction and other related authority for the military departments, and the office of the Secretary of Defense, within and outside the United States. It also includes authority for construction of facilities for the Reserve components in the total amount of $1,780,062,000 consisting of $1,739,749,000 in new authority, an increase in prior years' authorization of $9,823,000; and $30,490,000 for Reserve components.

This year's act authorizes the following construction projects in Alaska: $580,000 for an addition to the sewage treatment plant at Fort Greely; $289,000 for alteration of the command post war room at Fort Richardson; $177,000 for an information data systems center at Fort Richardson; $368,000 for range facilities at Fort Richardson, and $411,000 for a command and control center at Fort Wainwright.

Navy projects include $5 million at the Adak Naval Station; $303,000 at the Adak Communication Station and $1,185,000 at the Mount Moffett Radio Station at Adak. The Air Force construction includes $601,000 at Eielson Air Force Base; $4,540,000 at Elmendorf Air Force Base; $374,000 at Galena Airport; $288,000 at King Salmon Airport and $7,837,000 at various locations in Alaska.

These remote base projects include: Barter Island Air Force Station, $1,108,000; Bethel Air Force Station, $116,000; Cape Lisburne Air Force Station, $138,000; Cold Bay Communications Station, $36,000; Delta Junction, $137,000; Duncan Canal Radio Relay Station, $39,000; Glenallen Communications Station, $246,000; Indian Mountain Air Force Base, $157,000; Kotzebue Air Force Station, $91,000; Murphy Dome Air Force Station, $294,000; Neklason Lake Radio Relay, $71,000; North River Radio Relay Link, $135,000; Ocean Cape Radio Relay Link, $90,000; Pillar Mountain Radio Relay Station, $80,000; Shemya Air Force Base, $1,132,000; Soldotna Radio Relay Site, $60,000; Sparrevohn Air Force Station, $301,000; Tin City Radio Relay Link, $4,579,000, and Tok Radio Relay Link, $135,000.

Included will be 200 units of military family housing at Eielson and a like number at Elmendorf. Except for Elmendorf Air Force Base, which was appropriated $3,640,000 instead of the $4,540,000 authorized, all other funds authorized for military construction projects in Alaska received requested appropriations.

COMBAT SERVICEMEN INSURANCE

Public Law 89–214 provides an automatic insurance plan of $10,000 or $5,000 for all members of the uniformed services on active duty on and after the effective date designated by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

MILITARY DEPENDENTS—MEDICAL CARE

Public Law 89–140 authorizes transportation at Government expense for dependents of members of the uniformed services who are accompanying members at posts of duty outside the United States where required medical care is not available locally.

MILITARY DEPENDENTS—LANGUAGE TRAINING

Public Law 89–160 authorizes language training for dependents of members of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps in anticipation of assignment to permanent duty outside the United States.

MILITARY INCENTIVE PAY

Public Law 89–149 authorizes incentive pay for personnel who perform hazardous duty on the flight decks of aircraft carriers.

MILITARY PRIVILEGES (PUBLIC LAW 89–315)

Public Law 89–315 provides free airmail service for first-class letter mail, including cards, for members of the Armed Forces in an overseas combat area as designated by the President, or hospitalized as a result of such service.

A SELECTIVE SUMMARY OF THE MAJOR LEGISLATION PENDING IN CONGRESS

Certainly visionary and far-reaching laws have been enacted in this session of Congress, but much more must be accomplished. Following are a few of the measures introduced in this session of Congress the passage of which I consider essential to the realization of our goals in Alaska.

MINING TAX RELIEF BILL

Long regarded by the mining industry as essential to stimulate exploration for minerals and increased mining activity is H.R. 4665, a companion bill to my bill (S. 338) which would remove existing restrictions on deductions allowable to mining companies for exploration expenditures, which was ordered reported by the House Ways and Means Committee during the closing days of the first session. Tax measures originate in the House of Representatives.

ESTABLISHMENT OF 12-MILE FISHING LIMIT

During the 88th Congress I introduced S. 1816, a bill designed to conserve the offshore fishery resources of the United States by authorizing the extension of the territorial waters of our Nation and its territories to 12 miles. I introduced an identical measure, S. 49, in this session of Congress. It has been referred to the Commerce Committee. Our once great fishing industry is in trouble. The 88th Congress wisely took a long-overdue first step to help U.S. fishermen when it approved a bill introduced by Senator BOB BARTLETT which makes it possible to fine or imprison violators of our coastal waters who come inside our 3-mile limit. But the need persists to extend our territorial waters and give to our fishermen a wider area in which to fish unmolested by foreign competition.

CENTENNIAL BILL PASSED SENATE

The bill to authorize Federal financial participation in the 1967 observance of the centennial of the Alaska Purchase, S. 2614, passed the Senate by voice vote in the closing hours of the session.

The Senate bill authorizes the appropriation of $3 million for programs contributing to the long-range economic development of Alaska. These projects or facilities would be industrial, agricultural, educational, research, or commercial, which would contribute to the purpose of the centennial celebration and be enduring symbols of the significance to the United States of its purchase of Alaska in 1867 by providing permanent

contributions to the economy. The State of Alaska, which with local groups would match or surpass any Federal contribution, would have the basic responsibility for planning and executing these programs. In addition, the Federal Government would be authorized to spend $600,000 for preparation of Federal exhibits during the centennial celebration.

If there is one event in our history that deserves the fullest kind of appreciation, applause, and celebration, it is the centennial of this purchase which made possible the inclusion of an area one-fifth as large as the 48 older States in our free society and definitively removed the incubus of totalitarianism from the Western World. Alaska—but for William Henry Seward—might well be a police state.

We propose to celebrate one of the great achievements of American history. It shows that the American people when they went through with the purchase of Alaska, and 6 years ago achieved statehood for our 49th State, proved that they were not declining, but that they were still young, still vigorous and on the march, and that our cherished principle of government by consent of the governed was still in full effect.

The purchase of Alaska has altered the course of history—and it is scarcely arguable that it has not been altered for the better.

Meanwhile, the House Public Works Committee has reported a companion bill, H.R. 9963, introduced by able, hard working Representative RALPH J. RIVERS. His bill would appropriate $5 million for Federal support of the Alaska centennial. No action was taken in the House before adjournment. I am hopeful that positive action can be taken early in the second session to enable Alaska to make the best possible use of its building season.

ASSISTANCE FOR AREAS STRUCK BY MAJOR DISASTERS

I am a cosponsor of a bill (S. 1861) which would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture, the Housing and Home Finance Administrator, and the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to refinance loans in areas struck by major disasters and to waive payment of principal and interest in certain hardship cases. This measure has passed the Senate and is pending before the House Public Works Committee.

ASSISTANCE IN HOUSING FOR ALASKA NATIVES

I am cosponsor of a bill that would authorize $10 million to the Housing and Home Finance Administrator for a program of grants and loans to Alaska to provide housing and related facilities for persons who are unable to finance such facilities on terms and conditions they can afford. This bill has been referred to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

COLD WAR VETERANS ACT

Once again I am a cosponsor of a bill to extend the GI bill of rights to cold war veterans. The bill, S. 9, passed the Senate and is pending before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee.

INDIANA DUNES NATIONAL LAKESHORE

Since my first term as a Member of the Senate, I have consistently cosponsored and supported legislation that would establish a national park and recreation area on the Indiana Dunes which would preserve their scenic beauty and natural splendor. During this session of Congress a bill (S. 360) to establish a national park and recreation area on the Indiana Dunes passed the Senate and was referred to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

The preservation of beauty in the midst of urban blight is as much a necessity for the people of this country as the economic progress which brings with it increasing realization of human requirements for this natural resource. As one who has always been a fervent conservationist, I have applauded the wise proposals to preserve and, where necessary, acquire land to satisfy the need of humans for enjoyment of outdoor recreation. This is a form of conservation which truly meets the needs of people, and this is, I believe, the purpose of successful conservation.

A BILL TO FACILITATE USE OF LAND GRANTED UNIVERSITY OF ALASKA

I am the sponsor of a bill (S. 2366) to facilitate the use of land granted to the University of Alaska. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

EKLUTNA POWER PROJECT

Legislation providing that funds used to prepare the Eklutna project near Anchorage would not be counted against the project's revenue, was introduced by Senator BARTLETT and cosponsored by me. The Good Friday earthquake requires permanent repair to the project estimated at about $3.1 million to be budgeted over a 3-year period. The bill number is S. 104.

THE POPULATION CRISIS

On April 1, 1965, I introduced S. 1676, a bill to coordinate and disseminate birth control information upon request. The bill also authorizes the President to call a White House Conference on Population in 1967. Seven Senators joined as cosponsors and identical legislation was introduced in the House of Representatives.

The bill was referred to the Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures, of which I am chairman, and hearings started June 22. Fifteen hearings were held this session and they will resume in 1966. More than 50 witnesses testified as to the various problems created by the population explosion.

By October 1, five more Senators and joined as cosponsors of S. 1676. The bill has bipartisan support and one cosponsor is a member of the Catholic Church.

A BIGGER STATE?

If the inhabitants of the State of Hawaii and the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands so desire, they could become a single State if Senate Concurrent Resolution 50 is enacted. I am a cosponsor of this resolution.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON FOREIGN EXPENDITURES

This Congress I have served as chairman of the recently created Government Operations Subcommittee on Foreign Aid Expenditures. The subcommittee has held 15 hearings on domestic and international population problems and has heard 56 witnesses thus far.

The subcommittee also initiated hearings related to the processing of the Pribiloff fur sealskins which is carried out pursuant to an international treaty signed by the United States, Japan, Canada, and Russia to restrict pelagic sealing in the northern Pacific Ocean.

The subcommittee has initiated a review of the multimillion dollar foreign participant training programs of the Federal Government to ascertain the efficiency and economy with which the training of foreign nationals is being carried out by the multitude of Federal departments and agencies involved. Information compiled by the subcommittee indicates that hearings may have to be held early in the next session of Congress on this subject.

Another subject presently under investigation by the subcommittee concerns a review of the coordination, efficiency and economy of the policies of the Department of State, the Treasury Department, Agency for International Development, and the Department of Agriculture in regard to U.S. holdings of foreign currencies.

The subcommittee has also held hearings on the disposition of Government surplus property. These hearings will continue when Congress is adjourned.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON MINERALS, MATERIALS, AND FUELS

I serve as chairman of the Interior Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels. This subcommittee has initial responsibility for measures referred to it concerning "mineral interests generally," in the words of the Legislative Reorganization Act, the mineral resources of the public lands, and mineral land laws and claims and entries thereunder.

During this 1st session of the 89th Congress, the subcommittee has devoted a considerable amount of time and effort to finding ways and means to stimulate domestic production of gold, reopen closed mines, and put gold miners back to work.

Three measures dealing directly with gold mining were referred to the subcommittee. S. 2562 was referred by Senator MCGOVERN, Senate Resolution 83 was referred by Senator BARTLETT, and S. 1377 was referred by me. All three measures have bipartisan cosponsorship.

S. 1377, which is based on my bill (S. 2125) of the 88th Congress as reported favorably to the Senate, provides for payment to domestic gold producers on an individual basis of amounts predicated on the differences between their cost of producing gold in the last quarter of 1939, our last period of normal production, and average costs of the last quarter of 1963.

The measure carefully refrains from any suggestion for any increase in the $35 an ounce price for gold established as a depression measure in 1934.

Introduced by Senator MCGOVERN with seven cosigners S. 2562 would aid and

stabilize the gold-mining industry of the United States by maintaining the rate of gold production from currently operating gold mines and by stimulating increased gold production through the reopening of mining properties which have ceased operations prior to January 1, 1965. It would encourage exploration, development, and commencement of new gold mining operations through the Gold Mines Assistance Commission which would be directed to provide financial assistance to domestic producers of gold. It is the intent of this bill that financial assistance payments to domestic gold producers hereunder shall have no relation to the monetary price of gold paid by the Treasury Department of the United States.

Senate Resolution 83 introduced by Senator BARTLETT would create a select committee of the Senate on gold production to study the problem in its entirety and report back to the Senate with recommendations.

While the subcommittee took no formla action on these measures directly, they formed the background for a series of informal conferences and discussions with Treasury officials held from time to time throughout the session. There is reason to hope that out of these conferences may come legislation which will have the acquiescence, at least, of the administration to ameliorate the plight of domestic gold producers, who have been put out of business, in a great number of instances, by the direct action of the Federal Government.

Other legislation considered and acted upon by the subcommittee included:

S. 1378, by Senator Moss and five other Senators, to amend the Lead-Zinc Small Producers Stabilization Act of 1961. The House companion measure, H.R. 5842, as amended was substituted, and became Public Law 89-238. The law extends the lead-zinc small producers program for an additional 4 years, broadens the base for participation, and clarifies certain provisions of the parent act.

S. 1674, by Senator BIBLE, to authorize leasing by the Secretary of the Interior of geothermal steam and associated geothermal resources on the public lands, was favorably reported, with amendments, by me and passed the Senate on September 7, 1965. The bill opens the way to development of a new natural resource of our publicly owned lands. The steam itself has been proven valuable for production of electric energy. In a number of localities the superheated brines or gases contain mineral required by industry and agriculture. The proposed legislation is a leasing act, providing the Secretary with authority, which he does not now have, to permit development by private enterprise of geothermal deposits, and setting forth conditions and standards of leasing.

S. 2358, introduced by Senator HOLLAND, authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to sell reserved phosphate interests in certain lands in Florida to the surface owners of said lands. The submittee held a hearing, in conjunction with consideration of H.R. 7378.

H.R. 7378, introduced by Congressman HALEY, proposes selling reserved phosphate rights in certain lands in Florida to the surface owners thereof. This measure and S. 2358 cover different tracts of land. At the hearing, the Department of the Interior urged amendment to require the surface owner to pay the costs of mineral survey, instead of the flat $200 fee provided in the bill as it passed the House. Since such a survey could be very costly, the proposed amendment met with objection and both measures have been set aside for further study by the subcommittee early in the second session.

In addition to its consideration of the gold problem and action on specific bills, the subcommittee conducted a study and held hearings, in Butte, Mont., and in Washington, D.C., on the administration and interpretation of Public Law 167, 84th Congress. This measure is popularly known as the Common Varieties Act or the Materials Act. It provides that common varieties of sand, gravel, stone, and the like shall no longer be locatable under the mining law of 1872, but instead shall be subject to leasing by the Secretary of the Interior, on a competitive basis for limited periods of time. It also provides that the holder of a mining claim can use only as much of the surface, and surface resources, as are necessary for him to conduct actual mining operations.

Over the past several years the subcommittee has received vigorous protests from mine operators on the public lands that the act was being interpreted by the Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management in a manner inconsistent with the original intent of the bill, and that its administration was so harsh as to be inequitable and to discourage mineral development. At the Butte hearings, spokesmen for the mine operators cited specific instances to support such allegations. In the next session the subcommittee will pursue this matter further in an attempt to remedy the situation.

His Holiness Pope Paul VI Offers Vatican Support to Ecumenical Patriarch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, the serious problems confronting the ecumenical patriarchate of the Eastern Greek Orthodox faith are the subjects of several articles from two Chicago, Ill., newspapers—the Greek Star and the Greek Press.

I believe the Members of Congress would be interested in reading the following articles "Pope Paul Offers Vatican Support to Ecumenical Patriarch," "Ambassador Alexis S. Liatis Protest to the United Nations," and "Mission and Status of the Ecumenical Patriachate of Constantinople":

[From the Greek Star]

POPE PAUL OFFERS VATICAN SUPPORT TO ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH—MEETS ARCHBISHOP IAKOVOS

During his historic 1-day visit here on October 4 Pope Paul VI granted a 15-minute private audience to Archbishop Iakovos, primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, who discussed with the pontiff the worsening situation of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople in Istanbul and the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey, against whom new oppressive measures have been taken recently.

Archbishop Iakovos asked Pope Paul to use his good offices to render assistance to the ecumenical patriarchate, which had two of its churches seized recently by the cohorts of the so-called "Turkish Orthodox" movement that has the support of the Turkish Government. In reply, Pope Paul gave assurances to Archbishop Iakovos, who is the representative fo the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the Americas, of his deep personal esteem and sympathy for Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, with whom he met in a historic encounter in Jerusalem in January of 1964, and of the willingness of the Vatican to offer all possible help to the First See of Orthodoxy in its present predicament.

Archbishop Iakovos issued the following statement on his audience with the Pope:

"It was a great privilege for me to be received by His Holiness Pope Paul VI during his crowded and epic-making day in New York. I feel very moved that the spiritual leader of Roman Catholicism showed such deep concern at the present day sad situation confronting the ecumenical patriachate and our Greek Orthodox brethren in Turkey, and of his desire to help His Holiness Athenagoras I and his flock in their present trials.

"This sincere profession of care of Pope Paul for his Orthodox brethren in the midst of his great peace mission here reveals again his greatness and his true Christian embrace and I shall always cherish in my heart and my thoughts the Lord's Prayer, at the conclusion of our meeting, which we recited together—he in Latin and I in Greek—an entreaty offered, at his suggestion, for the deliverance of the ecumenical patriarchate and its faithful from their present plight."

Turkish measures against the ecumenical patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox minority in Istanbul now includes "control" of Patriarchal finances and activities; the seizure of two churches of the ecumenical patriarchate in Constantinople by followers of the "Turkish Orthodox" movement the expulsion of thousands of Greek nationals; the closing of schools and philanthropic institutions of the patriarchate, refusal to allow students of the Greek Orthodox parochial schools to participate in commemorations of religious holidays; the closing of the printing plant of the patriarchate; and the arbitrary ousting from Turkey of Prelates of the Holy Synod of the ecumenical patriarchate.

[From the Greek Star]

AMBASSADOR ALEXIS S. LIATIS' PROTEST TO THE UNITED NATIONS

The permanent representative of Greece to the United Nations, Ambassador Alexis S. Liatis, lodged a strong protest to the President of the Security Council, warning that the Turkish pressure on ecumenical patriarchate has been intensified with the obvious intention of forcing Patriarch Athenagoras to abandon his ecumenical functions.

The Greek mission's protest is as follows:

Since April 1964 the Greek mission brought to the attention of the Security Council measures taken by the Turkish authorities against the ecumenical patriarchate with the obvious intent to intimidate the patri-

arch and the bishops and priests of his church.

In reply, the permanent representative of Turkey stated that "The patriarchate and the person of the ecumenical patriarch and other personnel will enjoy the traditional reverence and the protection of the law accorded to all citizens."

It must be pointed out that when the Turkish Government is bent on eroding the position and the ecumenical character of the Christian Orthodox Patriarchiate, as a matter of longstanding policy periodically reactivated according to international conjectures, and uses to this effect the police and administrative machinery of the state "the protection of the law accorded to all citizens" affords scant comfort indeed.

The campaign against the ecumenical patriarchate as it seems is now intensified especially ever since the patriarch met His Holiness Pope Paul VI in Jerusalem, in January 1964, and was aimed precisely at the ecumenical, that is, universal, character of the institution, which was enhanced by this historical event.

Statements to that effect by Turkish spokesmen in April last raised a wave of indignant rebuttal from churches and religious leaders all over the world. Thereupon, the pressure has been turned against the immediate rights and authority of the patriarch and his diocese of Istanbul. The patriarchate, for obvious reasons, is reluctant to raise its voice in public protest.

In the pursuit of its unholy ends, the Turkish Government has used a self-ordained priest self-styled head of the so-called Turkish-Orthodox Church. Lacking a congregation outside his immediate family but enjoying subsidies and support of the Turkish Government Papaefthym Eronol—as the impostor was named—on his deathbed ordained his son, Turgut, as "bishop of the Turkish-Orthodox." This man and his brother, Seljuk, laid claim to several churches which since time immemorial have been under undisputed jurisdiction of the ecumenical patriarchate.

On September 1, 1965, they bodily forced their way into the churches of St. Nicholas and St. John of Galata. When the deacons of the churches and the patriarchate protested and sought the protection of the authorities, the latter ordered the churches closed and prohibited the celebration of mass. Later in the month, police protection was withdrawn from the churches and agents of the Eronol brothers were allowed to enter the premises, whereupon police protection was restored, this time against the patriarchate and the lawful owners.

The story of Papaefthym is well known to those who have any knowledge of the affairs of the Greek community in Turkey and government policy toward it. His son now calls himself Papaefthym II, archbishop of the Turkish-Orthodox and ecumenical patriarch and openly threatens the real ecumenical patriarch with ex-communication.

Protest and demarches have been to no avail. Petitioners are told to apply to the courts. But with the usurpers in occupancy and legal titles being granted on recommendations of administrative authorities, the outcome is a foregone conclusion, unless the Turkish Government comes to realize how damaging to its prestige such high-handed, strong-arm tactics, against a venerable church enjoying worldwide respect are bound to be.

(Signed) ALEXIS S. LIATIS,
Ambassador of Greece to the United Nations.

[From the Greek Press]

MISSION AND STATUS OF THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The ecumenical patriarchate coming into existence as it did within the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, later the Byzantine Empire, from the start constituted an independent religious and ecclesiastical center. Because of its universally important position and its enjoyment of a wholly nonpolitical integrity of status, it gradually became the center and source of moral, cultural, and religious enlightenment for the whole Eastern World, which embraced within itself a number of different nations, languages, and ethnic groups.

The patriarchate played a leading role in the propagation of the Gospel in Asia, Africa, and Europe. It played a vital part in the summoning of the great ecumenical synods.

Through its church fathers and other outstanding theologians, it contributed to the formulation of those creeds and confessions of faith which enshrine the essential truths of Christianity, and which still unite all Christendom today. It developed an effective system of discipline and canon law still valid at the present time.

At a later period, its influence was of crucial importance in shaping the eastern orthodox traditions, and in preserving the integrity of orthodoxy with eastern Christendom. In its capacity as mother church, having evangelized and founded national churches in a number of countries, it constantly endeavored to preserve church unity and to maintain the peace between the nations. It has now pursued this policy of reconciliation, combined with full respect for individual national groups, for a period of more than 16 centuries. The first Ottoman conquerors found the ecumenical patriarchate with this status. The recognized the major importance of its task and guaranteed both its status and the free exercise of its prerogatives. They approved the specific regulations which governed the Orthodox Church and its institutions, and ratified them in the form of written legislation.

The patriarchate is purely spiritual and pastoral, both in its function and in its exercise of that function, whether at home or abroad. Endowed with a strictly spiritual mission it does not interfere in secular affairs and has consistently given evidence of its nonpolitical character.

Today, in accordance with its centuries-long tradition, it makes every effort to foster a better climate of spiritual and human understanding between East and West and to bring about reconciliation between men, between religions, and between nations. From the juridicial point of view, it is not a national church. Its character is specifically supranational, and is precisely this fact that accounts for the use of the word "ecumenical" in its title, and that leads other Orthodox churches still to call it to the ecumenical patriarchate and to treat it as such. The patriarchate in fact is called by this term precisely to convey that it has spiritual responsibilities toward and relationships with the churches of all nations.

Its contemporary significance in the Pan-Orthodox field is manifest in its bringing together of the Orthodox churches of different nationalities: in Constantinople in 1923, on Mount Athos in 1930, and in Rhodes in 1961 and 1963, for Pan-Orthodox discussions. In the ecumenical field, the role of the patriarchate has been of equal importance especially since the courageous initiative taken in the encyclical letter of 1920. For this letter was one of the major factors leading to the foundation of the World Council of Churches and has been leading all the other Orthodox churches into becoming active members of this great fellowship. The participation of Constantinople convinced them all that they should join in the great event of the ecumenical movement that was at work within Christendom and leading all Christians toward unity in work and prayer.

The spiritual supremacy of the patriarchate and the importance of its community witness in its natural see, are universally recognized both in the East and the West. First, of course, by the autocephalous ethnic, Orthodox churches, and second, by such states, as following the ancient custom of the past, have in the present applied to the patriarchate so that the right to autocephaly might be granted to their natural churches (for example, Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, etc.), and third by all Christian churches throughout the world.

From the point of view of the sister Orthodox churches, and in view of their canonical dependence on the Mother Church of Constantinople, it is of absolute importance that the patriarchate should be guaranteed not only in theory, but allowed in practice, all the rights, powers, and facilities necessary to enable it to fulfill its high task.

And among these rights should be that to summon and to hold without interference of hindrance, such purely religious conferences as may desire, that of full freedom to participate in those held by others abroad, that of freely being able to welcome visits from foreign religious leaders and Christian representatives, and that of freely being able to visit foreign religious leaders outside. But further, when all efforts today are turned toward the fostering of European unity and fellowship, it would be grievous if the spiritual element in this hoped-for unity should be allowed to be lacking. Any blow then to the present functioning of the patriarchate would be in direct opposition to the spirit of today and of man's noblest values.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, headed by Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, has ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, which is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox bodies here with an estimated 2 million communicants. Patriarch Athenogoras, 78, is generally acknowledged to be the spiritual leader of the world's 200 million Orthodox. For years a leading proponent of the ecumenical movement, he was archbishop of the Americas from 1931 to 1949.

In the past 2 years 9,000 of the 12,500 Greek nationals living in Turkey have been systematically ousted.

Since those who are deported are often heads of families, their dependents who are Turkish citizens are in many cases also forced to leave. The Greek Orthodox community in Constantinople, which a few years ago counted over 100,000 members, now is reduced to half that number, or less, as a result of the systematic campaign to drive hellenism out of Turkey.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople is being subjected to severe restrictions as a part of the same campaign. Its books have been "examined" and its activities "supervised." Patriarchal schools and philanthropic institutions have been closed or curtailed and publications of the patriarchate have been suspended.

Turkey claims that the measures taken are in retaliation for maltreatment of Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots, but this obvious political pretext is untenable because neither the Greeks of Turkey nor the ecumenical patriarchate is a party of the Cyprus dispute, and because anti-Greek acts antedate the Cypriot issue and go back, in recent years, to the night of terror of September 6–7, 1955, when Greek shops were destroyed, churches burned, and Greek cemeteries desecrated.

Concern for the ecumenical patriarchate and for the Greek Orthodox minority in Turkey and protests against their treatment by the Turks have been voiced by the World Council of Churches in Geneva; the U.S. Conference of the World Council of Churches; the Vatican radio; Augustin Cardinal Bea, chairman of the Vatican Secretariat for Christian Unity; Lawrence Cardinal Shehan, archbishop of Baltimore and chairman of the U.S. Bishops' Commission for Ecumenical Affairs; Bishop John Hines,

presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in America; Bishop Reuban H. Mueller, president of the National Council of Churches; Representative JOHN LINDSAY, of New York; Mayor Robert Wagner, Jr., of New York; Senator EVERETT M. DIRKSEN, of Illinois; Senator JOHN SPARKMAN, of Alabama; Senators LEVERETT SALTONSTALL and EDWARD KENNEDY, of Massachusetts; Senator STUART SYMINGTON, of Missouri; and many more ecclesiastical and civil leaders and organizations here and abroad.

On May 14, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson wrote personally to Patriarch Athenagoras to let him know of "my unceasing concern for your welfare and my deep interest in the spiritual flock which you shepherd as the archbishop of Constantinople and as the ecumenical patriarch." In this letter the President stated that "the ecumenical patriarchate continues to be a great bulwark of spiritual strength and religious leadership and we value its contribution to world peace and stability."

Recently the ecumenical patriarchate has taken a new initiative toward opening the way leading to reconciliation with the Roman Church; and it can justifiably be expected that in this field it will be called upon to play a very important role in further reconciliation work in the years ahead.

Libraries and the Inquiring Mind

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, Mr. Robert Vosper, who is president of the American Library Association, has written a most thoughtful and informative presentation. In view of the information contained in it which I know will be of interest to my colleagues, I place at this point in my remarks:

LIBRARIES AND THE INQUIRING MIND

One remarkable phenomenon of our times, especially of the last two decades, is the increasingly high value American society has placed on knowledge—its production, acquisition, and dissemination—and thus on the inquiring mind. This refreshing new value judgment is apparent on many levels. On the one hand there is the popular respect paid to, or at least the public acceptance of matters intellectual and academic. For the pejorative phrase "egghead" one can today substitute as a touchstone the respectful, if slightly crass phrase "the knowledge business." That very phrase "the knowledge business" is evidence of another and impressive level of concern, the heavy investment of both public and private funds in research, in education, and in the newer automated information processes. And on the highest level there is the painful evolution of Federal policy deeply concerned with these same matters. Thus we are, I think, witnessing, or involved in a fundamental shift in social values and one that is, of course, of central concern to librarians.

One apt indication of the significance and persistence of this new trend was the decision of a prominent economist, Prof. Fritz Machlup of Princeton, to produce what he terms an "overdue * * * economic analysis" of the production and distribution of knowledge in the United States (Princeton 1962), a book which contains a quarry of pertinent statistics and analyses.

From a library podium this evening I propose to touch on but three facets of this multiplex phenomenon:

(a) The driving Federal emphasis on scientific and particularly industrial research.

(b) The global scope of contemporary university involvement in behalf of the national effort, together with changing emphases in social science research.

(c) The emerging recognition at the Federal level of the importance of humanistic research.

In discussing these aspects of the new search for knowledge I will suggest that consistently and shortsightedly we have failed to undergird this major social effort with proper library support for the inquiring mind, that unless we soon alter public policy we will only compound an already crippling deficit of reference and research library resources and services, and finally that the Federal Government has both a fundamental stake in and a direct responsibility for the present frustrating state of library affairs. At this point, I conclude, the effective resolution of the library and information problems faced by research can come only through the proper development of a wise and forceful national policy in generous support of overall library service to research and inquiry.

Fortunately the picture is not entirely bleak, for there have been some recent indications, albeit not concerted ones, of increasing understanding and concern within the Federal community, as well as of a determination on the part of the library community to press its case at high levels. These days in Washington one can discuss cataloging as cataloging and gain the thoughtful attention that this significant intellectual problem deserves. Moreover, one senses the gradual disappearance of the cavalier and callow intention to write off traditional research libraries as dying dinosaurs, a recently very popular sport. What was once thought to be a dinosaur is perhaps more comparable to the precursors of Homo Sapiens, in reasonably rapid evolution.

For this evening's audience I need not dwell long on the amount and significance of our postwar involvement in scientific and industrial research, but let me remind you of the patterns and the implications for libraries. Professor Machlup concludes that: "Even if it may not be true that no industry or economic activity has ever grown as fast as R. & D., this growth has certainly been phenomenal." He presents figures indicating a growth of 3,714 percent in the 20 years from 1940 to 1960. Although consolidated figures on library growth for the same 20 years are not readily available, it is demonstrable that expenditures for libraries in higher education rose only 765 percent and income for public libraries only 522 percent. Thus we could suggest an overall annual library growth rate in that vicinity, and I think commonsense experience would bear out this great discrepancy with investment in research.

Although one might not reasonably postulate a 1-to-1 relationship between investment in R. & D. and in support of library or information services, one can reasonably sugegst that this degree of discrepancy is ludicrous and that in this discrepancy were sown the dragon seeds of the present widespread discontent with the quality of library service in behalf of scientific and industrial research.

The Federal Government's part in this total R. & D. effort, as a source of funds, can be shown to have increased from nearly 40 percent in 1940 to almost 60 percent in 1959–60. Although over these years industry has been by far the major performer of R. & D., and although in absolute dollars industry's appropriations for R. & D. have risen steadily, yet industry's share in the total cost has apparently not varied significantly as a percentage of the total. However imprecise the figures, it is clear that as promoter, producer, and purchaser of research the Federal Government is increasingly the prime mover. This is why, I argue, that Federal policy, or, to be more precise, lack of Federal policy, must bear a heavy burden of guilt for the present inability of the library community—both public and academic— adequately to respond to the needs of research. The plain and cruel fact is that research library and information services have fundamentally been left dependent on local and inadequate financial resources at a time when these immense injections of Federal funds into academic and industrial research have produced a staggering increase in demands for library services. Local finances including those of State government could not and cannot cover the deficit, and probably should not be expected to under the circumstances.

Underfinanced libraries have simply been unable, in the face of these pressures, to respond with the requisite speed and quality of service, not to speak of expensive retooling in an age of automation. And yet ironically enough, the finger of blame has continually been pointed at these local academic and public libraries by too many influential and, I would say in this context, irresponsible spokesmen for the Federal R. & D. effort. It is high time we redress the balance and through a responsible and broadly based Federal policy begin to underwrite the library deficit in support of the national need for research and inquiry.

The position of colleges and universities in all this research activity may not bulk large in actual dollars, but it is in fact of the highest significance and notably with reference to the need for and provision of extensive library collections. Although much of the debate over basic versus applied research may be oratorical rather than useful, it is generally agreed that colleges and universities are the producers of by far the greatest proportion of theoretical research. And there is general agreement that theoretical or academic research is fundmental to the continuing vitality of the overall national effort. In fact many scientists have protested the niggardly percentage of total R. & D. support that goes into academic research. Prof. Willard Libby, of UCLA, formerly of the AEC, has typically urged that the health of the space effort depends upon more intensive university research coupled with training. Certainly it is at the critical point of highly sophisticated training integrated with frontline research that our colleges and universities are the only available social instrumentality. In this contest Professor Machlup says forthrightly, but with admitted embarrassment, that "the phenomenal growth of R. & D. in the United States has on balance probably harmed the development of basic research. I insist that this R. & D. growth has equally harmed the development of research library services across the country.

Let me now take a few moments to remind you of the powerful effect of this postwar Federal development on the very structure of universities and their libraries. U.S. Office of Education figures reveal that in 1930, expenditures for organized research were about 8 percent of expenditures for resident instruction; by 1958 this had risen to almost 50 percent. This shift in emphasis is striking enough, but consider next the fact that concurrently expenditures for libraries as a percentage of expenditures for resident instruction rose only from about 4 percent to a mere 8 percent.

One major State university, in reporting on the impressive growth in the amount of its sponsored research, indicates a rise of from $700,000 in 1943–44 to nearly $42 mil-

lion in 1963–64. While external research support was thus increasing sixtyfold over 20 years, total library support increased only sixfold, from $450,000 to $2.7 million. At my own university extramural research funds rose from $3.3 million in 1953–54 to $30.4 million in 1963–64, or a tenfold increase in a decade when concurrent library support increased only three times, rising from $1.2 to $3.8 million.

Dr. Allen M. Cartter, of the American Council on Education, has stated that Federal support of academic research has approximately doubled every 4 years since the war. If I read the available figures correctly, total support for academic libraries has been doubling about every 7 years, not every 4, since before the war, and the rate has not changed markedly in the postwar years.

Dr. C. V. Kidd, longtime chief of research planning the National Institutes of Health, when discussing American Universities and Federal Research (Harvard, 1959), reminds us of the three inseparable goals of the university—the preservation, transmission, and the creation of knowledge. "The maintenance of a normal balance among the three is of major importance to every university," he states, but "the Government's concern with research to the virtual exclusion of the other two functions of universities is the source of an inherent problem in the relation between the Federal Government and universities." More recently through NDEA and the anticipated Higher Education Act of 1965, the Government is expressing a measure of concern for teaching, or the transmission of knowledge. The third element, preservation, which is essentially the library function, has, however, been largely ignored, scorned, or misunderstood.

Here again, then, I urge, is the crux of the library problem, this clear discrepancy between the burgeoning support of academic research and the grudging support of academic libraries. And here again Federal policy is to blame for having left the whole vexing library problem basically dependent on local support. At my own university, for example, 88 percent of extramural research is based on Federal funding while the library is given short shrift, under Federal policy, as a mere part of overhead costs in the same category with dormitories and office services. This was where the error lay, in viewing libraries as a kind of static housekeeping service rather than as a vital phenomenon related more nearly in kind and in growth implications to the phenomenon of research itself.

Furthermore, there has been a slow and grudging recognition that the library phenomenon itself requires a massive application of research and development effort. For far too long alterations in library techniques were dealt with by the rule-of-thumb procedures of the oldtime mariner. More recently, through both Federal and private foundations, there has been some attention to research into library problems. Unfortunately, in my personal judgment, this new effort has been too much at the level of puting out small brush fires when we should have been attacking a major conflagration. At this point I can't help expressing some pride in the recent establishment in the University of California of an interdisciplinary Institute of Library Research, which hopefully will be in a position to attack some fundamental library questions on a broad base, with proper attention to the necessary developmental work. In equal measure there is remarkable news from MIT. It should not be overlooked, however, that by no means all of the urgent library problems deserving investigation are technological in nature; there are fundamental questions of economic and social values to be faced as well.

I have laid the blame on the Federal doorstep, and I think logically so. However, I am also firmly of the opinion that for too long our university presidents as a group have shamefully held their heads in the sand and failed to give concerted and statesmanlike attention to this major aspect of their responsibilities.

It is obvious, I am sure, that thus far I have been concerned almost solely with scientific and industrial research, including the health sciences, for the Federal Government has been the prime mover, and the national defense complex of the Federal Government when it thinks of research and education is by now a truism. Let me only underscore this statement by once again using my own university as a typically unhappy example and then again by quoting Professor Machlup on the generality. At UCLA we report, with some distress, that of extramural research funds (which are dominantly Federal, you will recall) 66 percent were available for the life sciences and health professions, 28 percent for the physical sciences and engineering, 5 percent for the social sciences, and 1 percent for the humanities. As Professor Machlup says of this situation in general: "This one-sidedness, this disregard for the social sciences and the humanities, is easy to explain but hard to justify * * *. With all the unsolved social, economic, political, racial, and international problems * * * these attitudes (which overlook social science and humanistic research) must be fought. A nation cannot live merely on victuals, comforts, games, and weapons (and, he might have added, good health); a concern with ideas and values is essential, for without them life becomes meaningless."

Thus the Nation's postwar R. & D. effort has seriously harmed the development of research libraries by starving them while at the same time intensifying the demands upon them in a lopsided way. Of those who might claim that the survival of the general research library is of little importance to modern scientific and technical research, one can properly ask: Why then all the hue and cry about its failures and inadequacies? The general research library is not passive and is not old fashioned; it is simply poverty stricken in the modern world.

Too much of the most vocal Federal complaint about libraries has come from officials stricken with the technical reports syndrome, a syndrome based in a narrowly technical conception of research, a syndrome that underestimates the importance and methods of theoretical and academic research, a syndrome that has no place for social science or humanistic research, a syndrome that is concerned only with information and not with knowledge, a syndrome that has no conception therefore of the responsibilities and services of a general research library. The librarian of any large public library or any university library can readily demonstrate the insistent and mounting demands placed upon his scientific collections and services by the industrial research that has been supported by massive Federal contracts, not to speak of the urgent library requests of academic research itself. The result has been an extreme dislocation of functions, often to the clear disadvantage of the library's direct clientele in the case of university libraries. In a few instances, as at Stanford and MIT, separate library service entities have been set up on a fee basis to handle the industrial service workload. In public universities this approach has generally seemed infeasible, however, and in any event competition for access to reading space and to available journal files, at a time when academic populations are doubling, has raised serious policy questions. As a result most libraries have been forced to restrict the activity of their services at a time when more expansive or active services are demanded by all comers, and our interlibrary loan activities are crippled.

In a commendable effort to meet the need and spread the burden of service demands, the libraries of New York State and Pennsylvania are seeking State aid for a coordinated public and academic library service to research. This approach clearly recognizes the importance of libraries to modern industrial research as well as the importance of industry to the State economy. I doubt, however, that even this fine effort will resolve the whole problem, especially that beyond the level of local industrial library needs. Fundamentally we are dealing with a national problem.

If the Federal Government over the past 20 years had supported reference and research libraries as generously and imaginatively as it supported research, I venture to say we would not today be facing the library and information crisis of which we hear so much. A federally financed library and information effort equivalent to and concurrent with the AEC and NASA scientific research efforts would have assured us of a forceful, imaginative, experimental, and automated library economy. The lack of such support is the source of our ills.

Fortunately, as I indicated earlier, the picture is not enteirly bleak. The National Library of Medicine by way of its Medlars program and the Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, which will hopefully be approved by the Congress, reveals a wise and generous understanding of the forces at issue. It proposes to strengthen and extend the existing medical library structure with funds for resources, for buildings, for staff training, and for automation with relationship to a nationally developed store of bibliographical information. Let us hope that the President's Office of Science and Technology proceeds with equal wisdom, for the same weaknesses occur throughout the research library structure.

Mr. Scott Adams has declared for NLM, "that the key to the problem is the modernization and revitalization of the medical library network. We believe further that any national planning which ignores the investment society has already made in existing library resources, is unrealistic. The objective should be to strengthen these resources and to employ new technologies to enable them to meet interdisciplinary needs, not to permit them to wither by attrition." In response to this I can offer only gratitude for superb insights, assurance that this is a Federal responsibility in light of the Federal research effort, and hope that these insights will be adopted by other Federal agencies concerned with knowledge and information. I would also add three other comments. In the first place the passivity of the research library, of which Mr. Adams complains, is the consequence of starvation imposed by the Federal Government, and not the consequence of the nature of libraries or librarians. Moreover, it is imprecise to imply that only modern interdisciplinary research requires active library services; all research does, in all disciplines, and this has long been the case; libraries have simply been too impoverished to respond with alacrity. In the third place, I trust the NLM will have the high courage to recognize the full implications of Mr. Adams' comments on interdisciplinary research. Those implications are that the general research library has been farsighted and wise in refusing, in the face of insistent suggestions, to scorn its responsibilities to historical and humanistic research, and furthermore that the NLM, in these days of space medicine and medicare, must carefully correlate its efforts with total research and library activity and must not overbalance things in favor of a limited research sector. Interdisciplinary research important to medicine is already moving beyond the borders of medicine or biomedicine. Thus, neither NLM nor OST should proceed without concern for and consultation

with other components of the research library economy.

I particularly mention OST because of the recent public announcement from that Office that the System Development Corp. is under contract to assist the Federal Council for Science and Technology (through its Committee on Scientific and Technical Information) in developing by early fall "a long-range plan for further improvement of national scientific and technical information systems." The task group will study specifically: "the functions and relations of major components of the document handling system, such as the National Libraries, university and other research libraries, abstracting, indexing, and alerting services.* * * Another major area of interest will be the impact of advanced technologies on the information transfer network."

As I have said, I trust that this OST analysis proceeds with the sophistication and generosity of spirit that this age-old problem merits in its modern environment. There is no simple mechanical answer, although in recent years a number of ex-cathedra blue-sky plans have irresponsibly raised public hopes with simplistic solutions to a complex social phenomenon. In its own way this approach is as cruel as offering panaceas for cancer or the common cold. Moreover, I hope that the OST analysis does not focus only on industrial research and proceed in isolation from other research sectors, for the inquiring mind knows no artificial limits as between science and nonscience, and this is the point at which the general research library is still a unique and powerful tool. As more than one thoughtful observed has stated: "The library is the only place that still aspires to universality." In the modern world that is a resource which must be strengthened, not weakened or abandoned.

The time has come, I think, for the open development of a national library program in support of the total research effort, not merely a series of unrelated and expedient programs for the several sectors of research based on the purely artificial organization of Federal agencies at this stage in history. We need something far more than a Federal Library Committee, important as that body can be; we need a national research library council in which the several great national library organizations should openly and forcefully play a part with the relevant Federal libraries and other national agencies in developing an integrated, not a monolithic national library and information network.

Now that I have dwelt at some length on the library aspects of Federal science and technology, let me speak briefly on my other two points, since they follow logically I think from what I have already discussed.

If we think the scientific information explosion has been noisy for libraries, the social sciences are in the process of detonating one many megatons more powerful. And again the Federal Government has build the bomb and set it right in our laps. This time I hope the Federal Government realizes its library responsibilities before we bumble into another frustrating crisis in the national research effort.

I refer here particularly to the mushroming foreign area study and research programs instituted by colleges and universities in support of the Nation's postwar global responsibilities. This phenomenon has altered not only academic curricula and the pace of academic life but even the very structure of universities quite as fundamentally as did the postwar scientific development I have been discussing. And I think no thoughtful person would protest but that this intensive application of the inquiring mind to the social, political, and economic problems of other nations and peoples around the world is equally as important to our national survival as is scientific and industrial research. Yet this remarkable phenomenon has received relatively little public attention. Moreover, this global scope of contemporary university involvement has library implications far more shatering than those posed by the technological revolution. Yet most of the forceful public and Federal attention has been directed to the admittedly important but actually lesser library problems of scientific and industrial research. As a British commentator in the Listener said recently: "Paradoxically, the obstacles (to effective library development) are not so high (in the physical sciences) where the propagandists insist the greatest urgency lies."

Before the Second World War university libraries, reflecting the aims of their universities, so limited their acquisitions to the Anglo-American tradition that the national intelligence was crippled when we were cut off from European libraries and book markets. The shock of this discovery led to the postwar Library of Congress Mission to Europe and subsequently to the Farmington plan with its initial emphasis on bringing scholarly European books into American libraries. More recently, and for obvious reasons, universities have moved onto the worldwide scene so that hardly any university or college can avoid an intensive concern with non-Western cultures. Before World War II a few universities, but only a few, taught Rusian language, literature and history; even a lesser number did something with Chinese and Japanese; and here and there a Latin Americanist turned up as an exotic adornment in the Spanish department. But today, research and teaching programs or institutes for African studies, Middle Eastern studies, and southeast Asian studies are an accepted, in fact a requisite part of university activity. Where once Russian was taught, there is now intensive concern with Polish, Czech, and Serbocroation, not to mention the Finno-Ugric and Ural-Altaic languages that border the Slavic world. Arabic, Persian, and Hebrew scholars were once rare birds on the American scene, but today we are urgently training specialists in Berber, Ethiopic, and Swahili, not to mention Xhosa and Twi. Indic studies in all their multilingual complexity were once left to the British, but not today; and a Tibetan dictionary has been complied in an American university.

But language, of course, is but one of the tools or insights used by the mind that would inquire into the ways of other people. I am sure, though, that an audience of librarians can already begin to perceive something of the modern cataloging problem posed just by these languages. Oh, for those halcyon days when a smattering of two modern West European languages would suffice for a catalog department. What the modern research library must serve is a variety of experts and students in Nigerian economics, Moslem legal institutions, Latin American high education, nationalism in southeast Asia, social stratification in the Middle East, peasant and tribal cultures of India, and the emerging literature of the French-speaking countries of Africa. And these experts are not ivory-tower academics leading a leisurely life of reflection as in the 1930's. They are advisers to NATO, to the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, and to the Bank of Ghana. They require ready access to newspapers, government documents and antigovernment documents, economic and demographic information, maps, and recent vernacular novels from countries where there are no neatly organized publishing and bookselling facilities and where local libraries are only struggling to emerge, not to speak of handling extensive exchange arrangements. The pace and urgency of research and analysis are ever so much as hot and heavy as in the modern scientific laboratory, and the need for current information equally pressing.

Here then is a library and information problem far tougher than that of science and technology, of equal importance to the national welfare, and posed in equal measure by national policy. But here we have no chemical abstracts and no medlars to guide us. Here we are dealing not with the patterned secondary literature which reports on research; we are dealing with the raw, laboratory material that is essential to research. And here we are dealing with problems in locating, selecting, acquiring, and organizing research library materials that are many orders greater than were even dreamed of in a purely scientific library. With all the best will in the world and despite the voluntary cooperative efforts of the Farmington plan, our research libraries, dependent almost entirely on local support, are stumbling under the load.

Without question what is needed is a coordinated procurement and cataloging effort, global in scope and geared to the national need for research. Anything else is socially wasteful. Happily in 1958 an amendment to Public Law 480 permitted the use of U.S. credits abroad for the purchase of foreign books for a selected group of university libraries. Symbolically this was a remarkable event, because for the first time the Federal Government provided actual support for research library resources. Unhappily, this noble gesture is seriously flawed: it is limited to a small number of countries where and when appropriate credits exist; the Congress unwisely required each recipient library to make a token payment for the intake of books; and the participating libraries have been faced with oppressive cataloging costs even though a cooperative program of sorts was born of desperation.

An early and massive Federal attack on this total problem is in the national interest and is essential if we are not to fail. In this instance the responsible agency is certainly the Library of Congress, and in the face of scholarly requirements of this order it seems increasingly evident to me that the Library of Congress quite soon must not merely be named as the National Library of the United States, but also given that mission and appropriate funding in order to exert the leadership that modern scholarship requires.

I won't this evening dwell on other significant changes in the social sciences, except to remind you that the forces which propose a national ministry of urban affairs are already generating, with Federal research support, an urgent need for complex library and information services that we are ill prepared to handle. This again is the kind of intensive interdisciplinary research that Mr. Scott Adams has discussed in the biomedical field.

I will, however, come toward my conclusion by reminding you that foreign area research, although heavily involved in economic and political studies, is significantly humanistic in its bent. And this leads us directly to the President's welcome support of the enlightened efforts to establish a National Humanities Foundation. The case for such a long-overdue Foundation, as made in the report of the National Commission on the Humanities, indicated clearly the essentiality of library enrichment. The necessary library statement appeared specifically in earlier versions of the bill but then disappeared from the administration's version that is now before the Congress. For this disappearance I fear that we in the ALA must bear a share of the blame; and so must the academic officials who worked closely on the bill, for they will be among the first to express vexation when their librarians describe the inevitable library cost. This omission of direct library support strikes me as a stunning mistake when we have directly before us the evidence of the slippage in scientific library and information services that resulted from library depend-

ence on local financial resources while research was being stimulated with massive Federal grants. In the case of the humanities, the library deficit will be incalculably greater because in most instances the scholar will immediately and necessarily place greater demands upon his primary research tool, the already overburdened research library.

As Mr. Irving Dilliard said in reviewing the Commission's report: "The librarians more than any other cultural professional group face both the necessities of the humanities and the requirements of new mechanized techniques." The double burden may well be too great unless the Federal Government will bear its fair share of the load. I should specifically interpolate here that with all its enlightenment with regard to education and to libraries, the Higher Education Act of 1965 does not deal specifically with the problem I am laying before you except in terms of the cataloging amendment, nor does the Library Services and Construction Act. Service to research, by both academic and public libraries, is a forgotten orphan.

However, in the imaginative proposals of the National Library of Medicine, in the hard questions posed by the President's Office of Science and Technology, in the sweeping proposals of the Library of Congress automation study, in the halting steps of the Public Law 480 program, and in the centralized cataloging amendment to the Higher Education Act we do see clear and optimistic indications of the Federal conscience at work on several aspects of the problem. As I said at the beginning, the picture is not entirely bleak. But what is clearly needed now is a concerted effort to focus on the whole problem of organized library resources for research, because the inquiring mind that the Nation has stimulated so effectively is not limited by the artificial boundaries that separate Federal agencies or fields of knowledge. The inquiring mind approaches knowledge as a seamless whole.

Given the powerful forces and complex problems I have described, it is no wonder, in my considered judgment, that the research library structure of the country is creaking at the joints and stumbling and many of our users frustrated. The wonder is that things are not far worse. Society has simply laid to heavy a burden on that library structure; or, to put it in another way, society has tried to fill a gallon jug with a quart of water. Under these circumstances the quality of reference and research library service has been remarkably high. I am fully convinced that by imagination, determination, and a distinguished level of voluntary cooperation our research libraries, public and academic, have served the Nation well. It is time the Nation recognizes the fact by providing the tools necessary to the job we have been given.

To be sure each of us in perhaps no paragon of efficiency. My forthright colleague Ralph Ellsworth has posed some of the problems of definition with which we must grapple. However, the fundamental issues are no longer usefully amenable to local tinkering. In the field of cataloging, for example, at this stage in history, only such a centralized program as is so wisely stated in the amended Higher Education Act can effectively produce economies while improving service. In most instances today local economies are more likely to result in reduced quality of service. Librarians have been, I am certain, remarkably responsible public officials in such matters.

Recently, Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF had this to say about the Federal Government and education: "We have drifted too long. Federal policy on education must not be based on pure and simple expediency. Federal policy on education must be geared to a massive assault on ignorance and its evils. Only if this policy is wisely formed, and expertly administered, can education achieve its star role in the Great Society." Substitute "the research library" for "education" and you have my case.

The time has come then for responsible Government officials and academic officials to sit down in candid discussion with informed and hard-pressed librarians in order frankly to assay the situation in the national interest. They need to discuss not just automation but the national need for library and information services. Star chamber proceedings are not defensible. By way of the New York conference and other devices I propose to offer the good offices of the ALA in developing such an open forum, because I believe that ALA's responsibility in this field is clear. The ALA has done a suberb job of laying the proper national groundwork for improved public libraries, rural and urban, for improved school libraries, and hopefully for improved college libraries.

As I see it, there are two major streams of library activity flowing strongly in this country today. One, that I have just now mentioned, is concerned with public and educational library services, services which while increasingly requiring Federal support, are yet fundamentally local in the orientation of their responsibilities. In this regard, as I say, the ALA has given yeoman service. The other great stream, however, is the one I have been wetting your feet in this evening, that involving access to extensive library collections and intensive information service in support of research. And this latter stream is increasingly national in the orientation of its responsibilities, rather than local, and looks toward some greater measure of an interrelated network. In this regard the ALA has not yet become a sufficiently knowledgeable and persuasive voice. But without slackening in any way its support of public and educational library services, the ALA must at this time, I urge, begin to lend a full measure of support toward solving the serious national library problem I have been discussing this evening.

In approaching a problem of this type, we in this country suffer to a degree, I fear, from the lack of a single national library as well as the lack of a single national library association. Even the very organizational structure of ALA itself poses difficulties in dealing with such a problem. However, I fully believe that as our largest national library association, the ALA must not opt out on this question. It is morally and urgently incumbent on all of us to work closely and openly together in behalf of a truly national library need. I trust the ALA will do its share, perhaps even more than its share, with force, wisdom, and generosity.

First Naval District Wins Trophy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, I am very proud that the First Naval District Reserves this year won the Navy League's Richards Memorial Trophy for outstanding achievement in administration and training of the U.S. Naval Reserve in competition with all other naval districts for the fiscal year ending in June 1965.

Rear Admiral Sieglaff, Commandant, First Naval District, accepted the trophy in Washington on October 14 on behalf of all New England naval reservists. This is the second time the First Naval District has won this trophy. The first time was in 1963.

Mr. President, Massachusetts has always been proud of its participation in naval affairs. We are proud of the First Naval District and the fact that it has carried on this tradition. I ask unanimous consent that Admiral Sieglaff's speech be included in the Appendix of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS BY REAR ADM. WILLIAM B. SIEGLAFF, U.S. NAVY COMMANDANT, FIRST NAVAL DISTRICT

Mr. President, honored guests, distinguished officers, ladies and gentlemen of the Navy League, the First Naval District Reserves are delighted and proud to have the Navy League's Richards Memorial Trophy return to New England.

Speaking frankly and unabashed, I expected it.

If that has a ring of Cassius Clay, please let me explain our assets or advantages in order that our keen competitors may realize that equal opportunity is still not universal throughout the land.

Of course, a year ago, we felt that the rules were "rigged" but this year—no complaint from the Northeast.

May I hasten to add that our splendid relationships with Admiral Ward, Captain Davis, and the staff at Omaha, and with Admiral Kefauver and the Reserve branch, and with Admirals Semmes and Hughes at Bupers in no way influenced the outcome.

Back to our advantages.

First advantage—the weather: We were never a disaster area. We had a clear, cool summer last year and this year; a clear fall and spring, and a clear winter; no rain, no snow. Mr. Jay Lerner has just written a new show "On A Clear Day You Can See Forever." It will be a Broadway hit so, naturally, it opened in Boston. The theme song goes something like this—give or take a few words, and apologies to Jay Lerner.

"On a clear day, stop and look around you
and you'll see the Naval Reserves as they are.
On a clear day, it will astound you
That the glow of our Naval Reserve exceeds every star
You'll feel part of every drill at sea or shore
And you can hear from far and near
Reserves you've never heard before
So on a clear day, on that clear day
You see Reserves forever and evermore."

Our second advantage: By heritage and history, the Navy is an honored, respected, and understood calling in New England. Our elected officials, Governors for example, are ex-Navy or Marine Corps. Our Reserves operate in a friendly, cooperative atmosphere in industry, in our great educational institutions, in State and city government and in our churches. Our Naval Reserves are often leaders and fine examples of citizens in our civilian community.

A third advantage: The headquarters in Boston is ideal. It is accessible by sea, air, and land—by ship, plane, helicopter, railroad, rapid transit, tunnel, throughway, and sidewalk. And why not? Boston is the hub of the universe. It is a comparatively short trip or cheap phone call to 22 training centers, with the busiest training center in the headquarters building itself. A Reserve minesweeper, a reserve destroyer and a reserve submarine are in sight of the headquarters building. The headquarters staff is in easy, constant touch with all units and all reserves in the First Naval District.

Fourth advantage: The reserve supplement at the headquarters, led last year by Deputy Chief of Staff for Naval Reserve, Captain Cleaves, and Assistant Chief of Staff for Naval Reserve and now the Deputy Chief of Staff as well, the indefatigable Capt. Charles Sewall. Will Captain Sewall, recently honored by RIA for his achievements, please rise and take a bow?

Perhaps it was the clear days, but more probably the vision of Captain Sewall who concentrated on the essentials. The staff refused to be bogged down in the tons of paper that flow in and out daily, but rather with commonsense attended to recruiting, advancement in rating, training schools, active duty assignments, retention and attendance at drills.

Fifth, and final advanatge: The Reserves who capitalized on their advantages won the trophy. I can't say enough good things about them. One of the joys of being a commandant, besides being treated as an admiral, living as an admiral, and being respected in the community as an admiral, is getting to meet, know, and appreciate our Naval Reserves. They are the Navy's real bridge to the civilian community, supporting us in hundreds of ways, denying themselves much of the joys of our affluent society to help give us a stronger Navy and a better Nation. In the First Naval District, we were blessed with a wonderful set of unit commanding officers.

My hat is off to all Reserves, and especially those in the First Naval District.

While we look forward to water in our reservoirs and snow on our mountains, we also look forward to continued clear days ahead for the Naval Reserve, for the Navy League, and for our Navy.

San Francisco Pioneers in Rapid Transit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, we must sooner or later face the fact that the continued building of many-laned highways is not the sole solution to our urban transportation crisis. Indeed, the overbuilding of freeways is itself a pressing problem in some areas. Unless we begin to develop and improve our mass transit system, our great cities are in danger of drowning under mounting waves of vehicular traffic.

The residents of the San Francisco Bay area have embarked upon an ambitious rail rapid transit program which has become the focus of national attention. Bay area rapid transit—Bart—is being constructed to tie together city center, urban fringe and suburbia with a fast, efficient, transportation network.

I should like to bring to the attention of my colleagues some excerpts from the summer issue of the Record, the magazine of the fireman's fund of San Francisco, concerning the progress and the prospects of bay area rapid transit. I hope that its bold vision will be emulated in other metropolitan areas.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I include in the RECORD at this point excerpts from this publication:

THIS IS BEST

In the gold rush days of California, as stage coaches rattled 'round the dusty bends of Whiskey Creek, the name of one man would strike terror into the hearts of passengers. That was the name of the notorious highwayman—Black Bart.

How times have changed, even though names have not.

Today it's Golden BART, benefactor of a whole community of great cities in the San Francisco Bay area. Thanks to the present-day BART, long, sleek, comfortable electric trains soon will be speeding over a network of gleaming rails—and helping to solve one of the Nation's worst transportation dilemmas.

The BART system—bay area rapid transit—officially got underway at ground breaking ceremonies in Concord, Calif., last summer. Officially at this historic event was President Lyndon B. Johnson. He said:

"Those who believe the frontiers of America are closed should be here today. The dreams and deeds represented by this ceremony prove that the era of pioneers is not over—only the era of pioneering has changed.

"Yesterday's frontiers were vast, empty lands waiting to be claimed and cultivated by settlers who crossed a continent to start a new life.

"Yesterday's frontiers were crisscrossed by wagon trains. Today's frontiers are clogged by automobiles.

"There are more than 80 million motor vehicles on our roads today. By 1980 there will be 120 million—almost one vehicle for every two people.

"There are almost 1.5 million registered vehicles in the bay area alone. If they were lined up bumper to bumper, they would stretch from California to Maine.

"We must develop adequate alternative means of transportation or the coming crisis of congestion may do more to frustrate the growth and development of America than all the burning deserts and barren mountains which stood in the path of our ancestors a century ago.

"You are doing something about that crisis here. The mass transit system is a victory of vision for men who started 12 years ago to make it a reality."

Since the President spoke, work has gone steadily forward on the Diablo test track in central Contra Costa County—a 4½ mile stretch of the bay area rapid transit system where the latest developments in rapid transit equipment and techniques are now being tested. Inasmuch as it has been over half a century since a complete transit design has been possible from the ground up, the builders will be able to take advantage of the technologies made in all industries through the years.

The rapid transit district, which is made up of three counties—Alameda, Contra Costa, and San Francisco—faces a clear-cut mandate: Solve the bay area's traffic congestion problem by building the fastest, safest, most modern rapid transit system in the world. To accomplish this purpose, the district's directors have established a set of high criteria calculated to lure an estimated 50 to 60 percent of the weekday commuters from their autos and onto the trains.

These criteria include such things as: trains running at all times on exclusive, grade-separated rights-of-way, top speeds of up to 80 miles an hour, average speeds of 50 miles an hour including station stops, headways as short as 90 seconds, a capacity of at least 30,000 seated passengers an hour in one direction on a single line, a seat for every passenger, cars with comfortable interiors, low noise level inside and out, pleasing interior and exterior appearance.

The 75-mile system, penetrating the population centers of the three counties, will have 12½ miles of subways in downtown San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley; 3½ mile twin tunnels through the Berkeley Hills; 31 miles of aerial lines; 24 miles of surface lines; and a 4-mile tube under the bay, the longest in the world.

Thirty-seven stations will be located at strategic spots along the lines. Twenty-three of the stations will have parking lots with a total initial capacity of 30,000 cars, and parking will be free. The other stations, in more central areas, will be designed to handle volumes of feeder traffic from buses and from persons being delivered by auto.

The trains will be fully automatic, controlled from a central computer operating on fail-safe principles.

Fare collection also will be automatic, utilizing ticket dispensers, machine-readable tickets, coin changers, and possibly even some form of ride-on-credit operation.

A joint venture of three of the world's foremost engineering firms—Parsons Brinckerhoff-Tudor-Bechtel—has been given the responsibility of developing and designing all elements of the great network. Chief architectural consultant is Donn Emmons, of Wurster, Bernardi & Emmons. Consultant on underground station architecture is Ernest Born.

The entire 7-year project will involve a total of more than 80 major construction contracts. It is anticipated that, including subcontractors, well over 1,000 firms will be involved in the billion-dollar project. At the height of construction in 1966, a labor force of more than 8,000 persons will be employed on the massive undertaking.

DIABLO TEST TRACK

On a 4½-mile stretch of open ground in the pleasant Ygnacio Valley area of Contra Costa County, some 30 miles east of San Francisco, tests for the largest rapid transit system to be built in this country since the turn of the century are about to begin.

By midsummer 1965, when temperatures in this suburban-rural setting rise into the high 90's, some of the best engineering experts of the Nation will be spending most of their waking hours here running continuous tests aboard specially equipped laboratory trains.

What they learn here will vitally affect the entire bay area rapid transit system complex, for this unique test track represents a capsule preview of the final billion-dollar job, with the exception of tunnels, subway, and underwater tube. All other elements are included: surface roadbed, aerial structures, grades, overpasses, power supply, automatic train control, even landscaping and esthetics.

We came here to see what it looked like during construction, how work was progressing, and what was being planned. If you follow us along for the next several pages, you will see what we saw and learn what we learned about this beginning of a marvel, this Diablo test track of the 75-mile, tri-county bay area rapid transit system.

The test track gets its rather foreboding name from a nearby mountain which early Spanish settlers called Mount Diablo (devil mountain), a 3,849-foot peak which can be seen from San Francisco on a clear day.

Rails for this track, each the length of 4½ football fields, were delivered to the site in a seemingly unending pile, like flexible metal spaghetti draped over the beds of 27 flatcars lined up in a row. These long strips of rail have since been alined to the roadbed by section crews, fastened down to the surface over special hard rubber cushions, then welded end to end into even greater lengths by a unique heat-pressure system.

The resulting single-length surface of uninterrupted rail is intended to eliminate the usual clickity-clack noise of trains passing

over the more common type of rail line which is bolted together at frequent intervals.

Different kinds of ties and roadbeds are being employed, also, to determine which is best suited to the BART trains. The common wooden tie over crushed rock has been placed down in some sections; in others, various kinds of cement and composition ties, including an unusual divided tie of Swedish design.

At some points the roadbed shifts from crushed rock to a solid layer of cement with the rails fastened directly onto it through an underpadding of hard rubber. This eliminates ties altogether.

Electronic route control units have been located at varying intervals alongside the track to govern movement of trains, acceleration, deceleration, and running speed. A block system in the master control center performs a similar function and is able to override all other forms of control in case of emergency. As in the final BART system itself, all trains will be fail-safe.

Third-rail direct-current carriers line one side of the wide gage test track, alternating-current distribution units the other. Combination a.c. and d.c. propulsion systems will be evaluated throughout the length of the test period, which is expected to continue for approximately 4 years. At that time the track will be converted into an integral part of the BART system.

New transportation concepts evolved during this period will be made available to the U.S. Housing and Home Finance Agency which has granted $4,880,000 to BART for its test program. The valuable lessons learned here will thus be made available to other communities planning rapid transit systems of their own for the future.

A NEW DIMENSION

In Paris, it's the metro. They call it the underground in London, and in New York, the subway.

The names are interchangeable, but the image is clear: fast trains coursing underneath the heart of a major city, speeding people to their destinations without interference from surface traffic.

Transport this concept, if you will, to the the major cities girdling San Francisco Bay, the cities at the very heart of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system—Oakland, Berkeley, and San Francisco.

Picture for a moment hustling, bustling, hurly-burly Market Street, cutting its long, broad diagonal path through the heart of San Francisco, beginning at the historic Ferry Building on the bay, continuing in a westward slant on past the largest financial district in the West, up through the cacophonous hubbub of department store crowds, motion picture patrons, shouting newsboys, and the occasional flower kiosk punctuating the drab gray of business suits with sparkles of color. Following it further along, beyond the civic center and up toward the residential areas to where it disappears into the base of lofty Twin Peaks.

This is one of the major traffic-choked arteries of the Western World. Clogged night and day by autos, buses, taxis, space-gobbling streetcars, it threatens more and more each day to split the city rather than connect it, as was the intention when the famous street was built.

But a new dimension is coming to Market Street, an underground dimension. Two-level tunnels, extending from the westward terminus of the Bay Area Rapid Transit system's trans-bay tube up Market Street to where it crosses Van Ness Avenue, will soon be under construction. A single level tunnel will continue along the remainder of the street to Twin Peaks.

Streetcars that now divide the street along the center will be shifted to underground tracks on the upper of the two tunnel levels. BART trains will run directly underneath them, in the lower level.

Trains that come across the bay (through the trans-Bay tube) from Oakland, Berkeley, and outlying areas, will rush their comfortable, seated passengers up the first half mile of Market Street without a stop. Not until they approach the first San Francisco station—the financial district station at Market and Montgomery—will they slacken the 50-mile-per-hour average speed they have maintained since leaving stations on the other side of the bay.

Montgomery Street passengers will alight onto pleasant, spacious platforms with escalators leading to the upper level where they may board streetcars for local stops, or if time permits, ascend to the mezzanine level to stroll past attractive shops, stop for coffee, or just settle down and relax for a moment in one of the comfortable public lobbies.

This will represent rejuvenation, a reawakening, a resurgence, not only of Market Street in downtown San Francisco, but across the bay, also, on Broadway in downtown Oakland, and on Shattuck Avenue in downtown Berkeley.

The Oak Street complex in downtown Oakland, which will include the permanent rapid transit headquarters, will be a showpiece of the east bay, matched only by the beauty and importance of the downtown subway area itself and by the spacious new park now being planned to front Oakland city hall, with a grand entrance leading into the main subway mezzanine, designed in the tradition of the European urban square.

Subway construction will also soon be underway in downtown Berkeley, along Shattuck Avenue. Here, too, will be constructed a magnificant plaza of the type that will come to typify BART central station stops, new kinds of transportation oases, attractively designed, with landscaped entrances, air conditioned and comfortable.

Constructing tunnels for these underground BART routes in the central city areas will not be an easy task, by any means, but it will help keep the entire 75-mile system attractive, smooth running, and efficient—from Concord and Walnut Creek, through the twin tunnels, under the bay, and all the way to Daly City.

A MATTER OF APPEARANCE

"It's practical. But is it pretty?" That question has been asked time and again. Will BART's 31 miles of aerial structure be attractive and in good taste, or simply a high "elevated," a monstrosity blocking light and air and blighting the land? What will stations be like? Is attention being paid the esthetic?

The answer is that some of the Nation's foremost authorities on such matters have been retained to see that all visible elements of BART will enhance the countryside rather than disfigure it.

In referring to the aerial structures, B. R. Stokes, general manager of the transit system, says:

"It has always been our position that these are aerial structures and not elevated. We think there is a difference between aerial and elevated. We deliberately use these different words to illustrate that we are going to provide the bay area with structures that will be esthetically pleasing and assets to the communities through which they pass."

Dr. John E. Burchard, dean emeritus, School of Humanities and Social Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a BART consultant on aerial structure, believes that the existence of long horizontal lines of aerial structures not previously existing introduce a new and strong element into the earlier urban landscape.

"The first esthetic question," he continues, "is whether to state its presence very strongly, even brutally, or let it be as modest an element as possible. In our case the structure goes on and on; it is not only extensive but necessarily repetitive. In such circumstances we are left with the necessity to find a design which is modest and compatible, but not a piece of camouflage."

The structure will be as low as practical circumstances permit and will appear as thin as practical considerations permit. To achieve this, the tracks will be banked separately on curves, since this will reduce the total rise of the platform part of the structure by one-half. Thus, Dr. Burchard explains, this solution is highly desirable from a visual point of view, independent of any engineering advantage it may have.

The structure will be as simple and direct as possible. Dramatic forms of an elaborate sort are often effective wheh appearing in isolation, but when multiplied as they must be in this system they would become boring.

Efforts to achieve "grace" by rounding surfaces that have no good reason to be rounded or even good reason not to be rounded, will achieve nothing but an impression of weakness, Dr. Burchard says. The planned sharpness of outline produced by firm edges, sharp corners, sensitive setbacks with their corresponding clear shadows are expected to yield the impression of grace. The tracks will descend gracefully into tunnels and abutments.

While it is desirable to achieve variety and liveliness, the way to do this, in Dr. Burchard's opinion, will be by keeping the main design simple and by punctuating it at appropriate points, such as at stations, by using all the devices available to an imaginative designer—color, texture, planting, and so on.

In recommending against coloring the whole structure, Dr. Burchard says that color should be used vivaciously at key points, in considerable variety, and "with a definitely gay hand" so that locales might be identified by their colors. "Color," he says, "should not be looked at moreover merely as pigmentation or painting of the concrete; rather the palette should embrace mosaics, murals, pavements, signs, street, and station furniture. The combinations should be bold and brilliant, using primary colors, for example, in preference to pastel shades.

"I am convinced that the success or failure of the system to provide a visual component of urban delight is going to depend seriously on how well the District does the stations and station plazas, and how skillfully it uses color at the nodal points, how well and generously it plants the land beneath."

Under the deft touch of Lawrence Halprin, BART landscape architect, surroundings for the aerial structures promise to be things of beauty, allowing for "breathing space" and promising certain amenities in the communities through which the structures pass—such amenities as parks, playgrounds, riding paths, and other devices which many cities badly need.

SALVATION OF THE CITIES

The lifesaving promise of BART cheers the heart of Iver C. Larson, executive vice president of the San Francisco Chapter, National Safety Council. He says:

"The only salvation for this city or any metropolitan area in the Nation is a rapid transit system. Right now, at peak hours, cars are bumper to bumper here. We in San Francisco are hit especially hard since our daytime car population per square mile is the greatest of any city in the United States. In fact, our highways into and out of San Francisco are rapidly nearing the absolute saturation point.

"In future years, when people reach San Francisco over the BART system, highway accidents in this area will be cut at least in half. It is difficult to estimate, at this point, how many lives will be saved and in-

juries prevented annually, but there will be a great many. BART is certain to improve safety."

A SLICE OF THE FUTURE

Joe Williams, boarding the electric train in his hometown of Concord for the 30-mile run to his San Francisco office, settled back comfortably in the wide coach seat. He took the morning paper from under his arm, hesitated before unfolding it.

Silently the train slid out from the loading platform and within seconds was zipping across the countryside. But so silently did the coaches move, so smoothly did they round the curves, they sacrcely imparted a sense of motion.

Other stations appeared and other stops were made—but all without changing this same feeling of quietude. Joe realized that the wide-gage tracks—9½ inches wider than standard gage—and that the specially made, welded rails contributed greatly to his sensation of ease and comfort, as did the filtered air and glare-free lighting. Nothing to do but relax.

Even the motorman up front, he realized, had precious little to do, for the train was electronically operated, controlled almost magically from a central computer. Even if something went wrong, there'd be no need for worry. If the train came to an unscheduled stop, the trains behind, following as close as 90 seconds, would stop also. No danger of a pileup.

Joe closed his eyes and listened to the almost whispered sound of motion. His mind turned to the "old days"—to the not-so-good old days. He remembered when he and his neighbors shared in a car pool for the arduous journey to the city. He recalled the bumper-to-bumper traffic, the blasting of horns, the cursing and yelling of other motorists, the reek of exhaust fumes, and the long, all-too-frequent traffic delays. Why, they'd be lucky then to make the 30-mile jaunt in an hour.

Joe opened his eyes and grinned. How different times had become. How utterly fantastic would his forebears have thought this ride. For Joe, too, it was difficult to realize that he was often moving at 80 miles an hour.

Before he realized it, the train had plunged into the tube that would take it across the floor of San Francisco Bay. And almost before he knew it—34 minutes after leaving Concord—the train was stopping at the first station in San Francisco itself. Within seconds, that interesting mall under Market Street was left behind, and here came the next station—Joe's station at Powell Street. He refolded his paper, tucked it under an arm, and left.

"Good morning, Mr. Williams," said his secretary as he entered his office. And he couldn't help but hear her whispered comment to a coworker: "Mr. Williams looks real rested and happy today—for a change." Joe swung round, grinning. "Sure," he said, "why not? Isn't this the Blessed Age of Rail Therapy?"

But his secretary, usually quick to catch on, couldn't figure that one out—anyway, not at first.

Campers and Hikers Meet in Kentucky

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, the National Campers & Hikers Association held its annual meeting this summer in the charming city of Bowling Green, Ky. Some 20,000 persons gathered from all over the country, and it was said that the vast array of tents presented a scene recalling a medieval army encampment.

Among local leaders who greeted this host of outdoor enthusiasts was one of the senior citizens of the city and State, a wise and articulate man of patriotism, Mr. A. M. Causey. The Park City Daily News of Bowling Green printed Mr. Causey's words of welcome, which included quotations from the eulogy on Abraham Lincoln by a great former editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal and conservationist, "Marse Henry" Watterson.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the letter from Mr. Causey be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Bowling Green (Ky.) Park City Daily News, July 13, 1965]

EDITOR, DAILY NEWS:

In my opinion the National Campers & Hikers Association choosing Beech Bend Park for their annual meeting is about the greatest compliment that has ever come to Kentucky.

The campers undoubtedly represent an element of the best class of loyal and patriotic citizens of our Republic. The 15,000 to 20,000 visitors are unprecedented.

It is to be hoped they are accorded a typical Kentucky welcome by everyone. Let's call to their attention that Kentucky is the glamour State in the Union, more places of national interest than any other State.

It has Mammoth Cave, a national park, one of the seven wonders of the world. Lincoln's birthplace is only 60 miles from Bowling Green, near Hodgensville, and the log cabin in which he was born is enclosed in a white marble memorial. The shaft in honor of Jefferson Davis is only 50 miles away, and is the tallest one in the United States except the Washington monument.

Kentucky has more running streams and fresh water than any State, and the largest man-made lakes. Audubon, the naturalist, said Kentucky is the leafiest State in the Union. It was the home of Henry Clay, one of our greatest statesmen. The above are just a few things that make Kentucky great.

Speaking of Lincoln, it might be well to quote for the visitors a portion of the late Col. Henry Watterson's lecture on Lincoln, probably the greatest tribute ever paid to man.

"Born as lowly as the Son of God, in a hovel, reared in penury, squallor, with no gleam of light or fair surroundings, without graces, actual or acquired; without name or fame or official training; it was reserved for this strange being, late in life to be snatched from obscurity, raised to supreme command at a supreme moment, and trusted with the destiny of a nation.

"The great leaders of his party, the most experienced and accomplished public men of the day, were made to stand aside; were sent to the rear, whilst that fantastic figure was led by unseen hands to the front and given the reins of power. Where did Shakespeare get his genius? Where did Mozart get his music? Whose hand smote the lyre of the Scotish plowman? God, and God alone; and as surely as these were raised up by God, and inspired by God, was Abraham Lincoln; and a thousand years hence, no drama, no tragedy, no epic poem will be filled with greater wonder, or be followed by mankind with deeper feeling that that which tells the story of his life and death."

A. M. CAUSEY.

BOWLING GREEN.

The Choice Americans Must Make

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. GEORGE MURPHY
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, the American free enterprise system was born 200 years ago, triggered by the imposition of the Stamp Act. One of the first efforts of the liberty-loving colonists to void the act and overthrow the oppression of a foreign power was the Boston Tea Party. From the hearts of the colonists there flowed the Declaration of Independence. They fought and won a bloody war to establish and preserve a government under which they could walk in freedom.

The concepts of freedom established so firmly 2 centuries ago have encouraged the advances of science, art, and the humanities, resulting in the greatest and most progressive economic system the world has ever known.

To commemorate and perpetuate this event, a number of prominent California citizens banded together under the chairmanship of former California Gov. Goodwin J. Knight in the Committee for Observance of the Bicentennial of American Free Enterprise and designated October 4, 1965, as Free Enterprise Day.

A significant number of business enterprises, large and small, joined in observing this day as Free Enterprise Day, and the Daughters of the American Revolution, in their convention in Washington, D.C., entertained a resolution to "dramatize the free enterprise system by declaring an annual Free Enterprise Day."

In view of the reawakened consciousness of the virtues of the American free enterprise system as an integral and indispensable element to the growth of our economy, I join in saluting the system that manufactures, grows, ships, stores, and sells goods and services totaling more than $625 billion a year—this "way of life" deserved a special day of acclamation.

Former President Eisenhower, whose administration evidenced its faith in the free enterprise system, not only by words but also in its actions, made some important observations regarding this "way of life" and the choice Americans must make. In view of the Great Society's insistence on interfering and tinkering with the free enterprise system, President Eisenhower's remarks regarding this choice are most timely and should be carefully studied by all Americans.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place an interview which Nation's Business had with the former President in the RECORD at this point:

EISENHOWER ON THE CHOICE AMERICANS MUST MAKE

Question. General Eisenhower, in the dedication to your new book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," you express the hope that your grandchildren will enjoy the freedoms that we have now and that these will not be lost when they are adults. Many of

our readers also have grandchildren, and are concerned, too, about maintaining freedoms. Do you see any real danger that Americans may lose some of the freedoms they have today?

Answer. Well, just as a matter of history, we must take note of what happens to a nation when it becomes affluent after a long period of work and adventurous activity have brought it to a position of great prominence and prosperity.

Thereafter, you begin to have a different atmosphere in a society. As long as the Roman nation made patriotism almost the basis of its whole philosophy, as long as each citizen took great pride in the fact that he had served in the army and had done his duty as a soldier, as long—in other words—as citizens were carrying on the work of pushing for the greater strength and glory of Rome, they were a great nation. They ruled practically all of the known territory of the earth.

But when they got rich and began to be more concerned with circuses than with their duties, and when they found that they could let the nation collect the taxes from abroad or wherever it wanted to, pretty soon they got to the point of dissolution. And Gibbon's history was written of a tragedy rather than of a great and construction accomplishment.

Today the United States has gotten to the highest point up to this moment in prosperity and general income, expressed in terms of the conveniences and all the comforts and things that individuals like; excelling in this regard any nation in history. But we should not assume that we are not prey to the same kind of deterioration that has afflicted other societies.

So what I am really concerned with is this: Are we getting so used to riches in the United States that we are losing some of those great qualities that did so much to bring us to the place where we are now? The initiative? The sense of self-assurance? Self-confidence? The ambition to do for oneself and one's family and one's locality?

Are we losing some of these qualities and, therefore, risking the loss of the liberties that will come about when some centralized government begins to perform more and more things for us?

Question. A big part of it is the increased reliance on centralized government?

Answer. That is correct. More reliance because we are offered so many things. And the bill gets bigger and bigger and is reaching more and more people. Finally, everybody is told, "Well, just leave your problems to us. We are the bright boys, and we will do it for you. Don't worry."

Well, if we are going to lose our kind of personal ambition and individualism, that kind of citizenship responsibility, then the future begins to look dark indeed.

Question. It is often argued, because of our fast-moving and complex age, that only the Federal Government is sufficiently big and well equipped to handle our problems. How do you answer this argument, General?

Answer. Well, I'd put it this way: I think that the millions of economic and social and political decisions that are made each day by a whole nation, if respected and properly applied by the several echelons of government, as envisioned and set up under our Constitution, give us a much greater assurance of continued prosperity and progress and the attainments of our basic aspirations and objectives than do the opinions and decisions of a few political figures in Washington, D.C.

Question. How can this idea of individual responsibility be gotten across to people at a time when politicians are able to argue so persuasively in favor of Federal programs of one kind or another?

Answer. Human nature seems to be the only unchanging thing in this whole world. Even terrain changes. But go back to the time of Pericles, and study the history of his time, and you find that human nature is still the most stable or most rigid in its basic characteristics.

It would be foolish to think that we are now going to change human nature. But if we take the history of this country and show that free government is still under test, that it is not a completely proved philosophy for the long term, then maybe we can appeal to self-interest, as well as to any other higher instincts of man, to get him to do the things he should do. It is his choice.

I am perfectly certain myself that the best answer to overcentralized government is better local and State government. Strangely enough, it seems that in local and State government more malfeasance and more crookedness have come to light than in the Federal Government.

Here and there, you hear of some of it at the Federal level, like the Teapot Dome scandal and a few others. But by and large, that part of it that has become visible has been in local government.

The real answer is, in my opinion, for these local governments to perform better. And that must come from the education of their citizens—better information and participation.

And I think, among other things, we have got to make the words "patriotism," "sacrifice," "citizenship"—these terms—mean more, as they once did.

When I was a boy, any Fourth of July orator who didn't get up and talk about at least the Civil War and the Revolutionary War—as we used to say, "Pull a few feathers out of the eagle's tail"—we didn't think anything of him.

Now, today, you are considered sort of a square if you say that we ought to talk about patriotic instincts. And this is part of what I am talking about—the softening of the character of the individual, which means in the long run the softening of the Nation. We have got to be tougher with ourselves.

Question. The Federal Government seems to be more and more involved in activities that pertain to local problems. Do you feel that citizens can really solve their problems if they show more initiative at the community level?

Answer. Let me say this: The Federal Government doesn't get any revenue that doesn't come from the localities. It gets its money from taxes.

Now, they do get a little more by printing a little money and through their borrowing capacity and the authority of the Federal Government. But by and large, the money Washington gets, it takes away from us.

Why do they know more about local problems than we do ourselves? Let's take a little town like this one—Gettysburg. Why does the Federal Government have greater wisdom in finding solutions for its problems than the people living here?

I think it's a false assumption that the wisdom of the United States is centered in Washington. And I think it is on that assumption that we are so ready to give up our own responsibilities and powers of decision. Let the money go there, and then some of it will come back to us under schemes and plans and programs that the bureaucrats say are proper and justified.

I think there ought to be more local pride. Our schools and the private local organizations that we have should indoctrinate our people by stressing local pride and local responsibility and authority. In the long run I simply don't believe it is possible to make laws centrally that can completely and wisely govern a nation as big as ours.

The conditions in the State of Washington are very different from conditions in Florida. All across the way, when you go to the desert, the mountains or the agricultural regions or the great industrial centers, conditions are different. I just don't believe that we should have laws that assume complete conformity across the board.

Question. One of our great American principles is free collective bargaining. Is the Federal Government moving too deeply into labor-management relations?

Answer. Well, they give guidelines, and I think that governing our economy by guidelines is false and bad. I believe that when the Federal Government throws its whole weight, its political weight, and every kind of influence it can bring to bear to dictate the prices of this country, it is going outside its province.

I do think the Federal Government has a right to call attention to such things as wage-price spirals, the danger of inflation and the risks that we run with an inflation trend. All of that kind of thing is perfectly proper, but it should be done in terms of dialog or debate. When they definitely intervene in these things with a so-called constitutional responsibility, then I think it is wrong, very wrong.

Question. There seems to be quite a widespread feeling now that Uncle Sam has to keep things booming. Is this one of the jobs of government?

Answer. The Government should keep political and economic conditions in this country so that every man feels free to fulfill his own ambitions as long as he doesn't trample on the similar rights of others or ignore his obligations as a citizen.

Now, I think that the effort to keep a boom going when maybe a boom is not called for always, this is a matter of a few people saying they know better what is good for all of us than we do ourselves.

I do not want to appear as criticizing the need for national decisions affecting our currency, the value of our dollar, protecting it abroad and all the rest of it. All these things have to be done because no individual can do them. But I think they ought to be done with the greatest concern for the mass of economic opinion—plain commonsense.

I don't think we should follow any one school of thought. We should strive here and see what every professional believes about these things. I flatly disagree with all those economists who say that it should be a deliberate policy of Government to have unbalanced budgets, that we need to spend more money in the economy through the Federal Government than we take in. In the long run, this is a certain route to inflation. Creeping inflation, you see, has a tendency finally to become galloping inflation. That's the thing we should remember.

We have never had experience with a completely "out-of-hand" inflation, even though I believe that in the 7 years from 1945 to 1952, the cost of living went up about 47 percent. That was quite a heavy rise. And we seem to have a little bit now right along that line.

The policy of our Government should be to sustain the value of the dollar.

One reason is that we have become very dependent in our economy on pensions, insurance policies, on savings deposits, on the purchase of Government bonds, and so forth.

Now, if we are going constantly to find that when we put money into bonds, insurance policies, savings banks and so on, we are going to get back in our old age only half of what we put in, sooner or later there is going to be a loss of confidence. And this is going to bring about a disastrous situation. You just can't do that.

Someone told me, although I never looked it up, that everybody who bought E bonds in World War II was told he was going to get back $1,000 for whatever he put in—$750, I think—that this was a very fine investment. Well, I was told that no one got back, in real purchasing power, as much as he put in. This is, to my mind, the Government fooling its people.

Question. Well, General, what do you think is the wisest economic policy right now? We have had an unbalanced budget and we havent seemed to have had much inflation.

Answer. As a matter of fact, we seem to be in a sustained rise in economic productivity and general prosperity that has lasted longer than in any similar period in our history. Some are saying it is because of our policies of reducing taxes. Well, this is just wonderful except for this: If it is true, why don't we reduce taxes to zero? So if you reduce this argument to the absurd, you begin to say somewhere along the line, "There must be a proper level."

Another thing, why in the first place did taxes have to go so very high? Why did our debt have to get so big? The costs of the war, of course, are one great answer. And the fact is that even during the war, our prices went up rapidly, in spite of OPA and all of its activities. Not only did you have black markets here and there, but the second you took all those controls off, you found out what your dollar would really purchase.

What we have to watch out for in coming years is some very real inflation. Certainly, unless our productivity grows continuously at a rate that is exceptionally rapid, we are bound to have—with the supply of money becoming more and more excessive—we are bound to have inflation.

Question. And the unbalanced budget?

Answer. Well, I think an unbalanced budget also hurts us a bit abroad. While we now have this imbalance of payments, a lot of countries still believe we are capable of paying our debts. Therefore, they have faith in the dollar. This is an international faith that is distinguished from our domestic faith in the dollar. If others lose faith and begin to cash their dollars, goodness knows what would happen.

Question. Would you say, then, that we need a more guarded policy toward protecting the value of the dollar than we have?

Answer. I think this: Whenever you have got high costs of government—and remember, our costs are not all reflected in just our administrative budget alone, there are trust funds and so on—cash expenditures are on the order of $120 billion—we should take up the domestic problems in cautious steps insofar as new Government programs are concerned. If we initiate a vast number of programs that make the expenses go up and up, outside of our great defense costs, then we are asking for trouble.

Question. In other words, Federal Government activities have proliferated out of proportion to our real needs?

Answer. That's right. That's exactly what I mean.

Question. General, do you feel that the American people, the people at large, really want a paternalistic government?

Answer. No, I think if you put it in those terms they would say "no." But everybody who gets something out of it, well, he says, "Everybody should be curtailed except me."

For example, when I was President I once went down before several thousand representatives of the rural electric cooperatives. And I told them, "Look, the job for which you were set up was not only a necessary one, the idea was a good one, and you were given money at 2 percent. Out of the Treasury you borrowed this money at 2 percent."

By that time, 95 percent or more of the farms in the United States had been electrified. I told them: "Today you ought to be ashamed of yourselves to take money from the Federal Government at 2 percent that we have to pay 4¼ for. This just doesn't make sense."

Well, they listened, and they were polite. I got polite applause because I came down to see them and because of my office. But the next day, an opposing political figure got up and suggested that if anyone came into their areas to propose that they should lose their 2 percent money they ought to drive him out of the region with beer bottles.

Now this is the kind of thing that to my mind makes no sense. And the REA today needs 2 percent money just about like a dog needs a new flea. I don't see how anyone can defend it except as a way to keep some votes on his side.

Question. General, in your forthcoming book, "The White House Years: Waging Peace," at several points you mentioned the farm economy of this country.

Answer. Yes.

Question. Do you think we can ever get the American farm economy back on a free-market basis?

Answer. Well, of course, I took as my purpose, in my 8 years as President, not to do anything so abruptly that farmers would be ruined. But I found this from men experienced in this thing: The big farmer, the fellow who went into commercial farming on a big basis, was getting rich under our farm policies. I knew at least one such farmer intimately. And he told me what he had done and how he made himself a few million dollars.

But the little farmer, for whom all these things are presumably established, has been helped very little. He doesn't sell very much. What is the use of his going and selling a few hundred bushels of wheat or a few bushels of corn?

He consumes many of the things he grows on his farm. And then, he sells a few head of livestock that are fed from it. And there is very little that the program does for this fellow; he has to secure an additional part-time job.

What we tried to do was this: To get policies that would work gradually to get the Government out of these programs except on the basis of insurance against great disaster, because we found that the big commercial farms were profitable and the little fellow profited little.

As long as the little farm is no longer profitable except when run on a part-time or a garden basis, as in New Jersey, well, then, if we try to keep that kind of program going forever just by Federal handouts, then we are indeed foolish.

We have to bring farming back gradually to dependence upon a free market. If we don't, we will have an unbalanced economy, because we don't need that many men producing food and fiber today for us.

If we insist on keeping them there just on subsidy, I think we are being foolish.

We have gotten so used to the idea that when you get into trouble economically, either by class or by area, you just run to the Government and get a new law.

I would say that the more we can reduce Federal subsidies and use them only where we have national human problems that can't be solved completely locally, the better off we'll be. We have gone overboard with subsidies.

Question. General, do you feel that businessmen can help to reeducate people to the economic realities you have discussed here? To the realization of the choices Americans must make to keep our freedoms?

Answer. Of course. But the businessman, when he sees everything booming, often says, "Maybe we should just let things alone."

Remember this: No longer are as many businesses owned by a family or is there as much ownership management. We have a professional managerial class now that is in a position of great influence for a short time.

Therefore, instead of looking down the road at what is going to happen to business, they tend to take the short view, maybe looking at when they can cash their stock options and all the rest of it. They are more interested in the short term than they are in the long term.

We have talked about human nature. It seems that most of us prefer a bird in the hand rather than several in the bush.

Are we not more interested in the present dollar, the one that is now given us, then we are in the hope and expectation and the planning of a better climate in the future to earn more dollars for the increased population we are bound to have?

Now, the businessman is less concerned about the future that if he and his family owned the business like they did before the times of the heavy death taxes and income taxes. It was then possible to pass businesses along pretty well.

Now, I believe in the graduated income tax. And I believe in reasonable death duties. But I do think that this has had a tendency to produce short-term rather than long-term ambitions.

Question. General, do you think it is feasible for some of the money-gathering and spending power of this country to be returned from Washington to the States and localities?

Answer. I'd like to, but let me tell you of one instance when I was in the White House. I had worked on this idea and talked to the Governors about it. We set up a plan under which we were going to give back one or two functions to the States, and had a particular tax we were going to give back to them.

Finally, a little group of Governors came to me and said, "Look, Mr. President, this is a very fine idea; we will take it on, except for this: Don't reduce that tax. Just give it back to us in our proper share."

I said, "Why?"

They said, "We don't want the burden of going and asking for taxes from our own people."

You see, they found that if the Federal Government would give them the money, this was easy for them. This is another reason why we have this constant magnet of Washington drawing in, not only money, but responsibility. And, finally, authority.

Question. General, do you see your administration—in retrospect—as just a brief respite in the march toward more Federal involvement in people's lives?

Answer. Well, I'll tell you, a "respite" is the way you'd have to look at it now. I desperately tried to do this: To give the United States a chance to think, to take a look and see that there were different economic and governmental philosophies. You see, no one denies that there are problems. But it is just irresponsible to take money, give it to Washington and say that solves that one.

When the time comes that we in the United States cease to think of the individual as the most important factor in our whole governmental system, then we are going down the road of one-party government and centralized government.

In my case, I said, "Look, let's read the Constitution," and I talked to my Cabinet very seriously on this, "It is going to take a lot of courage to avoid doing some of the things that have seemed so popular in the past. Let us try to get back to the proper division of powers, between the Legislature and the President and all the rest. Let us get back and look at the patterns given us by the Constitution for dispersing power, first geographically through the States and functionally among the judiciary, legislative, and the executive."

I think a lot of things have been happening. We have got too many and too powerful regulatory commissions that really have judicial, executive, and legislative powers. And I think it is bad unless they are properly controlled and made definitely responsible to the Congress and the President.

The effort of my administration, I should say, was to create an atmosphere of self-reliance and self-confidence among the people, to encourage them to make more of their

decisions. I wanted localities and States to do more, so that we might halt the trend toward centralization that I thought to be unhealthy.

Of course, for 6 of my 8 years in the Presidency, Congress was controlled by the opposition. It was a difficult situation. I could do many things by persuasion because in certain fields there wasn't any great political advantage to be gained by the opposition. And so I had to use persuasion. It would have been crazy for me to get up and use the methods of a general running an army or a President with a large majority in the Congress.

But the fact is we continued to try to give individuals and localities larger responsibilities. In one thing for which I guess I was almost personally responsible—the highway construction program—it took me a long time to persuade Congress, but we finally got this great interstate system of roads. I felt strongly about the matter, partly because I had seen the great autobahns of Germany. But we had to settle for 90 percent Federal money and only 10 percent of State funds. I thought that was really unfair. I thought that at the very least it should have been 75–25. At first I wanted them to be paid for on a toll basis, but I was persuaded that tolls were impractical.

Finally, we got the money by a tax on gasoline, oil, and so on. But I would really have preferred to have made them toll roads and, as they paid for themselves, abolished the tolls.

The highways are not paid for yet. Our plan was to get them built in 10 years, paid in 13 years, because I was certain that by the time we got them built, we would need some more.

Incidentally, I think the building of those highway systems is one of the reasons for our great increase in automobile sale.

But in all these various activities, local responsibility usually provides the best solution.

Statement of Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, unfortunately there continues to be a mistaken impression both here and abroad, that the greater part of the American intellectual community opposes President Johnson's policy concerning Vietnam.

I believe this to be a wholly false impression, and one which needs correcting. As evidence, I cite an eloquent statement of support for this Nation's present policy in Vietnam, issued by the trustees of Freedom House in New York some weeks ago.

This statement has been endorsed by more than 130 distinguished members of the American academic community. Such eminent scholars and intellectuals as Dr. Eugene V. Rostow of Yale and Dr. Daniel Bell of Columbia University and Mr. Page Keeton, dean of the University of Texas Law School, have affixed their signatures to this endorsement of the administration's effort to help the South Vietnamese people preserve their freedom.

I think it important that all Members of this body and every concerned citizen in the Nation be aware of this statement, and I am happy to offer a press release describing it for inclusion in the RECORD:

NEW YORK, August 23.—More than 130 members of the American academic community have publicly backed the position of the U.S. Government in South Vietnam. Their action was taken in endorsing a Freedom House statement, which declares that the present policy of the United States "deserves the wholehearted support of the American people."

Faculty members at 70 colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher eductaion in the United States are among those expressing their agreement. Although a majority are in the fields of political science and international relations, the group includes scholars from a wide range of academic disciplines. A professor of economics at Cornell University, however, withheld his signature although he agreed with the statement and has "written various public officials to this effect." He expressed the feeling that "it is inappropriate for individuals with expertise in one field to use their position to attempt to influence the public."

The endorsements are in response to a letter mailed to a selected list of persons in academic life by Leo Cherne, chairman of the Freedom House Executive Committee. Writing on behalf of Freedom House, Mr. Cherne declared: "Too long, we feel, those with opposing views have been left a clear field to present themselves to the world as the single voice of American intellectuals."

In addition to the faculty members, hundreds of Americans in all walks of life have written to declare their agreement with the Freedom House statement on Vietnam. Most of them backed up their declaration with a contribution to permit the statement to be disseminated more widely. They overwhelmingly endorsed the view that if the "aggression against South Vietnam—disguised as a 'war of liberation'—is not successfully resisted, more aggression and perhaps even larger scale war will follow."

The Freedom House statement included a credo of support, which declared that withdrawal from Vietnam under present circumstances would be morally indefensible and that the decision to halt Communist aggression is clearly in the interest of the free world nations. At the same time the statement noted that the United States is "not embarked on a military crusade against Communist nations" and that American military operations are "only part of the substantial U.S. program to enlarge the economic, social, and political future of the Vietnamese people."

The Freedom House effort to enlist support for our Government's Vietnam policy was welcomed by President Johnson in a letter to the organization's public affairs committee, dated July 19, as follows:

"I believe your statement in support of the policy of the United States toward Vietnam reflects the strong opinion of most Americans. What you say takes increased importance from your long and courageous record of opposition to all forms of tyranny.

"I am grateful for the position stated in your credo of support and I hope that others who feel as you do may be willing to join in this expression. Effective public support of our national purpose in Vietnam will hasten the coming of the peace which is our common purpose."

The members of the academic community who have endorsed the administration's policy in Vietnam are part of a growing list of faculty members who are communicating their views to Freedom House. New sponsors are adding their names daily; the list to date is attached:

SPONSORS OF FREEDOM HOUSE STATEMENT

American International College: C. S. Samra.

The American University: Ernest S. Griffith, dean, School of International Service; Loy W. Henderson, director, Center for Diplomacy and Foreign Relations.

Bowling Green State University: Emanuel Solon, department of chemistry.

Brandeis University: Max Lerner, professor of American Civilization.

Brooklyn College: Harry D. Gideonse, president; Hyman Kublin, department of history; Ivan D. London, department of psychology.

Brown University: William T. Hastings, professor of English emeritus.

Bryn Mawr College: Angeline H. Lograsso.

Carleton College: Reginald D. Lang, department of government and international relations.

The Catholic University of America: B. S. Browzin.

Claremont Graduate School: George S. Blair.

Claremont Men's College: William S. Stokes, senior professor of comparative political institutions.

The College of Idaho: George V. Wolfe, professor of political science.

Columbia University: Daniel Bell, professor of sociology; Zbygniew Brzezinski, director, Research Institute on Communist Affairs; William K. Jones, professor of law; Willis L. M. Reese, director, Parker School of Foreign and Comparative Law; Joseph H. Smith, professor of law.

Cornell University: Charles Ackerman, department of sociology; George H. Hildebrand, department of economics; Jacob Wolfowitz, department of mathematics.

Dartmouth College: John W. Masland, department of government.

Drew University: Will Herberg.

Elmhurst College: Royal J. Schmidt, professor of political science and history.

Fairfield University: John Norman, department of history.

Gallaudet College: Kurt Beermann, professor of history and political science.

George Washington University: Franz Michael, associate director, Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies.

Georgetown University: James D. Atkinson, department of government; Walter W. Wilkinson, department of history; Rev. Gerard F. Yates, S.J. International Student Programs.

Harvard University: Robert Braucher, professor of law; Cary J. Friedrich, professor of government, Littauer Center; Morton H. Halperin, Center for International Affairs; George C. Homans, department of social relations; Samuel P. Huntington, professor of government; William L. Langer, professor of history: Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr., department of government; George H. Quester, Center for International Affairs; George C. Shattuck, Medical School; Roland W. Thorwaldsen, Center for the Study of World Religions.

Hofstra University: Robert A. Christie; John C. Moore, department of history.

Hollins College: Victor Zitta.

Indiana University: Robert F. Byrnes, director, Russian and East European Institute; John E. Stoner, department of government.

Lehigh University: H. S. Braddick, department of international relations; Aurie N. Dunlap, department of international relations; A. Roy Eckardt, department of religion.

Macalester College: Arthur Upgren, department of economics.

Marquette University: Arthur C. Marlow, chairman, political science; Quentin L. Quade, department of political science; Eric Waldman, department of political science.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology: Lincoln P. Bloomfield, department of politi-

cal science; Ithiel de Sola Pool, department of political science; Lucian W. Pye, department of political science.

Miami University: Dan N. Jacobs, professor of government.

Michigan State University: Charles R. Adrian, chairman, department of political science; Wesley R. Fishel, department of political science; J. Oliver Hall, department of social science.

New York University: Sidney Hook, department of philosophy; Frank N. Trager, professor of international affairs.

Ohio State University: James A. Robinson.

Princeton University: Rowland Egger, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; Brooks Emeny, Advisory Council, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs; William W. Lockwood, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

Ripon College: William Fleming, chairman, department of political science.

Rutgers—The State University: Donald G. Herzberg, executive director, the Eagleton Institute of Politics.

Sacramento State College: George Tokmakoff, department of history.

St. Louis University: Francis J. Corley, department of history.

Smith College: M. Salvadori, department of history.

Southern Illinois University: William Goodman, chairman, faculty of government.

Stanford University: Stefan T. Possony, director, international political studies program, Hoover Institution.

State College, Shippensburg, Pa.: Benjamin Nispel, dean of arts and sciences.

Texas A. & M. University: Daniel Russell, professor emeritus of sociology.

Texas Christian University: Charles W. Procter, department of government.

Texas Western College: S. D. Myres, department of government; Roland I. Perusse, department of government.

Tulane University: Henry L. Mason, professor of political science.

University of Bridgeport: Victor E. Muniec; Justus M. van der Kroef, department of political science.

University of California, Berkeley: Eric C. Bellquist, department of political science; Joseph P. Harris, department of political science; Seymour Martin Lipset, director, institute of international studies; Frederick C. Mosher, department of political science; William Petersen, department of sociology; Robert A. Scalapino, department of political science; Raymond J. Sontag, department of history; Aaron Wildavsky, department of political science.

University of California, Los Angeles: J. A. C. Grant; Robert G. Neumann, department of political science.

University of Chicago: Morton A. Kaplan.

University of Cincinnati: Paul F. Power, department of political science.

University of Colorado: James L. Busey, department of political science; Edward J. Rozek, department of political science.

University of Connecticut: Arthur Bronwell, dean of engineering.

University of Maryland: Walter Darnell Jacobs, department of government and politics.

University of Michigan: Russell Fifield, department of political science.

University of Minnesota: Carl A. Auerbach, professor of law; Harold C. Deutsch, chairman, department of history; Samuel Krislov; C. H. McLaughlin, department of political science; Arnold M. Rose, professor of sociology.

University of Montana: Thomas Payne.

University of Pennsylvania: William R. Kintner, deputy director, Foreign Policy Research Institute; Robert Strausz-Hupe, director, Foreign Policy Research Institute.

University of Pittsburgh: Daniel S. Cheever, graduate school of public and international affairs; John O. Hall, director, overseas programs, graduate school of public and international affairs; Donald C. Stone, dean, graduate school of public and international affairs.

University of Richmond: Spencer D. Albright.

University of South Carolina: Robert W. Foster, professor of law; James E. Larson, professor of political science.

University of Tennessee: Douglas Carlisle, department of political science.

University of Texas: Page Keeton, dean, school of law.

University of Washington: Imre Boba, Far Eastern and Russian Institute; Karl A. Wittfogel.

Upper Iowa University: Charles B. Clark.

Utah State University: Jay M. Bagley, civil engineering department; Carlton Culmsee dean, college of humanities and arts; Elliot Rich, civil engineering department.

Wabash College: George A. Lipsky, political science and geography department; Warren W. Shearer, economics department.

Western Washington State College: Manfred C. Vernon, department of political science.

Yale University: Eugene V. Rostow, professor of law; Walter R. Sharp, professor emeritus of international relations; Alexander von Graevenitz, department of microbiology.

Yeshiva University: Joseph Dunner; Roman Vishniac, professor of biology.

Additional listings: Robert A. Goldwin, director, Public Affairs Conference Center, University of Chicago; William V. O'Brien, chairman, Institute of World Polity, Georgetown University; Robert Sobel, Department of History, Hofstra University.

Justice Reed Turns 80

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, shortly after the 89th Congress convened, Justice Stanley F. Reed celebrated his birthday in Washington on January 29 of this year. I remember that the Louisville Courier-Journal of January 30 had an article about Justice Reed, who came to Washington from Kentucky 35 years ago and served 27 years as Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

I ask unanimous consent that the article on Justice Reed be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JUSTICE REED TURNS 80 IN WASHINGTON

WASHINGTON.—Stanley F. Reed, who came to Washington from Kentucky 35 years ago to spend 12 months, yesterday celebrated his 80th birthday and his 27 years as an associate justice of the Supreme Court with a reception in the Court.

The Justice and Mrs. Reed, who still maintain their farm near Maysville, Ky., received other members of the Court, Cabinet officers, and other high-ranking government officials from 5 to 7.

It is 8 years since Reed retired from active service on the bench, but during that time he has been on call for special judicial assignments. The only Justice still on the Court who was there when Reed was appointed is Hugo Black. Justice Black was the first appointed by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Reed was the second.

Reed was a counsel for the Burley Tobacco Growers Cooperative Association when James C. Stone, Vice Chairman of the Hoover Farm Board, brought him to Washington in 1929. Stone was a former president of the co-op. Planning to stay only a year, the Reeds rented an apartment in the Mayflower Hotel. They still occupy it.

In 1932 Reed became General Counsel for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Roosevelt made him Solicitor General, in which post he argued before the Supreme Court on behalf of much of the New Deal's controversial legislation.

When he went to the Supreme Court, January 31, 1938, the atmosphere still was tense as a result of Roosevelt's unsuccessful attempt to "pack" the Court. Before he retired 19 years later, Reed had gravitated to the Court's conservative wing.

Jack Beidler Interviewed on Dirksen Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, during the course of the battle over Senator DIRKSEN's reapportionment amendment, I had the great pleasure of getting to know Mr. Jack Beidler, legislative director of the Industrial Union Department of the AFL–CIO. He was a constant source of information, sound judgment and assistance to those of us who opposed the rotten-borough amendment. The entire labor movement can be proud of the effective role he played in helping to defeat that proposal.

On September 12, Mr. Beidler was interviewed on a Mutual Broadcasting System news conference. In that broadcast, Mr. Beidler clearly and forcefully expressed the reasons he opposed all efforts to dilute the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decisions. In so doing he showed why all of us were proud to be associated with him in this fight. I ask unanimous consent that the transcript of this news conference be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the transcript was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR NEWS CONFERENCE, MUTUAL BROADCASTING SYSTEM

Subject: One man, one vote—Basic democracy.

Guest: Jack Beidler, legislative director, AFL–CIO's industrial union department.

Panel: E. W. Kenworthy, the New York Times; Cecil Holland, the Washington Evening Star.

Moderator: Harry W. Flannery.

Mr. FLANNERY. Welcome to another edition of Labor News Conference, a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO. Labor News Conference brings together leading AFL–CIO representatives and ranking members of the press. Today's guest is Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's industrial union department.

Most Americans take it for granted that, as individual citizens, they each have an equal voice in the affairs of their State's government. That, of course, is what the Constitution of the United States provides and guarantees. But for generations, that principle of democracy has been ignored by many State legislatures in apportioning legislative seats. As a result, one or both Houses are often dominated by representatives and senators who reflect the interests of only a small proportion of the citizens. The U.S. Supreme Court has ordered an end to that situation with its historic one-man, one-vote decisions. Some States have complied voluntarily—some have complied under Court order—and in others, the principle of majority rule remains meaningless. At the same time, there have been continuing efforts to nullify the Supreme Court's decision. The most widely publicized of these is known as the Dirksen amendment. Although recently rejected by the U.S. Senate, Senator DIRKSEN's proposal remains a live issue in Congress, and therefore, a threat to every citizen's right to an equal voice in his State's legislature. Organized labor has long been in the forefront of the fight for fair apportionment of State legislatures. Here to question Mr. Beidler about the AFL–CIO's position regarding one man, one vote—the effects of malapportioned State legislatures—and how he views efforts now underway to strike down this constitutional guarantee are E. W. Kenworthy, of the New York Times, and Cecil Holland, of the Washington Evening Star. Your moderator, Harry W. Flannery.

And now, Mr. Holland, I believe you have the first question?

Mr. HOLLAND. Well, just as a starter, Mr. Beidler, would you spell out in more detail why labor is so opposed to the Dirksen amendment? What is labor's interest, if any, in this issue?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, as I'm sure you know, we're opposed to the amendment proposed by Senator EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, generally, on the grounds that we think the U.S. Supreme Court is right—that the one-man, one-vote principle is right. I guess what you are asking is, do we have any close interest in this, and we do have a close interest in it. We feel the State legislatures, being badly malapportioned, misrepresent the needs of the people of their States. We are interested in a great variety of social legislation and we have found that in the States, social legislation often goes down the drain, solely, because the legislature is malapportioned.

Now, for example, on March 2 of this year, in the State of Missouri, an attempt was made to pass a minimum wage bill setting a $1 hourly minimum wage for certain workers in that State—that's 25 cents below the Federal minimum wage. That bill was defeated in the State house of representatives by a vote of 68 to 83. But the 68 who were on the losing side of that vote represented 2,600,000 people, while the 83, a majority in the State house, represented only 1,300,000 people—less than half of the people of the State. So, we feel very strongly that the needs of the people are not met by unrepresentative legislatures. The Missouri example is just one of many similar instances in a number of States—but it illustrates the point.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, obviously, the urban constituencies have had a longtime grievance on malapportionment—but the argument has been made that with one-man, one-vote apportionment the rural constituencies would also have probably a justifiable grievance because they would be so severely outvoted. Now there have been three legislatures that have had one session now since the Supreme Court ruling of July 1964—Colorado, Michigan, and Delaware. Now, what has happened in those three sessions? Has there been legislation that in any way disadvantaged the rural constituencies?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, I haven't been in those States, but it did occur to me to inquire as to what had happened in one of the States you mentioned—Michigan. The information I received was that the representatives of farm groups in the rural areas in the State of Michigan feel that this has been one of the more beneficial legislative sessions for them, and that they have had no cause for complaint as a result of the one-man, one-vote principle being applied to their State's legislature.

Mr. KENWORTHY. That is, you're saying, Mr. Beidler, that there has been no kind of retribution on the part of the urban representatives against the rural counties?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's right, Mr. Kenworthy—no retribution.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, the Dirksen bill was defeated a few weeks ago in the Senate by a vote, I believe, of 57 to 39—it fell short of the constitutional requirement on an amendment—it's now pending in the Senate Judiciary Committee. What is going to be the fate of this bill in this session of Congress?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, when you say "this session," you mean, in effect, this year, for all practical purposes. This is now the second go-round for it in the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was rejected the first time by a vote of 8 to 8, and Senator DIRKSEN had to bring it to the floor by attaching it as an amendment to another bill. Now, as you know, Mr. HOLLAND, just the other day the amendment was reported. Now actually, the same committee members who opposed the proposal during other attempts to get it to the floor were still against DIRKSEN's amendment. But what happened was that DIRKSEN had blocked approval of the immigration reform bill by the Judiciary Committee, and held this out as ransom for his amendment. That, in my opinion, was out-and-out blackmail—but I don't think he helped his case any. As far as I'm concerned, I'd like to see it come up again this year. Senator DIRKSEN has indicated that he just wants to get it on the calendar and call it up next January. I think if it were brought up again this year, it would be defeated by an even greater margin than it was on August 4.

Mr. HOLLAND. Well, may I just ask one more question there, Mr. Beidler? If it should come up and be defeated again, would this be the end of it, or would it come up again next year?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, you're asking me to analyze the inner recesses of Senator DIRKSEN's mind—and I can't do that.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, there have been a lot of complaints for a great many years about the overcentralization in the Federal Government here in Washington, and the answer to that has been that problems have been taken to the Federal Government simply because the State legislatures have not responded to their responsibilities, largely because the representatives of the farm and smalltown communities wouldn't face up to these problems. Is there a possibility that with reapportionment, those people who have been complaining about overcentralization of the Federal Government, might find that the responsibilities are now turned back to the local communities and the State legislatures? What I am asking, Mr. Beidler, is whether those very people who are most opposed to reapportionment are the same people who have always complained about the centralization in Washington?

Mr. BEIDLER. I think that is quite true. I think the heart of the States' rights, conservative movement in America has been rural smalltown areas. Because life has progressed more rapidly—perhaps not progressed more rapidly, but changed more rapidly—in the urban communities, they have failed to recognize urban problems, thereby forcing a shift in power from the State capital to Washington. I think these people are deluding themselves. If they really do believe in States' rights, they are deluding themselves by opposing one man, one vote because States would certainly gain much power, I believe, simply by exercising it.

Mr. KENWORTHY. You really think that the problems—some of the problems—which have been sloughed off by the State legislatures onto the Federal Government, might be taken back to the States again?

Mr. BEIDLER. Yes, I believe that very firmly. I think malapportionment has been the major reason for the decline of power of the State governments, simply because they haven't exercised their responsibilities, and haven't met the needs of their people. If they are given the power, through a more representative government, to exercise that responsibility and meet those needs, then the States will become more powerful, relative to the Central Government.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Do you think this would probably be a desirable thing? A good deal of the legislation that has been passed in this session of Congress—some of the antipoverty legislation, some parts of the education bill—tend to take some of the responsibility back to the local communities and States. Do you think that is probably a welcome trend?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I think the more you can interest people in their immediate governments, the better off we all are. I have never been one of those who felt that the Federal Government—the expansion of the powers or authority of the Federal Government—has been a threat to our freedom. Certainly there has been nothing to indicate that. Perhaps I'm too young to remember a time—when State governments had more influence on our lives than the National Government. But the power of the Federal Government has been increasing for many years, and I don't think any of our freedoms have been lost. I think perhaps a few of them might have been enhanced.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, we are a country where the majority rules. As rewritten by Senator DIRKSEN, his latest version provides for a statewide referendum. Why doesn't this meet your objections to the bill?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, as a matter of fact, all three of the versions of his amendment appear to require that the people have an opportunity to vote it up or down. I don't know that this is a valid thing to submit to a referendum of the people. I think there are a number of objections to that. The first and foremost objection is that the right to equal representation in a legislature, Mr. HOLLAND, is a fundamental—shall we say "inalienable"—democratic right. I wouldn't submit the question of trial by jury to a referendum of the people. That's not a proper thing for them to decide.

Furthermore, referendums in this country are notorious for the lack of interest that people give to them. In many cases, when National or State officers are being voted on in the same referendum—in the same election as a referendum on an issue such as this—a minority of those who vote for the top office, such as governor, for example—a minority of those who vote for top office will vote for the referendum, on the referendum issue. I think this is the kind of thing which a legislative body should decide and, because of its complications, should not be submitted to the people.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Mr. Beidler, there is one thing that puzzles me, and I am not sure that I understand it. In the latest version of the Dirksen amendment, he says that a plan may be submitted on a one-man one-vote basis, so that all, not only parties but groupings within a State, shall be represented. It would seem to me that if you get into this, it would be particularly devisive—that you would get into all sorts of religious questions, and racial questions, and questions of national origins. As we know, there is a

tendency to have an "Italian vote," an "Irish vote," and a "Polish vote" in some places. But it seems to me, this would be exaggerated by Senator DIRKSEN'S amendment. How does it seem to you?

Mr. BEIDLER. Mr. Kenworthy, I certainly agree with you on that. How many representatives should the doctors have in the State legislature? How many representatives should labor union members have in the State legislature? How many representatives should mayors in cities between 25,000 and 50,000 have in the State legislature? It opens up immense complications.

Mr. KENWORTHY. You think this is a real "can of worms"?

Mr. BEIDLER. It's a real opportunity for all kinds of logrolling, which those who could afford the most lobbyists perhaps would achieve the most, and many of the people would go perhaps even more unrepresented than they are now in many of our legislatures.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, some of those who support the Dirksen amendment have warned that if the Congress doesn't approve of this, the States themselves might move in and initiate action on it—might make the arrangements, or take action toward calling a constitutional convention—apart from the Congress. And, as one said, this would open a "Pandora's box," because they would not be restricted as to what such a convention could do. Do you see any threat in that?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I see a very definite threat, as you suggest. If you call a constitutional convention, it probably cannot be limited as to the action it could take. It could eliminate from the Constitution, freedom of speech, freedom of religion—whatever it might have a mind to do.

What you are referring to, of course, is the effort by the Council of State Governments to petition the Congress to call a constitutional convention. They claim that 27 States have adopted such a resolution, which may or may not be so. But certainly, it is true that 27 such resolutions have not been filed with the Judiciary Committee of either the House or the Senate. Thirty-four such resolutions would have to be filed before that provision of the Constitution would become operative. I doubt very much that they can ever get close to 34.

Mr. KENWORTHY. This method of amending the Constitution has never been restorted to?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's correct. It's never happened before—and I doubt very much that it will happen now.

Mr. KENWORTHY. There was one occasion which came very close, I believe, on the direct election of Senators, where there were something like 31 petitions, and they needed at that time, I think, 32. But, that is the closest it has ever come, and I don't think that this is really a very serious threat because isn't time, Mr. Beidler, really working against Mr. Dirksen on this? The more legislatures that become reapportioned, and the less that happens when they are reapportioned to excite the population, and considering a general disinterest anyway—isn't the whole thing likely to pass over in another year?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, time is working against Senator DIRKSEN. More and more of the State legislatures are becoming—one house at a time perhaps—are becoming reapportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis. His latest effort, at a mater of fact, would require that at least one house of the State legislature be apportioned on a one-man, one-vote basis before it could propose a malapportioned legislature. This, of course, gives the opportunity for a great deal of logrolling between one house and the other, Mr. Kenworthy.

I'm sure you are familiar with State legislatures, and even in the Congress, where one house will, in a sense, blackmail the other—"if you'll do this, I'll do that"—and if you have a State senate that is malapportioned, it can have considerable influence on reapportionment plans that are submitted to the people.

Senator PAUL DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, describes, as a matter of fact, the Illinois situation where the lower house is in effect, a "one-man, one-vote" house, because it was elected at-large, which is an unwieldy thing whereas the senate is as malapportioned as it was before. So in order for the lower house to get a one-half cent increase in the city sales tax for Chicago, in order for Chicago to meet its revenue needs, they had to agree to the reapportionment plan submitted by the senate which was actually a malapportioned plan.

Mr. KENWORTHY. I have heard, Mr. Beidler, that in Delaware, this last session, which now has a reapportioned State legislature, an unemployment compensation law was finally put through, after 15 years of futile effort. Do you know anything about this?

Mr. BEIDLER. That's some good news that I hadn't heard about, Mr. Kenworthy.

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Beidler, one of the alarms that has ben raised about this bill and the possible failure of Congress to pass it, is that this may lead eventually to reapportionment of the U.S. Senate. I think one Senator suggested that New York would be given nine Senators and four or five States in the West, for example, would have only one or two. What's the answer to this? Do you see any danger of that happening?

Mr. BEIDLER. The answer to that, Mr. HOLLAND, is quite simple, and the Constitution itself provides it. There is only one section of the Constitution that cannot be amended except by unanimous consent, and that section says very simply that no State may be deprived of its equal representation in the U.S. Senate except with its consent. So you would have to have unanimous consent in order to change the apportionment of the U.S. Senate. I'm sure that obviates any such danger. That's only another false alarm sounded by the Dirksen forces.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Why do you think, Mr. Beidler, that Mr. DIRKSEN has gone through such effort for over a year? He began a year ago this summer, you remember, first with a piece of legislation which would stay any further court orders until there was a chance to act upon a constitutional amendment. Then gradually, after defeat on that piece of legislation, since last January, he has fought from one fallback position after another. What do you think is his particularly great interest in this?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, I suspect, Mr. Kenworthy, it has a good deal to do with Senator DIRKSEN'S origins. He comes from a small town in a rural area of Illinois.

This fight, although it ought not to be that, has largely taken on the coloration of rural interests versus urban interests. I suspect that those who have supported him for office—his friends and those with whom he confers, those with whom he shares opinions, who give him advice, who criticize his ideas and so forth—are people who feel basically that the Supreme Court should never have gotten into this issue—that the status quo is to be preferred over change. That's, I think, very interesting, Mr. Kenworthy.

Perhaps one of you gentlemen wrote the article I read suggesting that the leader of the opposition to Senator DIRKSEN is Senator DOUGLAS. And Senator DOUGLAS, also of Illinois, as a Democrat, is going to lose seats to the Republicans in Illinois as a result of "one man, one vote." Senator DIRKSEN'S party is going to pick up seats in the Illinois Legislature.

Mr. KENWORTHY. That raises an interesting question. Isn't it perhaps a question simply of picking up seats for urban communities or losing seats for rural communities? Perhaps the rural population is not so vitally interested in this as in being represented. Could it possibly be that other interests are more interested than the rural communities, because they know that if they can control one House of the State legislature, they have, in effect, veto power on taxation, on bond bills and so on?

Mr. BEIDLER. Oh, I think that is quite right. I think you underestimates the economic power of rural communities—the local banker, the local store owner, and so forth. As a union representative, I have witnessed that those gentlemen have a great deal of power in the Congress, and they have much more power in the State legislatures. I think economic interests have a great deal of influence on this question.

Mr. KENWORTHY. Well, the railroads, for example?

Mr. BEIDLER. Well, of course, the railroads are powerful in these communities. They exert a great interest, and their interest is in transporting freight at reasonable—at what they think is reasonable—prices. Their interest is against full-crew laws—against safety laws in the State legislatures. They prefer to run their own operations without interference from a legislature. That's quite understandable—but it is manifestly against the best public interests.

Mr. FLANNERY. Thank you, gentlemen. Today's Labor News Conference guest was Jack Beidler, legislative director of the AFL–CIO's Industrial Union Department. Representing the press were Cecil Holland, of the Washington Evening Star, and E. W. Kenworthy, of the New York Times. This is your modertaor, Harry W. Flannery, who invites you to listen again next week. Labor News Conference is a public affairs production of the AFL–CIO, in cooperation with the Mutual Broadcasting System.

Hon. T. A. Thompson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the sudden and tragic death of T. A. Thompson has taken from the House a warm, spirited gentleman and most distinguished public servant. We shall sorely miss the pleasure of his companionship and the privilege of his counsel.

Ashton Thompson epitomized the hightest ideals of public service, in which, to the profit of his community, his State, and his country, he spent his entire life. He rose to become one of the outstanding budgetary and fiscal authorities of Louisiana—a brilliant career interrupted only by his country's call to military service during World War II. His many achievements well merited the esteem of his fellow citizens, who so wisely chose him as their Representative in Washington. In their loss may they be consoled by the knowledge that he served them to the very limit of his boundless resources of energy and devotion. Yet his duty to his constituents never made him parochial to their interests; like all great Congressmen, he knew that the welfare of the Nation is paramount.

We who are the poorer for his untimely passing shall remember him, too, for his kind and generous character: A man

whose great frame held a great heart. To his widow, his family, and his many friends, I sincerely extend my deepest sympathies.

Allegations and Charges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN DOWDY
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DOWDY. Mr. Speaker, the allegations and charges laid before the House by the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], on October 22, regarding the multiple offenses of one Edward Grady Partin, and the handling thereof by the Justice Department, should give concern to all of us. Surely the matters spread before us call for an investigation by the committee having authority in such cases.

Congress enacted the Landrum-Griffin Act several years ago, to protect union members from union officials who misuse union funds, and who falsify certain union records. It is alleged that more than 3 years ago, this Edward Grady Partin was duly indicted and charged, as an official in a local Teamster union, with 13 separate and distinct embezzlements of union funds, and 13 separate and distinct cases of falsification of union accounts, and that the Justice Department has not prosecuted these cases, and the inference is left that there is no intention so to do.

An investigation should develop the reason therefor, and this is particularly called for in view of the further allegation by the gentlemen from Illinois that two of the witnesses who first exposed the alleged embezzlement were attacked and severely beaten in retaliation; that the local union's books and records disappeared; and one of the said Partin's critics was killed in an unusual accident.

Other allegations in the address by the gentlemen from Illinois further aggravate the case, and are of such gravity as to emphasize the need for an investigation. These include charges that the said Partin, for more than 3 years, has also been under indictment for forgery and for kidnapping, that he was also under indictments for first degree manslaughter and for leaving the scene in the State of Alabama, which indictments were dismissed. If it inferred that such dismissals were at the instance of the Justice Department, and, if so, why? An investigation would give the answer to this.

Our colleague further set forth a long criminal record sported by the said Partin, including a conviction for burglary, for which he was awarded a 15-year sentence by the State of Washington, and an FBI record showing 15 arrest on charges including burglary, robbery, automobile theft, larceny, theft, robbery with firearms, and others.

As I gather from the remarks of the gentleman from Illinois, he feels the tender solicitude shown to the said Partin was in the nature of a consideration or bribe to reward him for testimony in a case concerning one Jimmy Hoffa, who was Partin's superior in the Teamster Union. I certainly have no brief for Mr. Hoffa. He ought to be duly punished for the crimes he may have committed. Neither do I object to the granting of immunity to make available testimony which would otherwise be denied to the prosecution. I was a district attorney in the State courts for four terms before I came to Congress, and I used that procedure on occasion, albeit sparingly. I never found it necessary to grant complete immunity to a person with a record such as carried by the said Partin, nor did I find it necessary to sweeten the immunity by monetary payments to the person or members of his family. I would doubt the ethics or propriety of such.

I do hope and trust the investigation will be made of the matters of fact alleged by Mr. GRAY. The seriousness of the allegations seemingly demand this action. If the investigation sustains the allegations, it would warrant the prosecution of the said Partin on the multiplicity of offenses for which he has been indicted. Otherwise, the act of Congress intended to protect union members from having their dues money embezzled by union officials will have been in vain.

Illinois Banker Hits Concentration in Banking From Mergers and Holding Companies—Scores Saxon as Enemy of Dual Banking System and Small Bankers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. G. R. Lockard, president of the Bank of West Frankfort, West Frankfort, Ill., typifies the growing resentment of independent bankers all across America against moves by the giants in their industry to completely take over banking.

Mr. Lockard singles out the pending bank merger bill S. 1698 as dangerous legislation. He also cites violations of State laws by holding companies and the extreme attitudes of Comptroller Saxon as leading to monopoly and the death of dual banking.

No doubt Mr. Lockard is correct; there is a real possibility that dual banking, characterized by the thriving, small, independent bank, is on the way out in America. Mr. Lockard's letter follows:

THE BANK OF WEST FRANKFORT,
West Frankfort, Ill.

Hon. WRIGHT W. PATMAN,
Chairman, Committee on Banking and Currency, House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I have read much of the debate and discussion on the bank merger bill and I am enclosing an announcement from the Wall Street Journal concerning the First National Bank in St. Louis, St. Louis Union Trust Co., and General Bancshares Corp. of St. Louis.

This will constitute one of the greatest monopolies and control of banking that has ever happened in this area since banking began in the States of Missouri and Illinois. I have been a banker for over 40 years and just a few years ago the General Bancshares Corp. entered Illinois, in violation of our State laws, and bought control of three banks, two of which are in this county, Franklin County, Ill. At the time they made these purchases they boasted that they were going to buy other banks all over Illinois and Missouri. However, our banking association got busy and the State of Illinois passed a holding company law prohibiting holding companies in Illinois and this stopped the racket.

From all indications and information that I have been able to gain from Comptroller Saxon's actions, there is no limit to what he wants to do in the matter of banking and holding companies. It is my opinion that he would find a reason for a merger of a bank in New York City with one in California or take over the banks of an entire State if he could get it through. His talk of the dual banking system is merely lip service and is only a camouflage to his intentions. He is a protege of the First National Bank of Chicago and they, with the Continental, 2 of the 10 largest banks in America, continually keep the thing boiling in Illinois for branch banking and cost all of us small bankers a lot of money to fight them. I think every effort should be made to stop this merger of the St. Louis banks.

Yours truly,

G. R. LOCKARD,
President.

Senator Robertson Addresses Kentucky Bankers Association at Louisville, Ky.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, our colleague, the distinguished Senator from Virginia, A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, is to address the Kentucky Bankers Association at the Brown Hotel in Louisville next Monday, October 25, 1965. I have talked with Senator ROBERTSON, and I hope to be in Louisville to hear him, particularly as he has been kind enough to show me the address he has prepared for the occasion.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address as prepared by Senator ROBERTSON appear in the Appendix of the RECORD for today.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CURRENT FISCAL TRENDS
(By Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON)

It is a cherished privilege to address a State bankers' association in any State, but especially so, when I can call you cousin. Daniel Webster said that no vigor of youth nor maturity of manhood would cause our Nation to forget those early spots that cradled and defended the infancy of our Republic. By the same token, I shall never forget

that during our revolutionary fight for freedom, my hometown of Lexington, Va., and the entire State of Kentucky were within the same Augusta County, Va. Therefore, when I was in the House, what a joy it was to me to serve on the Ways and Means Committee with a man like Noble Gregory of Kentucky and later in the Senate with a man like Virgil Chapman. If Virginia could have claimed three men in the Senate, I would have asked for Chapman of Kentucky as our third Member—a patriot, statesman, orator, and a southern gentleman.

So, gentlemen of this great association, I am your Virginia cousin from the Blue Ridge Mountains of West Augusta, sharing your pride in your lovely women; in your rolling blue grass hills, and your determination to pass on to generations yet unborn, those priceless principles of political and economic freedom that were born of the brain and purchased with the blood of our Founding Fathers.

In these hectic days that try men's souls when the fundamental principles of private enterprise and States rights, which we have heretofore taken for granted, are being openly flouted by a politically oriented Court on the one hand and a vote-seeking Congress on the other, I often think of the strong man of mythology whose strength was renewed every time he touched Mother Earth. By the same token, my strength is renewed and my courage to go forward, strengthened, when I am privileged to make contact with a splendid group of bankers who share my views on fiscal policies.

At this season of the year, when the Midas hand of fall has touched the greenery of our mountainsides and the maples, gums, and dogwoods are bidding farewell to summer in a riotous flame of color, it would please me to be able to fill the role of the messenger of whom Isaiah said: "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings." But, I would not be intellectually honest if I did not frankly say that, in my opinion, buried deep in an unprecedented boom are two latent troublemakers—inflation and Federal domination of the States.

On a dollar basis, production in this country is at an alltime high, produced national income at an alltime high, personal income after taxes, at an alltime high, and the quoted values of stocks, listed on the major exchanges, at an alltime high. In fact, the once-exciting event of a 9 million share day when the buying and selling orders were placed faster than they could be recorded, has now become commonplace and many are beginning to take for granted that the only direction in which our economy can move in the future is up. My personal viewpoint is that many of the new laws, passed to promote what is called the Great Society, involving the spending of billions of borrowed money, are inherently inflationary is either not shared by many or else is discounted as the price of progress.

I doubt if much attention was attracted by the item in last week's issue of U.S. News & World Report that the new programs undertaken this year will cost us $75 billion over the next 5 years and by 1970 these programs will be costing us about $20 billion a year.

The tremendous increase in Federal spending is illustrated by appropriations for education. I believe in education and would be glad to see our State and local governments spend more on education at every level. But education is not the responsibility of the Federal Government. Incidentally, in the Constitutional Convention in 1787, Jefferson's proposal presented by Madison to authorize a national university, was overwhelmingly defeated. In my opinion, there is no authority in the Constitution for either a national university or for Federal contribution to public schools. When a bill was pending to commence Federal contributions to public schools, I predicted that the 1 billion plus then proposed, would soon be accelerated to $3 billion and that in a few years a program that directly reached so many voters would be measurably accelerated. Those predictions have been fully confirmed because for the current calendar year, Federal spending for education will come to $6.8 billion and for next year, it will move up to $8.7 billion. And, it is anybody's guess as to how fast it will move after that.

In that program alone, are the seeds of inflation on the one hand, and Federal control on the other, because the time is not far distant when the Federal Government will fix standards for teachers just as they now fix standards for Federal aid highways; standardize the curricula for accredited schools and then they will wind up by furnishing the textbooks that all schools which receive Federal aid must use.

It is difficult to know what the actual spending in the current fiscal year will be because no one knows how much may be spent on the war in South Vietnam.

We already have added $2.4 billion to the regular military budget and we expect a supplemental request next January for $2 or $3 billion more. Of course, the President can withhold some of the funds being authorized for domestic programs, but if the military spending is of the nature now anticipated and the domestic authorizations are implemented as now anticipated, the spending in the current fiscal year, exclusive of social security, will range from $107 to $110 billion. Without supplementals next year for war purposes, Congress has authorized new spending for the current budget which is $13 billion above the previous year. While the current boom—which most economists think will continue well into 1966—will probably increase the revenue over the Treasury estimate last June of $95.5 billion, unless the increase exceeds my present guess of $2 or $3 billion we could still wind up the fiscal year with twice the deficit predicted last January in the President's budget message. The economists of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are of the opinion that the contemplated spending program will be inflationary and I understand that the National Planning Association will soon release a 2-year study in which the same prediction will be made. Therefore, if it becomes established by the end of the fiscal year that we can look for inflation of 2 percent a year or more for a considerable period of time, what prudent investor will want to buy a 20-year 4 or 4¼ percent Government bond, which as maturity will be worth only 60 percent of what it had cost? Should my assumption that much of the borrowing must be from commercial banks be correct, two inflationary factors will be involved:

1. Banks will have a tendency to offer less than par for long term Government bonds, thus advancing interest rates, and,

2. For every dollar of Government bonds that a commercial bank buys, $6 of new credit money is potentially created.

Since the framers of his guidelines have told our President that his Great Society can be financed without inflation, he may be counted upon to bring pressure against any industrial unit that starts the inflationary parade. The makers of aluminum, steel and automobiles already know what I mean. The bankers' turn will probably come next. My advice to bankers is not to have the odium of creating inflation—by increasing interest rates—unloaded on them, even if it may mean a temporary foregoing of a profit which they could easily earn because money is getting tighter. But, the months that lie ahead should be prosperous ones for our banks and it is the function of the Federal Reserve Board, and not our commercial banks to regulate the money supply and fix its value.

Most of the Nation's economic experts have looked into their crystal balls and seen indications that our economy will continue on a high plateau for the remainder of this year and, perhaps, well into 1966, if the war in South Vietnam continues.

Although I do not claim to be an economist, I agree with that forecast. But, in view of the fact that a substantial part of the current boom will be financed by borrowed money, and a considerable part of current production will be war material, slated to be chewed up rapidly in the jungles of southeast Asia, we need not expect a continuation of the present price structure.

In the matter of inflation we have been more fortunate than any other major nation in the world during the past 2 years. But we have now reached the point of relative full employment. A major part of those now unemployed are composed of those who never had a full-time job, and don't want one, and by high school students without the ambition to get an education, and without a willingness to do the type of hard labor which their lack of skill would demand.

Already there are shortages in various categories of skilled workers and those shortages will be accentuated as the draft is stepped up, and as units of the National Guard and Army Reserve are called to active duty and many plants are enjoying full production.

Dr. Gardner Ackley says we will finance the Great Society without inflation. He is a college professor who holds a Ph. D. degree from the University of Michigan, and is relying on his 3.2 guideline concept to prevent a wage-price spiral, which he thinks would automatically cause inflation. However, "It is the Government," says the Wall Street Journal, "in the first instance which inflates the money supply, as this Government has been doing for some time. If a wage-price spiral in due course ensues, it is a result of that basic inflation. Were the authorities doing less inflating, they would not have to worry so much about preserving noninflationary wage and price movements." With respect to the theories of theorists, I recall hearing the late Bernard Baruch tell our Senate Banking and Currency Committee, when a group of college professors had said that the stock market was too high: "If they knew what was going to happen they would have all the money and we would have none." The "we" referred to by Baruch have driven the Dow-Jones industrial average to the alltime high of 945.82. That's their answer to the threat of inflation and I would prefer it to a similar group of Ph. D.'s because I have heard of Ph. D.'s with a Phi Beta Kappa key at one end of their watch chain and no watch at the other.

In recent years of price stability, much of the stimulus for expansion has come from the private sectors of the economy. In the past 5 years, Federal Government purchases of goods and services have increased by a little over 20 percent, while gross national product increased by 30 percent. Personal consumption spending increased almost 30 percent. The largest relative increases have occurred in State and local government expenditures for goods and services (45 percent and in business expenditures for plant and equipment (over a third).

Expansion in consumption, in total output and in productive capacity has been facilitated by credit expansion—both bank and nonbank. Outstanding debt of all kinds—public and private—net of duplications, has tripled in the two decades since the war.

In the past 5 years total debt has increased by close to 40 percent—somewhat more than the 30-percent increase shown for gross national product. Federal Government debt, which at the end of the war comprised three-fifths of all debt outstanding, increased by only 10 percent in the past

5 years and now comprises less than a quarter of total debt of all kinds. In the same 5-year period, State and local governments, businesses in the aggregate, and consumers have each increased their indebtedness by around 50 percent or more.

But, we should not be lulled into a false sense of tolerance toward constant deficit spending by the Government merely because the Federal debt has become a smaller percentage of all debt than it was 20 years ago.

We must bear in mind that there is one big difference between Government and private debt. When you and I borrow money we must be prepared to pay back principal and interest within a specified time.

But because the Government is expected to go no indefinitely, it is only compelled to pay the interest. When one bond issue falls due the Government can simply refinance it with new obligations, and the size of the debt goes on, and up.

You have no doubt heard the familiar line of the free spenders, who brush off a Federal debt which may go up to $328 billion this year, by saying, "Why worry about it, we only owe it to ourselves."

But, even if we take that advice and go on indefinitely without paying off any of the principal, we should worry about the interest, because that must be paid, and it is steadily becoming a bigger slice of the annual Federal budget.

For the current fiscal year interest on the national debt is $11.6 billion. Except for national defense, which takes about half of the budget, interest on the debt has become one of the largest recurring obligations.

Although increases in Federal expenditures and debt have been less in recent years than the increases in private spending and debt, it is not certain that these relationships can be maintained. The war in Vietnam is beginning to boost military spending and no one can tell how much it will cost, or how long it will last.

Moreover, many domestic programs being started in Congress this year undoubtedly will increase as time goes on. As I have said, 5 years from now they may amount to $20 billion per year.

We cannot complacently rely on the hope that growth in the economy will automatically provide the increased tax revenues that will be needed to cover all the expenditures that might be requested.

We now have a new philosophy that taxes must be continually reduced to avoid imposing an unduly restrictive burden on the economy. Unquestionably, reductions in war tax rates were desirable, but not as a permanent policy. Tax cuts can't be justified if such reductions, along with increased expenditures, result in larger budgetary deficits.

You will observe that my comments have dealt primarily with the spending program of the biggest spending Congress in the history of the Nation. Few measures directly affecting bankers have been passed at this session. They include S. 1309, the one check payroll bill; S. 2080, the coinage bill, H.R. 3818, amending the gold reserve requirements, and H.R. 5306, to authorize domestic banks to pay higher interest on deposits of foreign governments.

Sometimes the Congress is more to be commended for what it refuses to do rather than for what it does do. A striking example of that political maxim is to be found in the action of the Senate last Monday, when a majority of those present voted against placing a limitation upon the pending debate on the bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act. That action killed that bill for this session and I hope for all time to come. Personally, I will never deem any society a great society which can merely boast of an increase in the material things of life. In any event, no great society can be created if it results in the killing of a free society. In my opinion, the keystone of the arch of our representative democracy is what Daniel Webster described as that "skillful architecture which unites national sovereignty with States rights, individual security, and public prosperity." Madison and others who were members of the Philadelphia Convention felt that the rights of the States had been fully preserved in the instrument that they prepared, but under the prodding of George Mason, Patrick Henry and others, in the Virginia Ratifying Convention, he promised to spell it out in a new amendment which became the 10th amendment. The trend of both the Supreme Court and the Congress in recent years has been to erode, and ultimately destroy, that amendment. If we destroy the 10th amendment, we have struck a vital blow at the greatest bulwark against dictatorship; namely, the independence and sovereignty of the States that compose the Union. With the loss of State sovereignty and the complete dominaiton of the Federal Government we will lose our personal freedom. As Shakespeare said in "The Merchant of Venice":

"You take my house when you do take the prop
That doth sustain my house; you take my life
When you do take the means whereby I live."

May you never falter in your determination to preserve our system of private enterprise within the framework of constitutional liberty.

Something for the Special Child

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WAYNE MORSE
OF OREGON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, the September 1965 issue of the publication American Education contains an article written by Dr. Marvin A. Wirtz entitled "Something for the Special Child" which sets forth lucidly and cogently the scope of the program for handicapped children. Because of the nature of the article, I feel sure it is one which will be of great interest to many of my colleagues. I therefore place the article to which I have alluded in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

SOMETHING FOR THE SPECIAL CHILD
(By Marvin A. Wirtz)

Joe McIntyre was a familiar sight, navigating around Ypsilanti, Mich., in his electric wheelchair. Many a summer noon I would meet him downtown and spend half an hour shooting the breeze with him—Joe carrying on his end of the conversation by pointing out letters on his portable spelling board.

Joe was severely handicapped with cerebral palsy; he could not walk, his speech was unintelligible, and the only part of his body he could use with any degree of sureness was one hand. Yet, because of his own tremendous native ability, he managed to make a living and a life for himself with a little greeting card shop.

When he was a child it didn't occur to anyone that Joe should be given an education. It wasn't until he was in his early teens that a special-education administrator allowed him to attend school. But the simple problems of getting around the building proved so great that Joe's formal education was given up after less than 2 years.

Today there are nearly 5 million handicapped children such as Joe who are missing their opportunity to receive a proper education because there are still no adequate school facilities for them. This fact is doubly tragic, since educators have tried to give special care and training to handicapped youngsters for the past century (the first such class was started in 1866). But throughout the years their work was too often shunted into makeshift quarters. I remember one of the classrooms where I taught educable mentally retarded youngsters back in 1946—it was a miserable basement room with rock walls.

School construction takes money; money comes from local and State governments and through public support. Most school boards have to justify their expenditures on the basis of "the greatest good for the greatest number." Consequently, facilities for the relatively few children who need special education are pushed out of the budget.

On a pure dollars-and-cents basis, however, it is in the best economic interests to build facilities in which handicapped persons can learn to be productive citizens. A moderately retarded child—one with an IQ of around 55—can be educated to become at least partly self-supporting. It might take $1,000 a year to give such a youngster special education in a properly designed public school facility. Over his 12-year educational span, the cost to the public could be about $12,000. But the chances are fairly good that this would be the end of public support and the beginning of self support. But without an opportunity to learn basic educational and vocational skills, the same child may be sent to a State residential institution by the time he is 15 years old. Cost to the taxpayers—$2,000 a year. Fifty years later he will have cost the State some $100,000; this is a difference of $88,000 for one person. Add the loss to the State of his potential as a wage earner and taxpayer, and you have an impressive amount.

It takes more than money, however, to provide the handicapped child with the learning environment he needs. It takes careful planning, which means close coordination among architect, educator, administator, and taxpayer. Too often, handsome school buildings are conceived and constructed without sufficient attention to the needs of exceptional children.

In a community where I once lived, $6 million was spent on a new high school. The building was to include classrooms for the physically handicapped from that community and, on a tuition basis, from a neighboring community also. When the first handicapped students enrolled, it became evident that the planners should have consulted the special educators about the specific needs of the physically handicapped. This gorgeous, multilevel building had no elevators and no ramps. There were two steps here, three steps there, forming impossible barriers for children in wheelchairs. As a result of this poor planning, many youngsters remained on home instruction—a costly affair.

Even on the short-term basis, the original cost of architectural studies and careful planning quickly pays for itself. When I was superintendent of the special school district of St. Louis County, Mo., I figured out that we saved enough money to educate 1,200 retarded students a year by having four physically handicapped youngsters attend public schools rather than a State boarding institution.

A few enlightened school districts have seen the logic of good planning. In these communities there is an understanding school administration backed up by a sympathetic school board and an enlightened citizenry. Without all three of these elements a district has little hope of providing

appropriate school facilities for the handicapped.

It is difficult to persuade citizens to give financial support to these programs. Even though there is growing public awareness of mental retardation and handicapping diseases, few people understand the effect of these conditions on a child's life and educational needs. Nor do most people realize the immensity of the problem.

One out of every ten school age children in the United States has some mental or physical condition that makes it necessary for him to be given special education services. There are 1,701,000 youngsters with speech handicaps; 1,117,800 are mentally retarded; 972,000 are emotionally disturbed; at least 486,000 have major learning disabilities because of minimal brain damage; 243,000 are hard of hearing; 36,450 are deaf; 48,600 are either blind or partially sighted; and 243,000 are crippled. In all, there are 4,847,850 American children who need special facilities.

The number of handicapped youngsters eligible for special education has been growing by approximately 80,000 a year. There are varied reasons for the increase. First, medical and psychiatric diagnoses have become more exact, so that many children are today recognized as handicapped who yesterday would have been called behavior problems. Second, compulsory school attendance laws are bringing out into the open many handicapped children who once would have been hidden away at home. Third, there is a trend toward bringing into regular classroom situations even those children who are very severely handicapped.

Until the last few years many special education people thought of letting only the moderately handicapped attend classes. I ran into a school about 10 years ago where the only handicapped children being taught were those who were completely ambulatory—only three or four even crutches. I asked the teacher and the physical therapist, "Where are the rest of the kids?"

"What other kids?"

I said, "Well, in a school district this size you probably have at least half a dozen cerebral palsied children, and I don't see any of them here in school."

"Oh, they can't go to school," said the teacher. "They're too handicapped."

But more and more of these handicapped youngsters are coming into our schools, and this has produced a vital need for adequate architectural planning. Unfortunately, such planning is still very rare.

The fault lies not solely with the architect. Educators must also share the blame because they have not stated their needs. Surely it is a tragic waste of opportunity for architects to be designing schools without a clear awareness of the problems and needs.

One of the most useful and enlightening attempts made so far to get a dialog started between architects and educators was made last May by the American Institute of Architects (AIA) in Washington, D.C. Thirty experts in the fields of architecture and special education spent 2 days discussing the problems and some possible solutions in the design of facilities for educating the handicapped. More questions than answers came out of the workshop. But it was a promising beginning.

Despite a lack of clear guidelines for constructing school facilities for the handicapped, some useful hints can be drawn from the practical experience of special educators.

Basic principles of design are most obvious when providing facilities for the crippled. Mobility and safety are the prime objectives for children who wear cumbersome braces or use walkers, wheelchairs, or crutches. Most of these children are mentally alert and of normal (some above normal) intelligence. They would be at ease in a regular classroom if they could be freed from hazards and barriers such as stairways. Any variations in floor level throughout a building should be ramped. Where there is more than one floor, elevators should be used, and they should be large enough to accommodate a wheelchair.

Doors should be of the 48-inch-wide hospital type with handles rather than knobs. A child who has only partial use of his hands and arms and cannot turn a knob can usually manage to hook his arm over the pull-handle on the hospital type of door and open it. Door closers are available that keep the door open as long as 90 seconds, a blessing of time for a child who must move slowly. Some automatic doors open and close by treadle or electronic eye.

Classrooms should be closer to square-shaped than to the usual rectangular shaped rooms and should be large enough to enable from 12 to 15 children with bulky equipment to have freedom of movement. The classroom should also have running water, with a bubbler placed in the sink in such a way that a child in a wheelchair can get a drink or wash his hands without help. Any undersink plumbing should be recessed so as not to interfere with the use of a wheelchair.

Chalkboards should be low enough to be reached by a youngster in a wheelchair. Several types of adjustable chalkboards are available. One of these can be brought to within 30 inches of the floor and can be pulled away from the wall on parallel arms and literally placed over the lap of a child in a wheelchair. Hooks and a holding bar enable a youngster to hang his crutches and free one hand for writing on the chalkboard.

A child who is on crutches or confined to a wheelchair obviously cannot use standard toilets. A washroom should be fairly close to the special class or classes used by crippled children. Toilet stools of varying heights should be set off center in the booths, which should have enough room for a wheelchair. A canvas curtain should be used instead of swinging doors, making it easier for the youngster to wheel through in a chair. Holding bars should be within reach around wash basins and urinals; wash basins should be set low enough to permit a child in a wheelchair to wash his hands. Provision should be included for changing and tending children whose physical condition makes them incontinent.

Moving long distances—from class to class, to the cafeteria, to the library, to the auditorium, or other common areas—is exhausting and time consuming for most crippled children. Buildings designed with this fact in mind provide outside exits for each classroom and locate special classrooms for convenience to other facilities.

It has been considered traditional to put handrails along the halls of facilities for the physically handicapped. I do not believe handrails are necessary. Once children are trained to use crutches properly, they should use them. But I have seen children come into a school corridor, hang their crutches over their arm, and go shuffling down the hall relying on the railing.

It would be better to eliminate the handrails and widen the corridor by an extra 2 feet so that children would have room to use their crutches or chairs properly. It should be our intention to help these children learn to live as normal a life as possible.

At the AIA workshop meeting, Frank Gentile of Abilities, Inc., described his group's new Human Resources School in Nassau County, N.Y. It is a school for severely physically disabled children of average or above-average intelligence, who were previously on home-bound instruction or a limited in-school program.

Mr. Gentile explained that there were 47 such children in the school last year; there will be 100 this fall, from kindergarten to 12th grade.

The school tries to provide a total academic program and to deemphasize rehabilitation. Health and medical facilities are included only as they would be in any school: a full-time nurse and a visiting doctor. The youngsters are given opportunity for as broad an educational experience as possible, including physical education. "We've built an adapted swimming pool which children in wheelchairs can use. We have a bowling alley. We have an all-purpose gymnasium," Mr. Gentile said. "We have emphasized that these are children, and not that they are disabled." The Human Resources School was built for less than $20 per square foot, including fixed equipment.

In some cases a school district's facility for crippled youngsters needs to be a special school. A special wing may be built onto a regular school. In small school districts there may be only a handful of youngsters in this category and a need for only one or two special classrooms.

Whether the facility is a special wing or a special school, the commonly used facilities should be located in the special wing of the school. Proximity to the cafeteria or multi-purpose room, the cluster of classrooms, or to the therapy room must be carefully worked out. If the children are to be integrated into regular class activities for any purpose, the facility should be put between other kinds of classrooms so that the less mobile of the crippled youngsters do not waste time and energy.

The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults (NSCCA) has been campaigning to eliminate architectural barriers and hazards in all public buildings. The society's published standards should be consulted by school administrators and architects planning a school, whether it is to be used only by physically handicapped children or by the general public (which may include physically handicapped adults). Eighteen States require that all public buildings be built in accordance with NSCCA standards.

Children with other types of handicaps can also be brought into normal school situations. The largest single group of handicapped children are those with speech difficulties. These youngsters need the part-time services of a speech therapist and a room designed for special instruction.

Youngsters who are hard of hearing can also spend most of the day in regular classes and part of the day in a special facility. Their primary need is for a space where the itinerant staff can work. Too frequently this is "leftover space," such as a converted storage closet in some remote corner of the school plant. But, again, the special room should be centrally located, with enough electrical outlets for audio equipment and storage space for a variety of other equipment and supplies.

Facilities for teaching the deaf also present some distinct design problems. The average classroom is far too large for them, although flexibility in room size can be obtained with folding doors and cabinet partitions. Again, provision must be made for electrical wires and outlets. Facilities for projectors, a screen, and other visual aids should be an integral part of the classroom plan.

Ten percent of all children needing special education are those who are visually handicapped. This category includes both the partially sighted and the totally blind. The trend is toward sending these children into regular classrooms after the careful development of their four rmaining senses. More than half the blind children going to public schools are in regular classrooms for some part of their education. Once oriented to the building, most of the blind youngsters can go off in any direction without help. For their safety, however, some precautions need to be taken. Projections (water foun-

tains, fire extinguishers, display cases) should be eliminated from hallways and class aisles. School doors opening into the corridor can be a hazard. Sliding doors have been used in some facilities for the blind, although they are not practical for general use.

Perhaps the most serious problem faced by blind and partially sighted children is caused by steps. Although we are training blind children to be more mobile in their school environment, they still depend upon auditory cues for their reaction to the space around them. Added cues can be built in. For example, strips of acoustic tile can be put on walls, or flooring of a different texture can be placed near obstructions.

Since some blind and all partially sighted children can distinguish differences of light and dark, doors and steps could be painted in colors that contrast sharply with surrounding walls.

Blind children in the same classes with normal youngsters do need more space. Braille books and other equipment (typewriters, braille writers, talking books, record players) require extensive space, both in use and in storage. Booths can sometimes be provided so that the blind student may use his individual listening devices or noisy writing equipment without distracting others in the room.

One of the most prevalent handicaps today is mental retardation. This year there are more than a million mentally retarded children needing special instruction.

The mentally retarded are traditionally classified as either educable (those with IQ's of 50 to 75 or 80) or trainable (those with IQ's of 25 to 50). Recent research has shown that the instructional program should be organized according to three groups of retarded children, however. A middle group whose IQ's range from 40 to 60 is termed "moderately dependent"; they can be given instruction at a slightly higher level than the trainable group.

The trainable are capable of performing the most rudimentary tasks for themselves. The middle group can achieve perhaps up to the second or third grade in a very specialized setting. The great majority of the mentally retarded, however, are in the educable group and can gradually be worked into regular elementary and secondary public school classrooms for at least part of the day.

For the higher level, educable mentally retarded children the physical surroundings for learning can be pretty much standard—in fact, this is desirable because the object is to prepare them not only to participate in the general school program but to be accepted by other children. The less they are isolated in a special facility, the better.

For the middle and trainable groups, however, separate facilities appear to be more satisfactory. For middle-group children space should be provided for music and physical educaton as well as for academic courses. But perhaps more important are facilities for homemaking and occupational readiness. If adequately educated, many of them can eventually hold a job in a sheltered environment.

Trainable mentally retarded children can participate in many of the activities of the middle group. For the younger trainable children, however, some modifications are necessary.

Both the trainable and the middle groups need to be near a play area where they can "let off steam." Much of their training necessarily involves broad physical movements. This calls for classrooms that open directly into an inside or outside play area. Proximity to the play areas is important because the children's attention span is short; their learning activities need to be interspersed with some physical activity, perhaps as often as every 15 or 20 minutes.

At least another 10 percent of all handicapped children are those with major learning disabilities. These children are sometimes known as "brain injured" or "hyperkinetic." Sometimes they are confused with the emotionally disturbed. They have been called the "children with too many names" because their conditions are difficult to diagnose accurately. There are, in fact, so many variations that each child is a problem.

Certain techniques used in teaching these children present a challenge to the school designer. The major need is to control auditory and visual stimulation: acoustically treating the walls and ceiling, carpeting the floor, opaquing a window, visually shielding one classmate from another.

The most common solution is portable or built-in booths along a wall. This means, however, that the children face the wall and must turn around to communicate with the teacher. A circular arrangement of booths can be more effective. The teacher stands in the center; the children can see the teacher but not each other.

This year 972,000 school-age youngsters have been identified as emotionally disturbed.

Emotionally disturbed children usually have normal intelligence, but cannot get along with other children or with their teachers. There is a pervasive mood of depression among them; they lack any joy in living, they retreat into a dream-world of their own, they cry easily, they act out their frustrations violently, striking out at the teacher, breaking anything in sight, and even inflicting hurt on themselves.

In order to free the teacher and the pupil from the consequences of violent outbreaks thought must be given to durability and maintenance. I have seen facilities made of destructible material almost ruined in a short time. The concern for maintenance has been carried to the extreme in some places, with chilling ceramic tile on floors and walls. Newer plastic sprays over cinder block give less of a clinical appearance and yet are washable. The architectural challenge is to coordinate practicality of construction and maintenance without eliminating the warmth and beauty so much needed by disturbed children.

Even with the most skilled teacher, these youngsters can become uncontrollable. A "quiet place" is needed where the unmanageable child can be isolated until he regains control.

A classroom for the emotionally disturbed can be very distracting to other classrooms nearby. The need to isolate these youngsters is, therefore, understandable. However, the question of isolating all types of handicapped children from normal children draws heated debate among special educators. One school of thought would integrate all types of handicapped children into the general schoolroom atmosphere as much as possible. Another theory maintains that the child will receive the best education in a separate facility.

Integration seems to be the general trend, however. In Pennsylvania, 55 percent of the children who were in residential institutions for the blind and deaf 10 years ago are now in public school classes. Of the mentally retarded youngsters in that State, 15 percent are no longer in institutions but have moved into public schools.

Educators are striving to help handicapped youngsters acquire self-sufficiency and social adequacy so that they will grow up to participate as citizens in the community. These goals are reached not only through good teaching but through proper school environment.

Some educators point out that normal children gain in experience and understanding by association with handicapped children. Parents of handicapped children also emphasize the need for their youngsters to be with normal children. The answer to the argument probably lies in the need for variety. There must be a broad range of programs fitted to the needs of the groups with common handicaps, with consideration for the geographic distribution of these children. A major problem is bringing together enough children with a common need to justify the expense of building and equipping a facility.

Smaller school districts usually set up a cooperative school and transport youngsters from a wide area to it. But how far can you transport a handicapped child? Most educators believe that a youngster should not spend more than a half hour each way on a school bus. This is not a hard-and-fast rule, however: in Philadelphia, brain-injured children ride 40 miles through congested suburban sections to a special facility southeast of that city. Contrary to the administrators' fears, the children are thriving on the experience. An assistant teacher rides with them and has taught them to sing as they go. They have learned to sit still and pay attention to the outside. The bus ride is actually an extension of their classroom program.

Except in the large metropolitan areas, however, it may take as much as a 200-mile radius to find enough children to justify a school in which a variety of special facilities can be provided. For the handicapped child, a normal home environment may be far less important than being put in a situation in which he can be educated, learn to cope with his handicap, and become economically and socially self-sufficient.

The answer may be a residential boarding school. It may be an isolated day school exclusively for the handicapped, or a wing or cluster of classrooms within a regular public school. It may be simply the modification of a normal school building so that crippled children can get around easily. The location and type of school are directed by what is appropriate for the circumstances and the community.

Whatever the facility, the image presented physically should be distinctly that of school. It should look like a school and not like a hospital or a library or a country club. Handicapped children have an overriding desire to rise above their handicap and, as much as possible, to be like their brothers and sisters and neighbors. To them, much more than to the normal child, school is an intensely important part of life.

I know of a young girl who for 14 years was confined to a single room on the second floor of her home because it was too difficult for her parents to get her up and down. For her, the sight of a bus or a car or children playing was a marvel. When we can make it possible for such youngsters to get out of their confinement and into classrooms, we owe them pleasant surroundings.

I have had many an argument over the construction of buildings with windows high in a wall so that children cannot see out. I personally think the stimulation of an outside view as well as the educational possibilities inherent in the outside world far outweighs the distraction a view may cause.

I like to see plants or pictures or other decorative accents in a lobby. An artist gave my old St. Louis Special School District a beautiful terra cotta statue. It was placed on a table and moved from school to school. One of the delights of my life was to watch small crippled children and mentally retarded children come by and touch the statue.

Obviously, that statue was doing something very important for those children. I'm afraid that school planners seldom give these youngsters credit for noticing beauty.

Tragically little has been done to provide the kind of atmosphere, teaching, and facilities handicapped youngsters need. There has been no opportunity for really conclusive research by either the architects or the special educators. Such research is costly and few localities have been able to justify expendi-

tures for it. Thus, the many and often conflicting theories held by educators are based on scanty evidence.

Situations need to be created in which teaching methods, physical environment, and specific handicapped groups can be put together and studied. Once a solid base of evidence is produced, educators and architects will be better able to design good facilities, and special educators will be in a better position to convince school boards and the community of the scope of the need.

Two relatively new pieces of Federal legislation administered by the Office of Education include provisions which may be of tremendous help in supporting some solidly based research.

Title III, section 302 of Public Law 88-164, the Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act of 1963 (as amended by Public Law 89-105), provides specifically for research and demonstration projects for improvement of education of handicapped children. The relationship of the school environment to the teaching process is an appropriate area for consideration under the provisions of this law. Some 50 research and demonstration projects have been supported thus far under this act.

Information on the policies and procedures as well as the means of applying for grants under this act may be obtained from the Bureau of Educational Research of the U.S. Office of Education.

The new Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Public Law 89-10, authorizes programs that will benefit handicapped children. This act authorizes support for research and demonstration in all phases of education.

Hon. Ludwig Teller

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, on October 4, a former colleague of ours, Ludwig Teller, of New York, passed away.

Lou Teller served but one term in the House, but to that brief service he brought a truly remarkable background and a most distinguished record of achievements. Indeed, few men are privileged to serve their community in as many varied and eminent ways as Dr. Teller did.

He was a prominent labor lawyer, one of the foremost in the country. He had been a lecturer at New York University Law School and a professor of law at New York Law School. He was a committee chairman in both the American Bar and American Arbitration Associations. He was a conscientious and respected political leader in Manhattan and served three terms in the New York State Assembly before coming to Congress. And he was the author of a dozen books, including what is still the leading authority on labor-management negotiations, "The Law Governing Labor Disputes and Collective Bargaining," first published in 1940.

It was hardly surprising that with this prestigious background he became one of the outstanding freshmen Members of the 85th Congress. In fact, he was credited with being the first freshman in over 100 years to be appointed chairman of a subcommittee.

Nor was it surprising that such a man, who had risen from humble origins by the will of his own self-determination, should be a persistent champion of legislation for the greater welfare of the workingman. It is an extraordinary tribute to the prescience of his brilliant mind that many of the programs he advocated, such as increased social security payments, medicare, and Federal aid to education, have since been passed by the Congress and signed into law.

Lou Teller was a fine American and, had the fortunes of politics been kinder to him, he would without doubt have carved a memorable and productive career in Congress of which not only his constituents, but the entire Nation, would have been justly proud. He possessed that rare synthesis of scholarly insight and practical experience that is the hallmark of great public service. He was truly a man whose counsel I valued.

And he was, equally so, a man whose fellowship I cherished and whose friendship I prized. His untimely death has saddened all of us who were so fortunate to know him intimately. To his widow, Clarice, and his family, I extend my deepest condolences.

Congress Gears Up for Action on Dual Distribution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RUSSELL B. LONG
OF LOUISIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LONG of Louisiana. Mr. President, shortly before the excellent and very welcome hearings of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Antitrust and Monopoly on my dual distribution bills—S. 1842, S. 1843, and S. 1844—last September, there appeared in the September issue of 33/The Magazine of Metals Producing, a helpful and informative article, entitled "Congress Gears Up for Action on Dual Distribution." While the article is not signed, it is my understanding that it was written for 33 by Mr. Harold V. Semling, Jr., of Washington.

I ask unanimous consent to include this article in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS GEARS UP FOR ACTION ON DUAL DISTRIBUTION

"Dual distribution occurs when an independent businessman's supplier is also his competitor. Competition from suppliers is most common at the retail level but also frequently occurs in wholesaling and manufacturing," said Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, chairman, Subcommittee on Distribution Problems, House Select Committee on Small Business.

Pressure is building in Congress for legislative action to curb dual distribution; i.e., supplier competition. The legislation, following extensive investigation by both the House and Senate Small Business Committees is being given formal hearing this month by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee.

Dual distribution legislation is sponsored by two leaders of the current Johnson administration: Senator RUSSELL LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana, the majority whip, and Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, who is the administration's leader in the fight for double time for overtime and a higher minimum wage.

"Dual distribution appears to be permeating more and more industries each day," according to Representative JOE L. EVINS, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Small Business Committee. "More and more manufacturers are distributing through dealers whom they control," he asserts.

Senator PHILIP A. HART, chairman of the relevant Senate subcommittee, will hold consolidated hearings on all three dual distribution bills this year.

Senator LONG told 33, "I am delighted that Senator HART's subcommittee is holding hearings on my bills this fall. I think a good case can be made that the time has come for Congress to enact legislation to cure some of the ills dual distribution has produced in our commerce and industry. Hearings are the only way we can find out whether my bills are the right legislation. They may be, or others, not yet written, may be. Of course, the hearings themselves will have an impact. Whether or not the bills pass, their introduction alone, and their progress to the hearing stage, may clear up some of the worst abuses."

The congressional finger, as it has in the past, will likely be pointed at the integrated primary metal manufacturer at the hearings.

EMBATTLED DUAL DISTRIBUTION

The dual distribution problem arises in those situations where the supplier of the independent firm is also his competitor—manufacturing the same products and competing for the same customers.

"Optimism is currently very prevalent in Washington, D.C., that something can and will be done about the problems of dual distribution," according to Max Rogel, executive secretary of the Conference on Dual Distribution. Rogel says, however, that remedies will be legislated in the 90th and 91st Congresses—not the 89th—although he hopes for speed.

The Conference on Dual Distribution is a group of independent businessmen and their associations organized to fight for legislation to curb dual distribution and vertical integration abuses. The bulk of the group is composed of businessmen in the metal field.

A multipronged campaign by the conference will include letter writing and wires to Congress; appearances at hearings, plus expert testimony backed up by reports of nationally known economists; and articles for the Nation's press to acquaint the American public with the evils inherent in dual distribution.

The membership of the Conference of Dual Distribution includes individual companies and trade associations covering the steel (fabricating, wholesale, distribution), aluminum, culvert pipe, construction, paint, wallpaper, glass, warehousing and electric construction industries.

Lawrence Schacht, president of the Schacht Steel Corp., Hillside, N.J., and G. F. Beall, vice president, Beall Pipe & Tank Corp., independent steel fabricators, Portland, Ore., are cochairmen of the conference. The conference's treasurer is Harry L. Jacobson, Dempsey Associates, Cleveland, Ohio, a steel wholesaler. Norman Geller, Independent Wire Drawers Association, Washington, is national affairs chairman. Leo Goldner, president, Parker Steel Co., Toledo, a steel distributor, is membership chairman.

BILLS BEFORE CONGRESS

Three bills dealing with dual distribution or supplier competition are under consideration in Congress. Two of the bills are reintroductions of measures in earlier Congresses.

The first bill, formally titled the "Antitrust Vertical Integration Amendments" or equality of supplies bill, would require companies engaged in dual distribution to charge the same prices to company-owned establishments that they charge to independent competitor-customers. The bill (S. 1842 and H.R. 7705) would also require fair allocation of supplies to independents in shortage situations.

The second bill, the Dual Distribution Reporting Act or reporting bill would require dual distributors to publish separate annual profit-and-loss statements for each of their company-owned plants and distribution outlets that compete directly with independent customers. Disclosure of financial data on products distributed in dual distribution would be required. The bills are S. 1843 and H.R. 1578.

A new bill introduced this year in the Senate and House is formally entitled the "Antitrust Dual Distribution Amendment." The bill (S. 1844 and H.R. 7706) has been nicknamed the "adequate differential bill." It would require dual distributors to maintain a fair and adequate differential between the prices they charge as suppliers and the prices they charge as competitors, whenever the effect of failure to maintain such differentials or price spreads might be to substantially lessen competition or to tend to create a monopoly.

The adequate differential bill was developed jointly by the Senate and House Small Business Committee staffs to carry out the principal legislative recommendations ensuing from the lengthy study of Representative Roosevelt's subcommittee in 1963–64.

When he introduced his proposals Roosevelt said he did "not regard them as necessarily the final or best answer to the very difficult, or complex" dual distribution problem. The question of their adequacy and need, he says, should be carefully studied in public hearing by a committee having power to report bills to the floor. Neither of the Small Business Committees has the power to report any legislation to the floor of Congress.

Dr. Richard H. Holton, former Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Economic Affairs, has spelled out the meaning of dual distribution in several ways.

"Dual distribution exists when a vertically integrated firm operates in two successive stages of production and/or distribution of goods but also sells some of its output from the first stage to independent firms who then sell in competition with the supplying firms' second stage operations. Thus, the independent is in competition with his supplier.

Dual distribution exists when the manufacturer of a branded good sells that brand through two or more competing distribution channels.

Dual distribution exists when the manufacturer sells two brands of basically the same product through two or more competing kinds of distribution networks.

ACTION TO DATE

The House Small Business Subcommittee on Distribution late last year made a comprehensive report on its investigation of the impact on small business of a dual distribution and related vertical integration.

Based on its extensive study, the group, under the chairmanship of Representative Roosevelt, concluded that dual distribution was practiced in each of the more than 40 industries studied. While dual distribution standing alone does not adversely affect small business, when coupled with either predatory conduct or substantial market power, it creates detrimental effects, he says.

Specifically the House Small Business Committee recommended:

Application of section 5 of the Federal Trade Commission Act, which prohibits unfair competitive practices, to dual distribution.

Increased collection of economic data by FTC concerning dual distribution and vertical integration and the keeping of records by firms engaged in dual distribution in a manner compatible with this objective.

A comprehensive study of the antitrust laws to determine what changes are needed to assure small business equal opportunity to complete.

Increased use of industrywide approaches to competitive problems.

The committee concluded that "it is most important to note that large, integrated firms engaged in dual distribution could conduct certain levels of their operations at a loss" in contrast to other nonintegrated businesses.

WHERE ARE THE ABUSES?

Dual distribution abuses were found by the Roosevelt investigation to prevail in the aluminum industry. Specifically, abuses were found in aluminum-clad redraw rod, polyethylene covered wire, and culvert pipe.

William H. Orrick, former Assistant Attorney General for Antitrust, gave a Congressional hearing an analysis of the Alcoa case and the Reynolds Metals Co. "Florist Foil" case as examples of dual distribution price squeezes. Alcoa, Kaiser (which feels that its business operations are proper in all respects and that no legislation is required at this time) and Reynolds were mentioned in testimony.

Eugene P. Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, believes that dual distribution can be of benefit to small business. He proposes a concrete system of liaison between the Commission and SBA to help facilitate the exchange, on a continuing basis at the staff level, of information and of views on policy matters which are of importance to both agencies. "The value of such a system, as a means of furthering the purposes of the antitrust laws and of fostering the interests of small business, needs no elaboration," Foley says. "We have already established this type of liaison with the Antitrust Division. Thus, without reference to their superiors, SBA's General Counsel and the Division's Director of Policy Planning can deal directly with each other in the consideration of policy matters. Similarly, information can be exchanged between SBA's Assistant Administrator for Economics and the Chief of the Division's Economic Section."

He points out that Alcoa's use of independent distributors helped nurture and develop public acceptance of aluminum and paved the way for many small businessmen to enter aluminum fabricating. It was also noted that dual distribution may result in an improved profit outlook for the manufacturer. Supposedly, greater efficiency and higher national product might result from the manufacturer's expansion into new channels of distribution.

THE SQUEEZE PLAY

There are a number of types of actions an integrated steel giant with great economic power can take to "discipline" nonintegrated fabricators, according to Dr. Walter Adams, professor of economics at Michigan State University. These actions can include either refusing to furnish them the necessary supplies of the raw material from which they fabricate their product or manipulate the margin between the price of the raw material and that of the object manufactured to impose a price squeeze. The first of these practices, Dr. Adams explains, is often prevalent in times of steel shortage.

A simple price squeeze results when the price of the raw material is raised while the price of the finished fabricated product remains the same; conversely when the price of the finished product is lowered with no accompanying change in the price of the raw material. When the price of the raw material is raised at the same time that the price of the finished product is lowered, a double squeeze results.

Dr. Adams used the price squeeze on nonintegrated fabricators of wire products as a specific example. The economist documented a number of other examples both past and present. He traced the problem to "the broadening size and power of the vertically integrated steel trust." Adams indicated that prices in the steel industry have had no relation to the demand for its products, since "it has priced its products with oligopolistic and monopolistic insensitivity to demand conditions in the marketplace."

THE DEFENSE

United States Steel replied to Dr. Adams' statement by asserting that dual distribution in the steel industry is not new, having existed since 1900. Many of the problems encountered by the independent fabricating firms result, said United States Steel, from the fact that the prices of each product, are determined independently, with respect to the condition of the market for that particular item.

In many cases, the market situation for the raw material purchased by a fabricating firm will be quite different from that for the finished product. One example: a large demand for rope wire has caused the price of that product to increase, while a lagging market for wire rope and other fabricated wire products made from rope wire has kept their prices down. As a result, according to United States Steel, integrated firms, which have no power to maintain an artificially high price for a product, suffer from the price squeeze as well as the independents.

The chief reason for the recent deterioration of prices for fabricated wire products was attributed to foreign competition.

United States Steel also stated that "prices for each semifinished product, basic steel product, and end product necessarily must reflect the competitive strengths and weaknesses of each of the separate markets in which each is sold." It was also pointed out that "a strong and growing domestic market for this product (wire rods) outside of the wire products has made it possible for United States Steel to continue to attempt to sell this product at its 1958 price."

According to the congressional report of last December "the company appeared to be saying that the forces of competition in the market determined the price and that its present price structure consisted of the lowest price for each commodity consistent with these factors."

SOME PARTICULARS

Specific steel products subject to investigation by the Roosevelt subcommittee included baling ties, chain link fence, culvert pipe, structural steel, wire rope.

Companies named by the witnesses as abusing dual distribution, in addition to United States Steel, were Bethlehem Steel Co., Colorado Fuel & Iron, Armco Steel Corp., Republic Steel, Kaiser Steel, and Wheeling Steel. While none of the companies sent representatives to the Roosevelt hearings, many responded for the record.

Armco in its statement for the record noted that "since 1945 the number of companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of corrugated metal pipe in the area under discussion has increased by almost 60 percent, and the independents by their own admission are operating profitably.

Another industry already named in connection with dual distribution is copper magnet wire manufacturing. Magnet wire is a covered copper wire used in making magnetic coils used in motors and trans-

formers. It is produced by about 50 companies—both independent and subsidiary.

The National Electrical Manufacturers Association says the chief problem in the industry is a substantial surplusage of capacity which arises from the relatively static demand for the product which is unlikely to increase.

Several independent magnet wire manufacturers told how they were more flexible than the integrated firms and that they were able to provide special services. During the past few years, it was noted, both small and integrated producers were having an increasingly difficult time making enough money to keep their plants running.

Witnesses agreed that the price of copper rods were almost identical no matter from where they were purchased. Any price increase for the product usually resulted in a loss of business, forcing a return to the lower price. The point was made that, although all magnetic wire producing companies were suffering from the price squeeze, the integrated firms were in a better position, because it was not necessary for them to make a profit on a product in order to continue in operation. One witness expressed the view that a large firm whose magnet wire subsidiary was a substantial customer for its copper would not be particularly concerned whether the subsidiary made a profit as long as the sales of copper to the subsidiary continued profitable.

A representative of the Inca Manufacturing Division of Phelps Dodge Copper Products Co. replied to these charges.

Phelps Dodge supplies copper rods to its subsidiary, Inca, as well as to independent fabricators of magnet wire which compete with Inca. All those supplied with copper rod pay the same price.

It was pointed out that the Inca Division maintains a highly specialized product research and development department. Many firms in the field, it was reported, have benefited from Incas research.

Inca's sales have increased over the past 10 years in proportion to total industry sales. The witness expressed the belief that Phelps Dodge and its division had in no way interfered with the opportunity of competitors, large or small, to get their fair share of the market.

The witnesses appearing at previous hearings and those who will appear at the forthcoming Senate Antitrust Committee point to problems which are most real to them whether they are explainable economically or legally.

There would seem a good chance that the Senate will act on dual distribution early next year. If so, look for some new laws on the books by this time next year.

Annual Report of Senator Joseph D. Tydings for 1965

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, with the 1st session of the 89th Congress now complete, it is appropriate that I report to the people of Maryland upon the accomplishments of this Congress and of my role in helping to write that record.

I. THE OVERALL RECORD

This has been rightly called the fabulous 89th Congress. We have enacted more significant legislation in more fields than any other Congress in memory, possibly than any Congress in history.

Much of this legislation had been on the drawing boards for years. Most of it was first proposed by Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, or John Kennedy. But this Congress, under the skillful leadership of President Johnson, deserves the credit for enacting these much discussed and long-overdue measures into law.

As a Member of this Congress I was proud to support, with my vote and my voice, pioneering legislation in the following fields:

Elementary and secondary education: The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 recognizes the Federal responsibility for improving the quality of education which our children receive. The act provides large scale Federal aid to schools with a high percentage of children from low-income families. Maryland will receive up to $18.8 million. This will do much to increase educational opportunities for all of our children.

Higher education: The Higher Education Act provides significant new programs to aid colleges and college students: Federal scholarships and guaranteed loans for needy college and graduate students, aid to struggling small colleges, and grants for college libraries and training. In addition, this legislation authorizes a Teachers' Corps whose volunteer members would augment school programs in slums and other impoverished areas. The President has promised to request funds for this program early next year.

Health: The medicare provisions in the Social Security Amendments of 1965 mark a new departure in American society. From now on, working people will contribute to an insurance fund that will enable them to meet health care needs in their later years. The yoke of staggering medical bills will thus be lifted from the backs of the elderly and their families.

Equal opportunity: The Voting Rights Act of 1965 is a far-reaching step on the road to full equality for all Americans. Under its provisions some 183,000 Negro citizens in 5 Southern States have already been registered to vote for the first time.

Immigration: The Immigration Reform Act eliminates the undemocratic national origins quotas and regulates future immigration on the basis of family need and an individual's ability to make a contribution to our society, rather than color or ancestry.

Housing: The housing amendments of 1965 significantly strengthen existing programs to build houses for low- and middle-income families and for the elderly, and to assist urban renewal. The legislation also authorizes new programs to construct neighborhood centers and to beautify city parks and streets. In addition, the Congress pioneered with a bold program of rent supplements, which, when funded, should dramatically increase the housing opportunities open to the very poor.

Water and air pollution: The Water Pollution Control Act establishes Federal water quality standards and provides increased financial assistance for the construction of commuity sewage facilities. The Air Pollution Control Act will establish minimum Federal standards for exhaust fumes emitted by new automobiles.

Tax reform: The elimination of most Federal excise taxes will help to keep the economy functioning at its present high level, in addition to removing these burdensome and annoying taxes.

Maryland, Assateague and Appalachia: The Assateague Island National Seashore will preserve the only stretch of virgin seashore between Cape Hatteras and Cape Cod for the benefit of all Americans. Maryland will undoubtedly receive significant economic benefits from increased tourism which the Assateague Seashore will generate.

Garrett, Allegany, and Washington Counties in western Maryland will all be receiving funds under the Appalachia bill, the first Great Society measure passed by the 89th Congress. The legislation will finance a substantial road construction program, plus construction of health facilities, vocational schools, and land improvement.

The foregoing are just the highlights. In addition, the Congress enacted significant new legislation to promote regional economic planning and development, to encourage the arts and humanities and to submit for ratification a constitutional amendment to deal with the problems of a vacancy in the office of Vice President and a disabled President.

Other measures extended and revised the manpower training and antipoverty laws; encouraged regional medical centers for research and treatment benefiting victims of heart disease, cancer, and stroke; raised social security benefits, established a program to clean up the appearance of Federal-aid highways by screening junkyards, controlling placement of billboards and landscaping roads; removed silver from coins and gold backing from Federal Reserve deposits; combated the balance-of-payments deficit; expanded controls over sales of depressant and stimulant drugs; required a health warning on cigarette packages; and created an interurban rapid transit system from Baltimore to Washington.

II. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS

Of course, no Senator, least of all a freshman, could play a leading role in shaping all or any significant portion of this legislative program. The Senate operates through its committee system. The most significant work is done in committees. It was, indeed, fortunate to be assigned to three important committees.

The Judiciary Committee is one of the most important and prestigious committees in the Senate. More legislation is assigned to it than to any other committee.

The Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee is responsible for review of our multibillion dollar space program and for charting our space objectives after we reach the moon. Maryland is an important center for space research and development.

The District of Columbia Committee presents opportunities to implement model programs in almost all fields of interest to urban communities. The operation of the District of Columbia government is of direct concern to the nearly one million Marylanders who live in the Greater Washington area.

It was primarily through these committee assignments that I was able to play some role in shaping legislation of concern to Maryland and to the Nation.

III. REAPPORTIONMENT

I was fortunate—some call it beginner's luck—in having an opportunity during my first term to play a major leadership role on a national issue of great importance. This opportunity arose because of my assignment to the Senate Judiciary Committee and to the Constitutional Amendments Subcommittee, which had for consideration the controversial reapportionment amendment sponsored by Senator DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois, and 37 other Senators.

I found that at the opening of the hearings I was the only member of the subcommittee who fully supported the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. At the outset I presented a statement in which I analyzed the weaknesses of the Dirksen amendment. Shortly thereafter I met with Senators DOUGLAS, Democrat, of Illinois, and PROXMIRE, Democrat, of Wisconsin, who had led the successful fight against Senator DIRKSEN'S reapportionment efforts in the closing months of the 88th Congress.

The three of us developed a strategy to fight the Dirksen amendment. This strategy included:

First. Taking every reasonable and legitimate opportunity to insure full and complete hearings and to stimulate interested Senators, mayors, law professors, and citizens to present testimony in opposition to this amendment.

Second. A major address on the weaknesses of the Dirksen amendment, to be widely distributed and used as the principal vehicle of public education on the issue. I was chosen to make this speech. It was well received and I have been told that it was a vital ingredient in the defeat of the Dirksen amendment.

Third. Meetings with columnists and reporters and with the leadership of interested groups and organizations, particularly labor, civil rights, religious and civic organizations. These groups mobilized for an extraordinarily effective job of public education and political persuasion.

By the conclusion of the hearings, Senator DOUGLAS, Senator PROXMIRE, and I found, somewhat to our surprise, that our efforts had been surprisingly effective. The Judiciary Committee, which we had originally expected to report the Dirksen amendment by a comfortable majority, was now split 8 to 8, and would not report the amendment. We also found that there were more than enough Senators now opposed to the amendment to assure its defeat on the Senate floor.

When Senator DIRKSEN bypassed the Judiciary Committee and brought his amendment to the floor, as an amendment to a routine bill, I joined my colleagues in several days of debate. During this time we checked and double-checked the list of Senators who had told us they opposed the amendment to be certain that their opposition was firm. As soon as this was done, we were ready to vote.

The result—39 Senators opposed—was 5 more votes than the one-third needed to block a constitutional amendment.

Since the vote on the original Dirksen amendment last August, Senator DIRKSEN has introduced a new and revised amendment to accomplish the same basic purpose. In concert with Senators DOUGLAS and PROXMIRE, I have spoken out against the new amendment and have begun to take steps to insure its defeat next year.

IV. CIVIL RIGHTS

In this area, too, my membership on the Judiciary Committee enabled me to play a significant role in shaping a major piece of legislation.

The voting rights bill came to the Congress a few days after the President's dramatic speech calling for voting rights legislation. The bill was, of necessity, hastily drawn.

During the hearings, it became apparent to me and to several of my colleagues on the Judiciary Committee that significant improvements were possible. Those of us on the committee who supported voting rights legislation caucused on an almost daily basis, and gradually reached consensus among ourselves on the amendments we would collectively support. Among these was the controversial poll tax amendment, sponsored by Senator EDWARD KENNEDY, Democrat, of Massachusetts.

I played an active role in these deliberations and several of the amendments I recommended were incorporated in the bill at the committee stage. Subsequently, when the bill came to the floor, I served as an assistant floor manager to Senator PHILIP HART, Democrat, of Michigan, and played an active role in the debate.

I sponsored on the Senate floor, with Senator HIRAM FONG, Republican, of Hawaii, an amendment, which the Senate adopted and which was incorporated in the final bill, to authorize the appointment of Federal poll watchers. This is a most important provision. It will insure that Negroes who are registered under the act are, in fact, allowed to vote on election day.

V. OTHER PUBLIC ISSUES

During the first session I spoke out in the Senate and elsewhere on a wide range of public issues. Some of my statements dealt with the following subjects:

Peace: I spoke in favor of adequate appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, for Senator CLARK'S, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, planning for peace resolution, for a permanent U.N. peacekeeping force, and for an end to nuclear proliferation.

Gun control: I advocated effective Federal gun control legislation. At the American Bar Association's annual convention in August, I debated this issue with a representative of the National Rifle Association. At the conclusion of the debate, the House of Delegates voted 186 to 21 to support firearms control legislation.

Population control: I was one of the original cosponsors of Senator GRUENING'S, Democrat, of Alaska, population control bill, and have spoken in support of Government-financed clinics, both here and abroad, to dispense birth control information to indigent families that desire such assistance.

Mass transit: I introduced two bills dealing with mass transit. One would authorize Federal highway trust funds earmarked for urban areas to be expended, at the option of local officials, for mass transit as well as highways. The second bill would provide appropriations for research into new and imaginative techniques for moving people into and through our congested cities.

Auto safety: I spoke in favor of legislation to improve highway safety, to require the manufacture of safe automobiles and tires and to help States eliminate unsafe drivers and automobiles from their roads.

Law enforcement assistance: As a member of a special subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I helped shape new legislation to provide Federal assistance to States and local governments that desire to improve the quality of their law-enforcement agencies. In speeches supporting the bill I stressed the need first, to provide adequate compensation, education and equipment for our police officers, second, to develop better scientific techniques to aid the police and third, to improve communications and relations between the police and the Negro communities in our large cities.

VI. DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AFFAIRS

As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, and chairman of its Business and Commerce Subcommittee, I was able to play a role in the affairs of the District of Columbia.

Home rule: I cosponsored and vigorously supported home rule for the District of Columbia. I proposed several amendments to the administration's bill that were adopted by the committee and the Senate. These amendments included a provision for a chief administrative officer, to relieve the mayor of day-to-day details; and terms of 4 years rather than 2 for councilmen. Unfortunately, home rule was defeated in the House.

Rail rapid transit: I cosponsored and testified in favor of a subway for our Nation's Capital. Legislation to create the subway was enacted during this session.

District of Columbia budget: I played an active role as an ex officio member of the District of Columbia Subcommittee of the Senate Appropriations Committee. In a lengthy and detailed memorandum which I circulated among my colleagues on the committee, I pointed out where and how the District of Columbia budget should be increased to meet the health, welfare, and educational needs of the citizens of the District. Many of these suggestions were adopted by the Committee and ultimately enacted into law.

Welfare: In the area of assistance to the dependent children of unemployed parents, the Senate Appropriations Committee refused to take action that I, and others, deemed essential to the welfare of disadvantaged children. I joined actively in bringing this matter to the floor of the Senate where, after spirited debate, a compromise was reached that substantially met my objections.

VII. MARYLAND INTERESTS

Maryland fared well in the 1st session of the 89th Congress. After many years of discussion and consideration, lovely Assateague Island was made a national seashore park. In addition to preserving a spot of great beauty for Maryland residents, the park should provide a substantial source of tourist income. I worked closely with Senator BREWSTER, the principal sponsor of the bill, and testified on behalf of Assateague Island before both House and Senate Committees.

I was largely responsible for suggesting an important innovation in the work of the Maryland congressional delegation. For the first time in 20 years, the entire delegation—House and Senate, Democrats and Republicans—began to work together as a team. Since early summer, the delegation has held weekly luncheon meetings.

As a result of this coordination at least four concrete results have been achieved:

First. The Assateague Island bill was enacted.

Second. After unsuccessful attempts since 1958, the delegation succeeded in enacting a bill which would return to the University of Maryland several acres of vitally needed land that had been donated to the U.S. Government 30 years ago.

Third. The President's original proposal to place the port of Baltimore under a new regional customs office in Miami was reversed, and Baltimore was made a separate regional headquarters with jurisdiction over the mid-Atlantic seaports.

Fourth. The Housing Act was amended on the floor of the Senate to provide additional assistance to cities which carry on extensive urban renewal projects that stress rehabilitation rather than demolition. This amendment, which was retained in the final bill, will provide Baltimore with an additional $500,000 each year.

Finally, I spoke out about the problems confronting our State. In a series of graduation addresses, I discussed the decline of State government generally, and the need in Maryland, and elsewhere, for fair apportionment of State legislatures and constitutional reform. I also focused upon some of the specific problems facing Maryland in the fields of elementary and secondary education, higher education, urban development, water pollution, election reform and judicial reform. While these speeches provoked some criticism, I intend to continue to discuss the problems of Maryland, particularly as they relate to my responsibilities as a U.S. Senator.

VIII. SUBCOMMITTEE ON IMPROVEMENTS IN JUDICIAL MACHINERY

Following the death of Senator Olin D. Johnston, Democrat, of South Carolina, I was appointed to the chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Improvements in Judicial Machinery of the Senate Judiciary Committee. I thus became one of the youngest Senators, in terms of both age and seniority, to chair a major standing subcommittee of the Senate. Senate insiders report that they know of no other instance in which a first year Senator has been appointed chairman of such a subcommittee. Four members of the Senate Judiciary Committee, all senior to me, waived their seniority to enable me to assume the chairmanship.

The subcommittee's jurisdiction encompasses the organization and operation of the Federal judicial system. In the 6 months since I became chairman, I have—

Guided through the Senate the omnibus judgeship bill, which would create 44 additional district and circuit court judgeships throughout the country to alleviate the currently overloaded Federal dockets.

Conducted joint hearings on the omnibus bail reform bill of 1965 with Senator ERVIN'S—Democrat, of North Carolina—Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights. This bill, which updates Federal bail practices, passed the Senate in September.

Conducted hearings, again with Senator ERVIN'S subcommittee, on the sensitive problem of assuring defendants a fair trial, free from the prejudice of damaging publicity, while at the same time enabling the press to perform its constitutionally guaranteed responsibility of keeping the public fully informed.

Outlined future activities of the subcommittee, which include an intensive investigation of both the U.S. Commissioner system and the problem of judicial fitness. The U.S. Commissioners are the front line of Federal justice. There is urgent need for drastic overhaul of a system which has not been altered fundamentally in more than 70 years. Our investigation of judicial fitness will emphasize the sensitive but vital questions of the selection, tenure, and removal of Federal judges.

IX. CONCLUSION

This has been an eventful session of Congress for the country. The record of legislative accomplishment we have written will soon be felt in every home, school, hospital, and business establishment in Maryland.

For myself, this session of Congress has been a source of deep personal satisfaction. It was a thrill to take a seat in the same chamber whose walls echoed the voices of such men as Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Robert LaFollette, and my late father, Millard Tydings. It has also been a great privilege to have an opportunity to work with the present giants of the Senate. Such men as MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana; RUSSEL LONG, Democrat, of Louisiana; RICHARD RUSSELL, Democrat, of Georgia; EVERETT DIRKSEN, Republican, of Illinois; and many others have been most generous in sharing with me their invaluable knowledge of the workings of the Senate.

They have also been generous in permitting me and my freshmen colleagues an opportunity to be heard as well as seen. I am told that not many years ago a freshman Senator's lot was not a happy one. Whatever may have been the case previously, I can say without qualification that I have been given every opportunity to participate fully in the work of the Senate. I will always be grateful to the majority leader, MIKE MANSFIELD; to ALAN BIBLE, Democrat, of Nevada, chairman of the District of Columbia Committee; to CLINTON ANDERSON, Democrat, of New Mexico, chairman of the Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee; and especially to JAMES EASTLAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, chairman of the Judiciary Committee, for allowing me to take an active role in Senate business.

Finally, I am most grateful to the people of Maryland for giving me the opportunity to serve in the Senate. The longer I am here, the more I come to know and appreciate the wonderful people of our State. With the continued support of the people of Maryland, I will be able to serve more effectively.

Counsel for 6,200-Member Independent Bankers Association Submits Convincing Memorandum That To Weaken Antitrust Laws To Please Big Banks Threatens Preservation of Free Competition in Banking and All Industry

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in October, before adjournment, I received a memorandum of law and policy authored by Mr. Horace R. Hansen, a practicing lawyer in St. Paul, Minn., who represents the Independent Bankers Association of America.

Independent bankers are among America's greatest defenders of the free enterprise system. As independent small businessmen numbering in the many thousands in every nook and cranny of our land, these men have a vital stake in the wise and prudent application of the antitrust laws to banking.

Naturally, the association is strongly opposed to S. 1698, a bill before the Congress which would forgive thousands of past bank mergers without regard to their monopolistic effects. More importantly, it would all but destroy future application of the antitrust laws in this very important industry.

Mr. Hansen's very informative statement follows:

STATEMENT OF MR. HORACE R. HANSEN

This memorandum is directed to the question of why the Justice Department should remain in the bank merger field, and the basic antitrust laws embodied in the Sherman and Clayton Antitrust Acts continue to apply without modification.

It should be noted initially that there has been of late an excessive amount of unfounded publicity and fallacious propaganda to the effect that the antitrust laws in the bank merger field have thrown the entire banking industry into utter consternation and confusion. This simply is not so. The record well demonstrates that the Justice Department has been circumspect in its exercise of its enforcement authority and has given due regard to the factors which may often justify bank mergers. Of the some 800 merger applications approved by the banking agencies since the passage of the Bank Merger Act in May of 1960, for example, in only 8 has Justice brought suit. Interestingly enough, one-half of these were instituted against giant banks with deposits in excess of $1 billion which were involved in significant and substantial acquisitions of competitors; i.e., Manufacturers-Hanover, Continental-Illinois, Crocker-Anglo, and Philadelphia National Bank.

Of the over 13,000 banks in the United States, there are only 34 of this size category (American Banker, Jan. 15, 1965), and of them Manufacturers-Hanover is the fourth largest, Continental-Illinois 8th, Crocker-Citizens 16th, and Philadelphia National Bank the 27th largest. The remaining four banks whose mergers were brought before the courts for antitrust scrutiny, while smaller in size, were in each instance dominant leaders, and had undertaken to eliminate through acquisition substantial competitive factors in their respective service areas. It can scarcely be said that institution by Justice of antitrust proceedings in these 8 out of 800, a mere 1 percent, of the bank mergers consummated since the passage of the Bank Merger Act constitutes disruptive and inequitable antitrust enforcement.

The following are the bank merger prosecutions instituted subsequent to their approval by the banking agencies:

Philadelphia National Bank.

Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co. of Chicago.

Manufacturers-Hanover, New York.

Crocker-Anglo National Bank, San Francisco.

First National Bank & Trust Co. of Lexington.

Calumet National Bank of Hammond, Ind.

Third National Bank in Nashville.

Mercantile Trust Co. of St. Louis.

This list of litigated cases, though modest, does not alter the fact that the very existence of the antitrust laws constitutes a meaningful and effective safeguard against the inherent weaknesses and possible abuses to which the Bank Merger Act is subject. The act, of course, was originally passed for the purpose of cutting down on the bank merger movement and its resultant increase in banking concentration. As we note in more detail below, however, administration of the act has fallen far short of that purpose. If anything, its provisions have been utilized, particularly by the Comptroller of the Currency, to facilitate rather than deter bank mergers, particularly among the giant banks. In this environment, the institution of antitrust proceedings by the Department of Justice, and application by the courts of the principles of the Sherman and Clayton Acts as they have been developed by many years of judicial experience, can and do provide a check based on the antitrust laws, on banking agency approvals of bank mergers. To alter or remove the application of the antitrust laws from the bank merger field would destroy this safeguard. It would leave to the banking agencies full discretion to approve mergers, despite their otherwise monopolistic or anticompetitive effects, merely because such agencies might deem them to be desirable in other respects. We find it difficult to understand how a merger can possibly be in the public interest, or should be permitted, when it raises serious questions under the antitrust laws.

Antitrust decisions in important and notable bank merger cases manifestly provide guidelines for the industry. There are few who are not now familiar with the essential principles laid down in the Philadelphia and Lexington decisions, or would rapidly become familiar with them should they come into contact with merger problems. Thus the mere presence of antimonopoly responsibilities in the bank merger field necessarily has an informative as well as a deterrent effect upon further unbridled concentration and competitive dislocation in the industry. There are, indeed, several instances in which banks seeking to merge under the Bank Merger Act subsequently abandoned their plans because of a realization that they were subject to possible antitrust action.

In the Calumet National Bank of Hammond, Indiana case, for example, the merging institutions withdrew their application for permission to merge shortly after Justice filed suit. Two Oregon banks, the United States National Bank of Oregon in Portland, and the Citizens National Bank of Oregon in Lake Oswego, after they had filed their application under the Bank Merger Act, abandoned their plans when they were advised by Justice that their proposed consolidation raised serious antitrust questions and that the Division contemplated bringing suit. In a similar manner two banks in Williamsport, Pa., i.e., the Williamsport National Bank and the First National Bank of Williamsport, and the Comptroller of the Currency as well, were advised while their merger application was pending that Justice intended to institute suit should the application be approved. The Comptroller thereupon disapproved the application. A public statement issued by the banks thereafter indicated that the Comptroller's disapproval was based on his unwillingness to subject the banks to the burden of an antitrust suit.

While on this subject, mention might also be made that in 1959, prior to the enactment of the Bank Merger Act, two banks in New Haven, Conn., the Union Bank and Trust Co. and the First New Haven National Bank, abandoned their merger plans after receiving notice from Justice that their merger would constitute a probable violation of the antitrust laws.

In addition, of course, it is reasonable to assume, and we have reason to conclude, that numerous other banks contemplating mergers of questionable legality under the antitrust laws have been deterred from filing applications with the banking agencies in the first place, or pursued their plans no further, by virtue of the very existence of the antitrust laws and the probability of prosecution under them. This of course is a direct result of Justice's enforcement program. Removal or modification of this salutary deterrent can only encourage the already snowballing merger movement and ever-intensifying concentration trend in the banking industry.

The presence of the antitrust laws in the banking field has also had a salutary effect in deterring destructive and noncompetitive trade practices in the industry. In 1961, for example, suit was brought against three banks in Hunterdon County, N.J., for an allegal price-fixing arrangement for service charges which had been in existence for some 4 years. In 1963 a series of criminal indictments were brought against various large banks in Minnesota for the illegal fixing of service charges, as well as for the fixing of interest rates charged to correspondent banks for loans, and various other agreements aimed at reducing competition among the large city banks for the business of small correspondent banks.

Investigation and institution of these cases brought to the attention of the industry as a whole as well as the regulatory authorities the fact that such practices among larger banks were more prevalent than had been realized. On the basis of information coming to our attention since, we have every reason to believe that others engaged in similar illegal activities have discontinued such practices or been deterred from indulging in them, all to the competitive good.

THE STATISTICAL RECORD ON MERGERS

We have already noted that the dominant purpose of the Bank Merger Act was to curb, not to facilitate, the rising tide of concentration in commercial banking in the United States. Congress reiterated that concern, with special attention to the field of banking, when it enacted the Bank Merger Act of 1960. As part of the legislative history of the Act, it was pointed out that 1,332 banks with resources of $26.4 billion had been absorbed through mergers in the 9 years from 1950 through 1958 [1] and that 472 banks with resources of $7.8 billion had disappeared through mergers in the 3 years 1957–59.[2]

In the face of this wave of bank mergers, the House and Senate Committees on Banking and Currency both stated: [3]

"The large numbers of mergers in recent years, the vast resources involved in these mergers, and the increases in the size of the largest banks, particularly those which have grown through mergers, all give rise to concern for the maintenance of vigorous competition in the banking system and in the industry and commerce served by the banking system. The reduction in the number of banks and the loss of competition between merged banks also give rise to concern. There are differing views about the effect and the significance of the mergers which have taken place. But there is general agreement that legislation providing for uniform and effective regulation of mergers is required for the future."

Both congressional committees further observed: [4]

"Vigorous competition between strong, aggressive, and sound banks is highly desirable. Competition in banking takes many forms—competition for deposits by individuals and corporations and by personal and business depositors; competition for individual, business, and governmental loans; competition for services of various sorts. Competition for deposits increases the amounts available for loans for the development and growth of the Nation's industry and commerce. Competition for loans gives the borrowers better terms and better service and furthers the development of industry and commerce. Vigorous competition in banking stimulates competition in the entire economy, in industry, commerce, and trade. There is no question that competition is desirable in banking, and that competitive factors should be considered in all aspects of the supervision and regulation of banks."

However, despite enactment of the Bank Merger Act, which was designed to curb and regulate bank mergers, the tide of bank mergers has not abated. As compared with the 472 mergers which had taken place during the 3 years prior to the Bank Merger Act,

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[1] S. Rept. No. 196, p. 12.

[2] H. Rept. No. 1416, p. 6.

[3] Id. at p. 8; S. Rept. No. 196, p. 8.

[4] H. Rept. No. 1416, p. 3; S. Rept. No. 196, p. 16.

441 were consummated during the 3 years following its passage. During the period from May 13, 1960, to December 31, 1964, 715 banks with resources of $15.7 billion were absorbed through mergers [5] approved by the banking agencies under the Bank Merger Act.[6]

During this same period, of the 770 applications which the Antitrust Division reported upon to the banking agencies under the act, the Antitrust Division reported no adverse competitive effects in 300 of the applications (39 percent of the total) and reported adverse competitive effects in 470 of the applications (61 percent of the total). Of the total of 675 applications acted upon by the banking agencies during this period, however, 644 applications (or 95 percent of the total) were approved and 31 (or less than 5 percent of the total) were disapproved.

It is obvious that the Bank Merger Act alone, would not be an effective instrument to halt the engulfing tide of bank mergers. If bank mergers are to receive antitrust exemption, or modification as now proposed by some, the bank merger movement, with its attendant threat to competition in the banking field and the economy generally will probably assume even more serious proportions. And it should be observed that concentration in the field of banking, due in substantial part to past mergers, had already reached the point in 1962 where the 100 largest commercial banks and bank groups, representing 0.77 percent of the total number, had 49.4 percent of the total deposits of all the commercial banks in the United States.[7]

THE "DUAL PROCEEDING" ARGUMENT

Much unfounded propaganda has been disseminated by those seeking to remove the antitrust laws from the bank merger field to the effect that because of the existence of the Bank Merger Act and the antitrust laws side by side, the banking industry is thrown into endless confusion and uncertainty. Merger applicants, it is said, are thus subjected to two successive and allegedly unrelated proceedings.

This argument which is as mechanical as it is untrue, asserts that banks contemplating a merger must first go through all the trouble and expense of obtaining banking agency approval under the Bank Merger Act. Then, once having cleared that hurdle and obtained appropriate approval, they thereafter find themselves, much to their consternation and surprise, face to face with an antitrust proceeding.

This, however, is simply not the case. The Justice Department plays an integral part in the proceedings from the very beginning since under the Bank Merger Act, all applications must be referred to it for a report as to the competitive factors involved. Because of this fundamental and very practical fact, the "Bank Merger Act issues" and the "Antitrust issues" have consistently been matters of concurrent rather than consecutive significance.

The record well shows that in all of the prosecutions instituted by Justice, the banking agencies as well as the defendant banks were advised, well prior to banking agency approval, that the proposed merger, in the view of the Department, raised serious questions under the antitrust laws and that serious consideration was being given to the possibility of filing suit in the event the merger were approved by the banking agency. Indeed in several instances, counsel for the defendant banks, prior to the filing of the complaint, discussed with the Antitrust Division its views on the merger and its intention regarding possible suit.

The House Banking Subcommittee which held extensive hearings on proposed bank merger legislation during the last term of Congress looked into this matter in detail. Its record clearly shows that the banks involved in current litigation undertook their mergers knowing full well that they would be putting themselves in jeopardy of antitrust action.

Nor is there any justification in the propaganda distributed by those supporting currently proposed bank merger legislation to the effect that Justice was alone in its judgment of antitrust issues in the pending cases. On the contrary in most instances where suits were instituted, the Antitrust Division's views on the competitive effects were supported by one or both of the bank agencies making reports to the agency before which the matter was pending.

Nor does the suggestion that the present applicability of the antitrust laws gives to Justice some sort of a "veto" power over bank merger questions. This is ridiculous on its face for the only recourse available to Justice if it does not like a merger is to bring suit in the courts. In this the Department stands in no better position than any other litigant. It is the Court, after trying the case and hearing the evidence, that determines the validity or the nonvalidity of the transaction in quetsion. Therein lies the ultimate protection of our free society and our competitive system.

CONCLUSION

Since May 1960, the Department has filed eight suits attacking agency approved bank mergers under the antitrust laws. Although court action has been resorted to only sparingly, the fact that under present law bank mergers may be challenged in the courts under the antitrust laws, despite agency approval, no doubt acts as some restraining influence to stem the bank merger tide.

Mergers and acquisitions in other regulated industries have not been exempted from the antitrust laws despite agency approval. See, for example, radio and television broadcasting (*U.S.* v. *RCA*, 358 U.S. 334); gas pipeline companies (*California* v. *Fed. Power Commission*, 369 U.S. 482). And the fact that banking is a supervised industry does not mean that bank mergers should receive antitrust exemption. "Competition among banks exists at every level * * * and it is keen. There is no reason to think that concentration is less inimical to the free play of competition in banking than in other service industries. On the contrary, it is more inimical * * * concentration in banking accelerates concentration generally" (*U.S.* v. *Philadelphia Nat. Bank*, 371 U.S. at 369–370).

Competition in banking is vital. It would be unwise to reserve to the banking agencies, to the exclusion of the courts, the protection and preservation of competition in the field of banking. The tide of bank mergers with agency approval since enactment of the Bank Merger Act of 1960, shows that the Justice Department should not be dismissed from its responsibility or the courts ousted from their antitrust jurisdiction.

[5] Source: Annual Reports of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, 1960–63, table 4; data for 1964 not yet published.

[6] In addition, other bank acquisitions were approved under the Bank Holding Company Act of 1956.

[7] Annual Report of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation for 1962, table 23, p. 53.

Ralph Roberts, Clerk of the National House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following article by newspaper correspondent John V. Wilson appeared in the Evansville, Ind., press recently. It recalls some events in the long Government experience of our efficient and able Clerk of the House, Ralph Roberts:

HOUSE'S ROBERTS REMINISCES

(By John V. Wilson)

WASHINGTON.—Hoosier-born Ralph Roberts swims for relaxation, and his athletic ability has served him well as Clerk of the House of Representatives.

For Roberts has frequently found himself in hot water in recent years but he has successfully paddled to shore every time.

A native of the Ohio River town of Rockport, Roberts has spent some 42 years in the political swim of Capitol Hill and bows to few Congressmen in seniority.

In a rare interview recently, Roberts, who just turned 68, reminisced about his life in Washington and the fortunes of Indiana politics since World War I.

As housekeeper of the House, Roberts and his staff occupy a spacious suite of offices on the ground floor of the Capitol. His private office is filled with Washington memorabilia.

Seated at his desk, he faces an oil painting of the U.S. *Constitution*. On the walls are portraits of Presidents Harry S. Truman and John F. Kennedy. Behind him is a massive mahogany breakfront secretary.

Roberts is a tall, well-groomed man, with little gray in his hair. He wears a well-cut blue business suit with vest and looks more like a Congressman than some of the lawmakers.

As he talks, assistants bring him House bills and resolutions to sign. He pens his name with a flourish in inch-high script.

"Any bill the President signs, I have to sign twice," he explains.

This year, he has affixed his signature to the more than 255 public laws Congress enacted.

In his $26,000-a-year post, Roberts wears many hats. He presides over the opening session of Congress every 2 years until the Speaker is formally elected.

Moreover, he makes up the House budget ($76 million this year), supervises House purchasing ($700,000 a year), serves as paymaster ($11.9 million a month) and has a variety of legislative functions.

He has a staff of some 200 workers.

His staff keeps the House Journal and voting records. Lobbyists register with him. Congressmen file their campaign reports with him. And contested elections of House Members wind up on his desk.

The contested election of Mississippi's delegation got him in hot water most recently. The challengers, the Mississippi Democratic Freedom Party, accused him of foot dragging in preparing the record of the hearings.

"I didn't have any particular feelings about the case," Roberts says. "But I know the law and precedents I knew they had no case when they came in here, and I told them so."

As a young lawyer, Roberts came to Washington in 1923 as secretary to Congressman William E. Wilson, Democrat, of Evansville. With Wilson's defeat the next year, Roberts became executive secretary of the House Democratic campaign committee.

A few years later, he moved on to assistant doorkeeper of the House and was elected doorkeeper in 1943. He has been Clerk since 1949, except for the 2 years the Republicans controlled the House during the Eisenhower administration.

During his doorkeeping days, Roberts particularly recalls a young man "who worked for me in a way"—Lyndon B. Johnson. The President's late sister, Mrs. Josefa White, also worked for Roberts in the House stationery room.

Roberts has known so many of the Nation's leaders and seen so much history in the making he has a hard time singling out memorable events.

But he says "something you never forget" is the time he presented Winston Churchill to a joint session of Congress and was privileged to attend a private luncheon for Churchill later.

"He discussed the invasion of Italy," Roberts recalls. "And talking about De Gaulle, he said, 'I raised him up from a pup and he bit me.'"

The assassination of President Kennedy in 1963 was a double blow to Roberts, for the day before he had buried his wife of 23 years, the widow of Congressman Sam Nicholls, Democrat, of South Carolina.

Roberts lives alone now in an apartment in the Sheraton-Park Hotel, a few miles from the Capitol. His spare time is devoted to swimming and walking.

He has weathered bleeding ulcers, requiring 17 blood transfusions, and a 1964 heart attack, and says he feels "pretty good" these days.

Any thought of retiring?

"I don't know if I'd be satisfied or not," he answers. "Most of my friends and associates are around the Capitol."

Report on 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave previously granted, I would like to include in the RECORD my report to my constituency upon the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The report follows:

DEAR FRIEND AND FELLOW AMERICAN: The 1st session of the 89th Congress has now passed into history. The record made by this Congress during 10 short months will have the most far-reaching effect, ultimately touching the life of every American, of any Congress since the formation of the Union. It was a Congress which turned out more legislation than any in the last 30 years, in response to administration demands—and in such volume that much of it will need thorough congressional review and revision.

The cost of the new administration program has received little mention. It has been estimated that appropriations for this session will reach some $118 billion—about $12 billion more than last year's total, and this is only the beginning. No one has any idea as to the eventual cost of these programs as they expand and multiply in future years. And there have been reports that the President has a task force hard at work preparing more new and expensive programs to present to the second session of this Congress.

I opposed much of this legislation because I believe that many of the needs of the people may be met by constructive and progressive plograms planned and carried forward at the State and local level with Federal subsidy and control held to a minimum. Other needs can be met through the independent action of churches, foundations and private citizens. There are new and pressing problems we face as a Nation because of social and economic changes coupled with our constantly expanding population, but we can meet this challenge and solve these problems without substituting our American constitutional system of government for a "welfare state" presided over by a vast, all-powerful bureaucracy in Washington.

There follows my first annual report to the people of the Sixth District of Alabama. May I send with it my gratitude for the privilege of being your Congressman. Rest assured that inasmuch as in me is, I shall continue to do my best for you and for our country.

Sincerely,

JOHN H. BUCHANAN, JR.,
Member of Congress.

LEGISLATION

Medicare: The first year's cost of this program is estimated at about $3.5 billion to be paid by increased payroll taxes. Also approved: an increase in social security annuities. Medicare and other social security payments will take from the salary of a wage earner, based upon a $6,600 income, a yearly slice of $277.20 as compared with $198 previously. By 1987 medicare cost to the wage earner will have increased by 100 percent. Many of us felt there were other, better ways to meet this need and solve this problem.

Education: For the first time in history, Congress passed legislation to authorize funds for general use in elementary and secondary schools. Under this law approximately 95 percent of the Nation's counties, including some of the wealthiest, can receive grants to assist in the education of children from low-income families. The first year's cost—$1.3 billion. Projected 5-year cost—$6.5 billion. The higher education program was also renewed and revised with a cost of approximately $643 million a year for the next 4 years. This also includes a provision for a National Federal Teachers Corps, members to be recruited, trained, and fully paid by the Federal Government. The student loan program was expanded.

Appalachia and antipoverty: The administration's antipoverty program was expanded with passage of the Appalachia program which provided $1.1 billion to be used in 12 "Appalachia" States. The Congress also set up an omnibus regional development program to include areas designated as "economically distressed" with an additional $3.3 billion to be expended over a 5-year period, the program to be handled by an expended Area Redevelopment Administration. The antipoverty program (OEO) also included authorization for an additional $1.8 billion, in spite of the report that 1 in every 19 employees of the Office of Economic Opportunity makes over $19,000 a year.

Department of housing and urban development: This new Cabinet level department will deal with the problems of cities which will have an estimated increase of 100 percent in the next 35 years. During the House debate, predictions were made that the new department will grow more quickly than the cities. It begins with 13,000 employees and an annual budget of $4 billion.

Housing: The omnibus housing bill includes authorization for an additional 60,000 units a year for several years for low-rent public housing, and additional housing for the elderly, college students, and others. The cost for new and expanded housing programs—$7.8 billion. The public housing bill included the controversial $150 million rent subsidy plan submitted by the President. The Congress later declined to appropriate funds for this purpose.

Money change: This legislation removes the silver content from quarters and dimes, and reduces the silver in half dollars to 40 percent. All of these coins previously contained 90 percent silver. By Christmastime, the new "token" coins are scheduled to be in circulation, and the proverbial adage "not worth a red cent or a plug nickel" can be extended to our quarters and dimes.

Veterans: An increase in the rate of disability compensation for our veterans was passed, with my support, as well as several other measures extending veterans benefits.

Excise tax reduction: Reduction of excise taxes imposed as a wartime measure 20 years ago during World War II—long overdue—was voted to total about $4.8 billion by 1966 and included items ranging from telephone service to refrigerators.

Section 14(b) of Taft-Hartley Act: Repeal of section 14(b) of the act was passed by the House by a narrow margin. Passage was blocked in the Senate. This bill, if passed, would have outlawed State right-to-work laws such as the current Alabama State law.

Voting rights: This measure was one of the most controversial and far reaching enacted during this session of the 89th Congress. In its final form, it set up a double standard of Federal law plus curtailing the right of the States, including our own State of Alabama, to set the standards for eligibility under which qualification of voters would be established.

Other legislation included highway beautification; a liberalization of the immigration laws; and raising the debt limit to $328 billion. The clean elections amendment was approved, making vote buying in Federal elections a Federal offense. Annuity increases were approved for Federal retirees, and pay increases were approved for Federal employees (Congressmen excluded). A pay increase was voted for members of the armed services, and funds were appropriated for the conduct of the military action in Vietnam. New library funds were authorized. By the end of the session, a total of 769 bills and 360 resolutions were passed by the House, of which 444 bills were enacted into law. The total number of measures introduced was 16,882.

COMMITTEE ON POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE

As a member of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, I have been assigned to the Subcommittee on Manpower; Retirement, Insurance, and Health Benefits; and Census and Statistics, of which I am ranking minority member.

The effective operation of the Federal Government is dependent on the efficient utilization and performance of Federal employees. My committee has continuing responsibility to evaluate this work, and to take legislative action whenever necessary to assure the highest degree of efficiency in the operation of all Government departments.

The committee is also responsible for legislation which regulates the operation of the Post Office Department and the U.S. Census Bureau.

During the 1st session of the 89th Congress, 579 bills were referred to this committee. Twenty-nine have been reported favorably to the House. Of these, 25 have thus far been passed by the House and 9 have become law.

Of the major reports printed as official reports of the House of Representatives, all five were developed by subcommittees of which I am a member: three by the Subcommitee on Manpower and two by the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics.

H.R. 980, one of the bills reported to the House by the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, and a bill which I vigorously supported, is aimed at curbing the transport of obscence literature through the U.S. mails. This bill passed the House and is now pending before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

As a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, I have participated in hearings of the committee including the continuation of the Cuba travel hearing from the 88th Congress. During the most recent hearings Juanita Castro, sister of Fidel Castro, appeared along with other witnesses.

Investigations of the committee are continuing in areas where there has been evidence of the possibility of Communist infiltration, and I have attended extensive closed and executive hearings concerning subversive activities in our country which are receiving committee attention. The investigation of the Ku Klux Klan is currently in progress.

Legislatively, the committee has reported out of committee a bill providing for the creation of a Freedom Academy, of which I am a cosponsor, and the bill is currently pending before the House Rules Committee, and is expected to come before the House for consideration early next year.

This committee is the congressional guardian of our internal security. Rest assured that we shall not be deterred from our continued surveillance of Communist subversion as long as our Nation's security and the world's freedom are threatened by this tyranny.

IN CLOSING

The President's on Senate leader, Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, recently admitted, "It is hardly possible to set in legislative motion so many new Federal approaches to the Nation's problems, as we have done in recent years, without leaving a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions, and overlaps."

This sums up surprisingly well my own reaction to the first session of the 89th Congress.

Tax Sharing for Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, it is encouraging to discover the interest and support for my bill H.R. 10696, which would provide a regular system of financial support for education by having the Federal Government share up to 5 percent of its revenues with the States for the purpose of improving education.

An editorial supporting my tax-sharing bill, from the October 12 Richmond Times Dispatch, follows:

THIRTY MILLION DOLLAR BOMBSHELL

It was lucky, in a way, that U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel dropped his $30 million bombshell in Chicago. His patently illegal power play, designed to establish unprecedented new Federal controls over local education, nearly succeeded in the Windy City, and perhaps might have, if attempted anywhere else.

If Keppel had made his bid for power by withholding Federal school funds from any major city in the South, he no doubt would have been widely applauded for administering another whack at the old scapegoat. And the precedent for using the blackjack of withholding school funds elsewhere would have been established.

It is highly likely, too, that he might have succeeded in almost any Northern city which didn't have a good political pipeline to the White House. But Chicago has the unbeatable combination of Mayor Daley and Senator DIRKSEN—who put up such a loud, bipartisan fuss that the Washington edict was quickly withdrawn, and the Federal school funds were promptly restored.

Had the Keppel bombshell been dropped elsewhere and achieved its purpose, the valuable lesson provided by the Chicago episode—which has served as a warning to all American cities, pointing up the limits to which Washington will go to control local education—would have been lost or come too late.

But this whole disgraceful episode need not have occurred at all. It certainly wouldn't have, if Congress had acted promptly on a bill introduced last August by Representative WILLIAM BROCK, Republican, of Tennessee.

A major aim of the Brock bill, still resting in a House subcommittee, is to take Federal school funds out of the hands of Keppel's Office of Education and set up a new system of distributing them under closer congressional scrutiny. The Tennessee Congressman proposes that the Comptroller General, who answers to Congress, be given responsibility for handing out Federal school money, though it would be deposited in a trust fund administered by the Secretary of the Treasury. This might go a long way toward removing political and bureaucratic strings from Washington's school aid program and insuring that the will of Congress, which appropriates these aid funds, is heeded.

But the Brock bill would also set up a new system by which 5 percent of Federal income taxes would be returned to State and local governments for educational purposes. Half of this money would be returned on the basis of public school enrollment. The other half would be allocated under an incentive scheme—somewhat similar to the plan proposed by Alan Donnahoe, of the Richmond newspapers for distributing Virginia sales tax receipts within Virginia. BROCK's system, on a national basis, would reward those States and localities which are making the greatest educational effort, those spending the largest percentage of their income for educational purposes.

Two years of work went into the preparation of BROCK's bill. Working with the Brookings Institution, the Tennessee Congressman studied Canada's tax rebate system, conferred with leading educators, and communicated with the Governors of every State. Most of the response, to date, he says, has been favorable, and the bill is attracting new interest in the wake of Francis Keppel's near-successful power play in Chicago.

"Know Your District of Columbia Government"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CARLTON R. SICKLES
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SICKLES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a long-needed booklet entitled "Know Your District of Columbia Government," designed to help residents and visitors alike to obtain a better understanding of the government of the District of Columbia.

This booklet, which is now available, has been compiled from a recent newspaper series coauthored by Calvin W. Rolark, editor and publisher of "The Washington Informer" and Truman J. Keesey, public information officer of the District government.

It includes pictures of District of Columbia government officials, a detailed list of public library branches and their locations, as well as fire and police stations and their locations.

I am sure that citizens and government officials alike will find it an informative and useful guide to District of Columbia government.

Increased Dental Insurance Programs Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS
OF MISSOURI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Speaker, increased dental insurance provided by the private sector of the economy and through professional associations demands immediate consideration and action. The dentists and their associations have made commendable progress on their own and with insurance companies, and yet I warn that they and their associations should learn from medicare and prepare a comprehensive program which covers our Nation and is available to individuals and families in their own communities and States. This is far preferable and more effective than just another expensive Federal program. The private sector of our economy could best handle this, and I urge the dentists to move promptly during the next 2 months in advancing comprehensive dental programs.

The dental insurance programs that I have in mind could be handled directly by the American Dental Association, tied into Blue Cross and Blue Shield, individual and groups of insurance companies, or some new method. I also would like to mention and praise the role certain unions have played in advancing dental insurance for their members and their families. For example, the International Brotherhood of Teamsters have inaugurated a plan which provides coverage for eligible recipients on an indemnity basis, with the patient to pay personally to his dentist all charges above those specified in a table of allowance within the policy. Also, each member in the plan will have freedom of choice in selecting his dentist, and no dentist will be asked to sign any particular agreements or contracts.

It would be advantageous for the American Dental Association to hold meetings in all 50 States before January, as well as regional meetings for the Northeast, Midwest, South, and Western areas, so that the best thinking of the dental profession and their associates could be brought to bear on these problems. I favor at the beginning varied approaches in different parts of our country and in individual States, tailored to meet the needs of these areas. I am a great believer in the laboratory system. We will get new good ideas in some places and be able to drop ideas that do not work in others. Though trying out a variety of approaches in the marketplace, we should be able to come up with national program alternatives that have been tested in the field. Generally I am

pleased with the good work that is being done on this problem and I hope for a major constructive breakthrough, based on scholarship and practical approaches of meeting the dental care needs of American families. We must make progress promptly in developing a sound dental care insurance program and unless this is done professionally there will be a vacuum that the Federal Government will try to fill. In this effort I welcome ideas from all sources as to the best way to serve these needs.

Cooking for Profit: Material for High School Vocational Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, it has been brought to my attention that there are 17,000 vocational guidance counselors in the Nation's school system. The attached letter from Cooking for Profit magazine and a reprint from one of its articles will be of value to high school students interested in an exciting vocation.

The excerpts from the letter and article follows:

COOKING FOR PROFIT MAGAZINE,
Madison, Wis., July 15, 1965.

Hon. EVERETT DIRKSEN,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR DIRKSEN: First of all, all of us are warmly appreciative of your positive reaction to our editorial crusade to interest bright young people in the career opportunities in the food service industry.

We were pleased to discover your own background includes experience as a baker; certainly you are in a position to appreciate some of the critical personnel problems of this $28 billion industry.

The "Famous Food Artists in America" series is committed to at least 24 months. Each professional profile will be four pages in length, and each will include one full page illustration in full color.

There are hundreds of food positions within this industry, and consequently it is our plan to acquaint young people with as many opportunities that food service has to offer. In this series we want to include:

Chefs, dietitians, maitre d's, corporate executives with food background, food managers in the military services, top Oriental, Jewish, and Negro professionals, distinguished nuns in institutions, outstanding dietitians in VA hospitals and other Government facilities.

We understand that there is a network of 17,000 vocational guidance counselors in the Nation's school system. They are in need of material on various vocations and professions to present to high school students.

We would like to interest some organization in helping us do this job with reprints from this series. It should be a group with regular channels of communication with the high schools, and several Government agencies do have this advantage.

With about 4 to 5 million high school seniors in the public schools, we would like to see a million of them exposed to this series.

Once again, we are encouraged and happy at your expression of interest and concern.

Cordially,

JAMES R. MYERS,
Associate Publisher and
Editorial Director.

PAUL BRUNET, EXECUTIVE CHEF, THE PALMER HOUSE, CHICAGO

(NOTE.—A love of people, and flair for food have given Chef Paul Brunet a lifework that is rewarding and satisfying to him as it has been to the millions of people who have enjoyed his culinary artistry.)

Few people work harder, or receive such personal satisfaction as does a top chef in a distinguished hotel, great restaurant, or prestige luxury resort.

The culinary arts is one of the last remaining professions where imposing university degrees are not a requirement for personal advancement of success. Qualifications for even the topmost positions in this field are a love for food and people, and a dedication that overshadows long hours and hard work.

Such a man is Paul Brunet, executive chef, Palmer House, Chicago.

Chef Brunet heads a staff of 160 professionals in his vast kitchen who prepare an average of 8,000 meals a day in the hotel's 8 public dining rooms and 23 private dining rooms. In the average year, he has the responsibility for planning, buying supplies, cooking, and serving a prodigious total of 3 million meals involving $10 million in sales for the hotel. Certainly a man to be reckoned with.

With one ambition firing him on these many years, Paul Brunet has advanced through the ranks from his first menial culinary tasks of cleaning vegetables, poultry, butchering, and pot washing, to his present position and goal in one of the world's largest hotels, the Palmer House.

Born in 1906 of French-Canadian parents in Montreal, Canada, Chef Brunet received his early training at various clubs and hotels in Montreal, advancing from apprentice to fry, roast, second cook and assistant cook. After 4 years of steady advancement, in 1923 he moved on to the famous Mount Royal Hotel where he served for 15 months as assistant cook. Other club and hotel experience furthered his knowledge and proficiency.

Continually striving for advancement, he arrived in Chicago in 1928. He eventually moved to the Palmer House where he held varied positions until 1935 when he was made assistant to the executive chef. After two years in the Armed Forces, Brunet returned to his duties and in 1947 donned the executive chef's hat at the Palmer House, a hat which he has worn with distinction and honor. Brunet's air-conditioned office is right in the center of the huge, busy kitchen that sweeps from the elegant Empire Room to the Victorian Room. Through attractively draped windows, he is in close visual touch with his kitchen staff.

IBM typewriters, files of recipes, books, industry publications, clipboards, work schedules, professional certificates, plaques and awards, food samples, and a wide assortment of other objects combine to reflect the wide and varied interest of one of the world's great executive chefs.

One wall reveals a few of the profesisonal and industry testimonials to his culinary proficiency:

A first prize certificate from the National Food, Cookery and Allied Trades Exposition and the Salon of Culinary Art for an ancient castle, an ice sculpture creation. Another first prize in the same competition is for a "buffet practical."

In 1960, the Chefs de Cuisine Association of Chicago presented Chef Brunet with a plaque on his 25th anniversary at the Palmer House saying, "for leadership and distinguished service rendered for the elevation and progress of the Culinary Arts & Chefs Profession in America."

The National Restaurant Association gave him an award of appreciation in 1961.

In 1957 Chef Brunet was named a "Distinguished Culinary Artist" by the Hotel and Restaurant Employees and Bartenders International Union.

In March of 1965, he won the coveted first prize (and a trip to Japan) from the National Turkey Federation for his sweet sour turkey mignons in competition with chefs throughout North America.

In 1961 Brunet was given the rank of Chef Rotisseur by Confrerie de La Chaine des Rotisseurs.

A handsome plaque presented in 1964 by the Chefs de Cusine Association of Chicago is inscribed: "To cultivate among its membership the best ethical educational, moral and fraternal sentiment, to strive for their social and economic recognition as professionals by the employer and all constituted authority."

For 2 years, Paul Brunet was president of the Chef's de Cuisine of Chicago. It was during this time that he headed the committee to plan the great dinner for Queen Elizabeth of England on her visit to Chicago. One hundred of Chicago's distinguished chefs served on this committee.

Chef Paul is often presented to distinguished guests who stay or are entertained at the Palmer House. The listing of such persons reads like "Who's Who" and includes presidents, foreign royalty, artists and entertainers, and great business leaders. He was especially pleased with the visit of President Truman who was "a very nice gentleman."

CHEF BRUNET'S PRIZE-WINNING RECIPE: SWEET SOUR TURKEY MIGNONS

(Yield: 6 to 8 servings)

Ingredients: 36 pieces turkey mignon—1 ounce each (white meat); 2 cups carrots, slices; 1 head Chinese cabbage, shredded; 2 cups onions, diced in 1-inch squares; 2 cups green peppers, diced in 1-inch squares; 2 cups celery, shredded; 2 cups pineapple chunks; 1 cup green onions, split in 4—cut in 1-inch length (4) bunches; ½ cup salad oil; 2 cups pineapple juice; 5 cups turkey broth; ½ cup soy sauce; ½ cup vinegar; 1 tablespoon salt; 1 tablespoon cornstarch; 1 teaspoon pepper—black; 2 tablespoons M.S.G.; 1 12-ounce jar Macadamia nuts.

Direction for putting turkey recipe together: Boil the sliced carrots in turkey broth for 10 minutes, add the celery, onions and green peppers, cook for another 5 minutes and drain, save the broth. Add the pineapple juice and vinegar to the broth; dissolve the cornstarch in the soy sauce and add to the boiling broth. Season the turkey mignons with M.S.G., salt and pepper and then saute in oil until they are brown on both sides. In the same frying pan saute the vegetables and pineapple chunks and the shredded Chinese cabbage. Arrange turkey mignons over the cooked vegetables and pour over the thickened broth and let simmer for 10 minutes. Suggestions for serving turkey recipe: Serve in casserole. Saute the green onions and sprinkle over the turkey mignons and finish off by sprinkling the roughly cut Macadamia nuts over the top. Serve accompanied with hot steamed rice. May be served on a plate with the rice on same plate.

The recipe for the hot rice is as follows: 2 cups raw rice, 3 cups water.

Directions for rice: Wash rice several times in cold water and soak for 2 hours in cold water. Drain, place in a heavy cooking utensil and cover with the water and bring to a fast boiling point over a high flame and boil for 15 minutes. Take off flame, let set for 15 minutes. Serve hot.

Asked if he would repeat his vocation and profession if he had to do it over again,

Chef Paul doesn't hesitate with his "most certainly." What's more, he means it.

BROWSING THROUGH CHEF BRUNET'S PROFESSIONAL LIBRARY

Chef Paul Brunet has hundreds of volumes in his personal library; including a wide range of culinary subjects, books of every culture and in every language, his collection contains some rare editions on the culinary arts.

A quick survey of the professional library in his Palmer House office revealed these books on the shelves:

"L'Art Culinaire Moderne."
"Nuestra Cocina," by Jose Sarrau.
"The Gourmet Cook Book."
"Larousse Gastronomique."
"The Complete American Jewish Cook Book," by London and Bishop.
"La Cuisine Raisonomnee."
"La Cuisine Classique," by Urbain-Dubois and Bernard (a 19th century classic).
"Dictionary of Cuisine," by Alexander Dumas.
"The Encyclopedia of Food," by Artemas Ward.
"Apicus," the Roman Cook Book.
"La Grand Cuisine," Selection Raisonnes de 1221 Recettes de Cuisine Transcendonte par Prosper Salles et Prosper Montagne.

Among his other volumes, Chef Brunet has Greek, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, English, Mexican, German, Swiss and many other books reflecting his interest in the universality of food.

A special magazine rack in his office contains virtually all foodservice periodicals published throughout the world. Cooking for Profit is one of the well-read magazines on this display which is available to the entire kitchen staff of the Palmer House.

Hon. Clarence J. Brown

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the passing of that noble gentleman from Ohio, Clarence Brown, has taken from us yet another of those great veterans whose loss we have felt so keenly these past few years. His death particularly seemed to echo the end of an age—an age when the simple virtues and native common sense of Main Street America were the guideposts of the Nation. Clarence Brown called to mind a way of life we shall always fondly remember, though it be gone forever.

My differences with Clarence Brown on legislative matters never tarnished my abiding respect for him. He was proud to be a Member of Congress, proud to be a Republican, proud to be a conservative, and he symbolized the finest traditions and highest ideals of all three. His loyalty to the principles he held so deeply made him formidable in debate, perseverent in the fact of adversity, steadfast without pretense. Yet he was not less constructive for the tenacity of his convictions; his sponsorship of, and service on, the pioneering Hoover Commissions amply demonstrated his responsiveness to the continual challenge of new problems.

Above all, his service here was one of complete dedication, for he viewed such service, not as a stepping stone for other aspirations, but as a career of the greatest honor. Like Sam Rayburn, Clarence Brown proudly believed election to the House to be, in the late Speaker's words, "high enough for any man's ambition." Indeed, Clarence Brown exemplified the truly professional type of Representative—the one who keeps the legislative process functioning, day in and day out, and thereby keeps democracy vibrant at its most fundamental core.

The great esteem I held for Clarence Brown is the measure of my deep sorrow at his passing and the wellspring of the heartfelt compassion I extend to his grieving family.

Poems Descriptive of Our National Parks by an Outstanding Conservationist—Maurice H. Thatcher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN SHERMAN COOPER
OF KENTUCKY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, one of our country's strongest conservationists is the former Representative from the Kentucky congressional district which includes Louisville, the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher.

It has been my great privilege to know Governor Thatcher over a period of many years. Respected and admired by his many friends in Kentucky, in Washington, and in the Congress, he is known by all for his love of natural beauty, his courtly humor, his creativity, constructive hard work and steadfast devotion to conservation. It is always a pleasure to visit again with Governor Thatcher, and I wish to take this opportunity to refer to some of his works which deserve to be better known.

The congressional tenure of Maurice H. Thatcher covered the five terms from 1923 to 1933. During that period he introduced and secured enactment of legislation for the establishment of the Mammoth Cave National Park in Kentucky, and for the permanent improvement, maintenance, and operation of the Lincoln Birthplace Farm, near Hodgenville, Ky., now officially designated as the "Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historic Site."

Mr. Thatcher was also author of the acts creating the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery, located on the outskirts of Louisville and encompassing the old burial site of the Taylor family where a handsome mausoleum was built under the legislation as the final resting place of our 12th President, "Old Rough and Ready" of Mexican War fame, and his beloved spouse. The National Cemetery also embraces acreage from the Taylor homestead, purchased by the State of Kentucky and donated to the national cemetery.

While in Congress, Mr. Thatcher was also instrumental in the conversion of Camp Knox to Fort Knox, one of the greatest military establishments in the Nation, as well as the site for the custodial deposit of the Nation's gold reserves.

Throughout his congressional tenure, Mr. Thatcher served as an able member of the House committee whose work is vital to effective and efficient Government—the Committee on Appropriations. Both in Congress and in the following years he has encouraged and worked for the fuller development of national parks and a national parkway system.

In August 1964, upon the invitation of the Governor of the Canal Zone, he participated in the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the formal opening on August 15, 1914, of the Panama Canal to traffic. Mr. Thatcher has told me that he appreciated especially being assigned to unveil the memorial on Balboa Heights to the builders of the great isthmian waterway, the mightiest enterprise of the age.

During his visit last year both in the zone and in the Republic of Panama, Mr. Thatcher was received with affection and esteem, and an interesting account of the celebration was later given to the House by the gentleman from Wisconsin, Representative MELVIN R. LAIRD, and appears in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for June 23, 1965. Among the honors accorded Mr. Thatcher—now the only surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission which supervised construction of the canal—was the award of the "Golden Key to the Locks," and his designation as an honorary pilot of the Panama Canal.

A biography containing a fuller account of Mr. Thatcher's achievements appeared in the October 1964 issue of the National Park Courier, a periodical published under the auspices of the National Park Service, and I ask unanimous consent that it be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the National Park Courier, October 1964]

MAURICE H. THATCHER, STATEMAN-POET

We have received a number of queries concerning Maurice H. Thatcher, author of the poems which have appeared in the last two issues of the National Park Courier. Following through on these queries we learn that he not only writes poetry about these areas, but in several instances he was instrumental in helping to pass laws establishing these areas for preservation of future generations, so we pass along what we know about him.

Maurice R. Thatcher grew to maturity in western Kentucky, on Green River, in Butler County. He received his education in the public and private schools; elected clerk of the Butler circuit court; later, in Frankfort, the State capital, he continued his law studies, and was, by the court of appeals, licensed to practice. He served as assistant attorney general for the State (1898–1900); removed to Louisville, was assistant U.S. district attorney for the western district of Kentucky (1901–06); returned to private practice in Louisville; served as State inspector and examiner (1908–10), resigning that post to accept appointment, made April

12, 1912, as member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, which had supervision of the construction of the Panama Canal, and in that capacity, served also as civil Governor of the Canal Zone (1910–13). Returning to the practice of law in Louisville, he also held the office of member of the board of public safety (1918–19), and department counsel for the city (1919–23). He was elected to Congress from the Louisville district at the November election, 1922; and was reelected four times, serving 10 years in the Congress (1923–33).

In Congress Representative Thatcher was the author of various beneficial acts for the Panama Canal enterprise, and its employees, and for the isthmus, including legislation for the establishment for a free ferry across the canal, Pacific entrance, and the construction of a connecting highway—both officially named in his honor; also legislation for the establishment, maintenance, and operation of the Gorgas Memorial Laboratory in the city of Panama, which has now become one of the outstanding institutions of the world engaged in research touching the cause and prevention of tropical disease.

Also, he was author of much impotrant and beneficial legislation for his district and State, including the acts for the creation of the Mammoth Cave National Park; the permanent improvement and perpetual maintenance and operation of the Lincoln Birthplace Farm in Kentucky—now designated the Abraham Lincoln Birthplace National Historical Site in the National Park family; the Zachary Taylor National Cemetery; the construction of the George Rogers Clark Memorial Bridge across the Ohio River, at Louisville; and for the bridge construction program of Kentucky (pioneer legislation). Also, he obtained congressional legislation for the building of three Federal hospitals in the State, one of which was the veterans hospital at Lexington; also for the construction of a new Federal building in Louisville. In addition he was the author of legislation for Federal appropriations for providing Braille books and apparatus for the blind pupils of the Nation; and he effectively aided in the obtention of funds for Ohio River improvements, and for the development of domestic and foreign air mails.

Always, in and out of the Congress, he has actively served the national park cause; and organized, in 1931, the Eastern National Park-to-Park Highway Association, and was then elected, and has ever since served, as its president. In recent years he has been very active in his advocacy of the construction of a national parkway from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, via the Mammoth Cave National Park, to the Natchez Trace Parkway near Nashville, Tenn.; and which would provide a national parkway of 1,400 miles, continuous, beginning at Front Royal, Va., and ending at Natchez, Miss.

Mr. Thatcher holds several orders and decorations from Latin American governments because of his services in behalf of Pan Americanism. In recognition of such services and those rendered by him with respect to the Panama Canal, its employees, and the Isthmus, the Congress, by unanimous action, named for him, the new $20 million bridge across the canal on the site of the Thatcher ferry, which it supplants, the designation of the structure being Thatcher Ferry Bridge.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, in a life filled with activity for the public good, Mr. Thatcher has found time to exercise his literary talents by composing a considerable body of noteworthy poetry, some of which has been published in newspapers, magazines, anthologies and the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I would like to call attention today to his fine series of verses descriptive of most of our major national park units, a number of which have already appeared in the National Park Courier beginning with the August 1964 issue, with the others expected to follow. The poems enable us to share the generous spirit and noble vision of a great and good person, and I hope others may enjoy them as much as I have.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the poems be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the poems were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NATIONAL PARK POEMS BY MAURICE H. THATCHER

YELLOWSTONE NATIONAL PARK

The scientific folk may claim to know
The wherefore and the why of all we see
In this Empire of Wonders: ah, but we
Have learned the truth; to you the truth we'll show.
Consider what we say: you'll find it so.
This is the gods' own pleasure-ground; and they,
And all their imps, are always here at play,
Invisible, as they scamper to and fro.
Old faithful and the other geysers spout
From hidden founts, by hidden hands controlled;
And bubbling pool, and vent, and waterfall—
Are tricks and stunts, beyond the slightest doubt.
These forests, lakes, streams, heights, and charms, behold!
This choice the gods have made, we urge for all.

THE GREAT SMOKY MOUNTAINS NATIONAL PARK

The glories here are verdured master-peaks,
And forests deep, and endless blossomings;
And waterfalls and rills, and crystal creeks,
And gray-blue haze which to the mountain clings.
In opulence, scarce-equaled anywhere,
Hardwoods and conifers their arms expand;
Bird-song and fragrance rise upon the air:
And the collective whole is "Smoky Land,"
Rich in the legend of the Indian lore;
Of healing strength, and by the heavens blest—
The region bids you to enjoy its store
Of gracious worths, and find a place of rest.
Come hither, all who love dear Nature's art,
And know the peace and beauty of her heart!

OUR NATIONAL PARKS

Our national parks are bits of Paradise,
Created by the hand of God, to be
What man, at lenght, has come to realize
As Nature's richest realms, untamed and free,
And full-designed to serve his need and pleasure:
And therefore set apart. The terrains vast,
Of awesome majesty in matchless measure,
Are vested with a beauty unsurpassed.
These mountains, hills, streams, lakes, and sea-washed zone;
These mighty chasms and buttes, all iris-hued;
These boundless, sculptured caverns, deep and lone;
Woods, groves, and monarchs with deathless life endued,—
Combine into a wondrous, magic whole
Of healing for the body, mind, and soul.

MAMMOTH CAVE NATIONAL PARK [1]

Caverns immense, wrought through the endless ages:
What lessons for the human soul and mind!
The great Lord God, in these arresting pages,
Hath writ a matchless story for mankind—
A story of His purpose, never-failing,
However slow unto its mark it moves;
Here, in the sable hushes, 'ere prevailing,
The skill and power of His law he proves.
Through water's urge this realm of rock was hollowed;
By drop and drip these decorations grew;
From simplest process largest sequence followed—
Until, at last, they came to mortal view.
Yet nothing here is finished, and may not be
Till bounds be fixed for Time's eternity!

GRAND CANYON NATIONAL PARK

Only the Lord could apt describe the scene
Which here, behold! His mighty hand hath made!
Man's puny mind by awe is overweighed
Within the presence of this vast demesne
Of matchless form, and colors, opaline,
In massive masonries bewrought and laid,
And in abysmal, cosmic depths displayed—
Superlative in all the Earth's terrene.
Upon the Canyon's lofty Rim we stand,
And on the wondrous world below we gaze:
The countless pyramids and temples rise;
The River gleams—a distant yellow band;
All is kaleidoscopic, in light and haze—
And we are lost in rapture and surprise.

YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

The Valley, with its verges, is the gem
Of this vast scope of mountain, grove, and glade;
Afar there winds the rugged outer hem
Which Man, to bind the wonder-zone hath made.
El Capitan salutes each dome and peak;
In endless leaps the cascades plunge below;
The deathless trees, of dateless ages speak;
And evening crowns the heights with alpen glow.
Let science tell the all-absorbing story
Of how the whole, with each detail, was wrought—
Within the presence of such wealths of glory
We dare not pause to grasp what thus is taught.
Another time we'll ponder what is told;
But now we can but sense what we behold!

CAPE COD NATIONAL SEASHORE

This stretch betwixt the sea shores of Cape Cod
Was rendered sacred by the early tread
Of Pilgrim feet—guided by a trust in God—
In searching for a site, untenanted,
Whereon to found a State, in truth and name,
To civic-religious freedom consecrate;
And which, on sister shores, was fixed—whose fame
Lives on to bless, inspire, and elevate.
Here, beach and dune, cliff, isle, marsh, pool, and lake,
Wild-life, wild-bloom, forests, and lands unique,
Unite, a historic-scenic place to make.
Hither will come the multitudes that seek
Change and repose; here they will also find
The Pilgrim spirit brooding—to lift and bind.

INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

Lo! here it stands, ancient and immutable—
Indeed, the noblest structure of them all!
The ways of destiny are inscrutable—
But here, within this sacred, precious hall,
The fearless Founders wrought the Documents
That brought about the Nation's hallowed birth;
And made provision, in matchless excellence,
To guarantee our freedom and our worth.
Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton,
Adams, Franklin, Madison, and others live
Forever in this Shrine: their work, well done,
Became our heritage—to guard and give
To all who rise in sequence. Let all be sure
To keep it—so that the Nation may endure!

[1] The writer, while a Member of Congress (from Kentucky), was the author of the legislation providing for the establishment of this national park.

MOUNT RAINIER NATIONAL PARK

The Nation's noblest mountain, lone it stands,
A monument to God; for man, a boon.
Its mighty walls by cosmic strokes were hewn
And its great crest in ice and snow expands
Eternally. Its majesty commands
The distant eye, on land, or sea, or dune.
Its meads and slopes with blossoms are bestrewn,
And fern and forest deck its wonderlands.
What hath been wrought through unrecorded time.
By molten thrust and Nature's healing art—
Came to its own at last. This matchless worth,
This royal beauty, and these traits sublime
Were, in their sum, forever set apart—
A Jovian rendezvous atop the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN BIRTHPLACE NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE [2]

Here is the natal spot of one whose birth
Was like to that of the lowly Nazarene;
Destined he was to rise to noblest worth.
And so the scion of this scant demesne
Beat out a page of history unsurpassed
In all the tragic, fateful course of time;
And which—so long as liberty may last—
Shall be the story of what is most sublime.
This templed hut where dawned his infant sight,
This little farm, the spring, and rolling mead—
Bring to the mind the truth that right is might,
And must prevail. Thus, all who look may read
The chronicle of one who found the light,
Through sacrifice, and served the Nation's need.

CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

From eastern parts they came, and thru this Pass,
Thermopylaean, westward moved the Pioneers—
Their goal the regions and the far frontiers
Of Kain-tuck-ee's forests, streams, and famed bluegrass,
And fertile soils—all of primal class.
In this new realm were wrought—of hopes and fears,
And strife and sacrifice, thru tragic years—
Peace, law, and breed unique—singly or en masse.
Three States [3] have joined, a nation's park to form;
And here the epic past survives, with mem'ries
Of those brave venturers, led thru stress and storm
By the immortal Boone. This Gap and these
Peaks, verdures and vales combine as in a norm—
To stir the generations, and to please.

SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

A hundred miles or more, the bourne extends—
The Blue Ridge heart within its ample fold;
The Skyline Drive looks down on regions old
In history. Younder the river [4] wends
Its northward way in endless loops and bends
The Valley's [5] panorama is unrolled;
The Sun flings down his precious stores of gold;
And azured range with heaven's azure blends.
Hawk Bill and Stony Man surmount the rest;
High roads cut thru the gaps in transverse bars;
The Massanutten looms upon the West;
Naught dims the whole, nor its proud beauty mars.
Fits well the realm—by man and nature blest—
Its lengendary name, "Daughter of the Stars."

FORT M'HENRY NATIONAL MONUMENT AND HISTORIC SHRINE

The Muse of History hath written here
One of her richest and most noble pages;
Here, Armistead and Key—each in his sphere—
Wrought that which makes us debtors through the ages.
The first, with skill, led the courageous forces—
The Fort's defenders in those fateful hours;
Who with compatriots—all with scant resources—
Drove back to sea the invading powers.
As for the last, bent on friendship's mission high,
He was in hostile hands throughout the night;
At dawn his country's flag [6] yet graced the sky,
And he was moved his deathless song to write.
These battlements, grounds, and sculptures are preserved,
So that the cause of freedom may be served.

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK

An emerald huge set in an inland sea
Of azured beauty and with depths supreme;
With forests thick, and moods of serenity—
This is a place to linger and to dream.
Here nature's at her best; in the season's span
The air is clean and crisp; vast herds of moose
Range everywhere unharmed; all is Arcadian,
And well-designed for recreative use.
All those who wish new pleasures to derive,
May hither come by craft from any strand
That marks the waters of the famous Five,
And find the voyage filled with interest and delight. The isle waves welcome unto all those who wish to find a Haven of Repose.

PETRIFIED FOREST NATIONAL PARK

A miracle, behold! One that required
Age on the endless ages to consummate.
When giant trees were in their fallen state,
And in vast waters steeped, there had transpired
A show of Nature's magic, as she desired
Thru some strange whim: trunks large and smooth and straight,
In form remained; but chemic agents ate
The wood away, leaving stone with color fired.
The Painted Desert came, and this wonderland
Presents a scene all-baffling and unique;
It has no like: alone its marvels stand
In proof of Nature's varied works antique.
Search as ye may, with all at your command—
A match ye cannot find—in vain you seek!

HAWAII VOLCANOES NATIONAL PARK

From lovely Hilo and the opal sea,
Thru tree-fern growths and fairy scenes we climb
To Kilauea's crest. Awful, sublime,
Mad Halemaumau seems to be
The pit of hell itself, striving to free
An endless urge of lava and of fire.
Here Mauna Loa lifts her lofty spire
To unmatched volcanic immensity.
O Pelee, fabled Goddess of the Flame,
Are these thy sacrificial altars here?
Dost thou, indeed, demand—as fits thy fame—
The precious lives of those who live a-near?
Or, in these dread processes, is thine aim
Some good, unguessed, to make thy name more dear?

CUMBERLAND GAP NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

From eastern parts they came, and thru this Pass,
Thermopylaean, westward moved the Pioneers—
Their goal the regions and the far frontiers
Of Kain-tuck-ee's forests, streams, and famed bluegrass,
And fertile, virgin soils—all of primal class.
In this new realm were wrought—of hopes and fears,
And strife and sacrifice, thru tragic years—
Peace, law—and breed unique, singly or en masse.
Three States [7] have joined, a nation's park to form;
And here the epic past survives, with mem'ries
Of those brave adventurers, led thru stress and storm,
By the immortal Boone. This gap and these peaks, verdures, and vales combine, as in a norm,
To stir the generations, and to please.

ISLE ROYALE NATIONAL PARK

An emerald huge set in an inland sea
Of azured beauty and with depths supreme;
With forests thick, and moods of serenity—
This is a place to linger and to dream.
Here Nature's at her best; in the season's span
The air is clean and crisp; wast herds of moose
Range everywhere unharmed; all is Arcadian,
And well-designed for recreative use.
All those who wish new pleasures to derive,
May hither come by craft from any strand
That marks the waters of the famous Five,
And find the voyage filled with interests and Delight. The Isle waves welcome unto all those
Who wish to find a Haven of Repose.

[2] The writer was the author, in Congress, of the legislation for the permanent improvement, maintenance, and operation of this sacred shrine, located near Hodgenville, Larue County, Ky.

[3] Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia.

[4] Shenandoah River.

[5] Shenandoah River Valley.

[6] The "Star-Spangled Banner" of our national anthem.

[7] Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia.

Problems of Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN H. DENT
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DENT. Mr. Speaker, prior to leaving on the overseas schools investigation trip I have spent a few days visiting friends in Carthage, Mo.

While there I ran across an editorial in the Carthage Evening Press on the problem of Vietnam. I believe this to be one of the best expressions I have seen in print on the real deep and logical significance of the Vietnam struggle.

I would suggest it be read by all of the Members of Congress to reorient those amongst us who are losing sight of the issue involved.

The editorial follows:

A CARTHAGENIAN VIEW

All Carthagenians are in some personal way involved in the action in Vietnam or affected by it. Its importance, its nature, and the necessity of citizen understanding of the American commitment are emphasized in this series of editorial features.

There's a war in progress in faroff Vietnam.

It's not a worldwide holocaust, to be sure. But it is a major, bloody, bitter, ugly, angry war, as brutal and dirty as war ever has been.

What's more, it's a war which is making a painful impact upon thousands of American homes and families, some of them in the Carthage community.

To some it seems a forgotten war being fought by forgotten men for forgotten principles. But if any of this is true, it should not be. If any of this is true, then the horror of the whole affair is much greater than the usual horror of war and those who have forgotten soon may find themselves among the forgotten.

It's a different war than man has known before. The stakes are the minds and emotions of a people who are as confused as man ever could be concerning what the bloodletting is all about.

Communism, a political theology which seeks world domination through a series of patient, progressive steps, is trying to take its most recent forward step in Vietnam. The United States, which is communism's arch enemy because it believes in the dignity of individual man, the importance of individual initiative even in the shaping of state economy and the final authority of a Divine Creator, stands in the way.

Uncle Sam, true to his traditional image, has determined that in Vietnam the line shall be drawn, that in that faroff region of jungles, swamps and rice paddies the issue of freedom shall be decided and the question of whether the free individual or the all-consuming state shall be the supreme authority shall be answered.

With the incomprehensible exception of a few noisy "peace demonstrators," most Americans agree the decision of their elected Representatives in the Congress and the White House is a correct one. They agree the line is better drawn in Vietnam than in California, that so long as such choice remains it is better to hear the bombs explode in the streets of Saigon than to feel them burst in the streets of St. Louis, that for that matter even the amount of blood to be spilled can be lessened by drawing the line now in Vietnam instead of waiting until the hammer and sickle flag is being waived at the approaches to Jefferson City or even Carthage.

That's what the struggle is all about. In the jungles of Vietnam, with the image of home and its security never forgotten, Uncle Sam has confronted world communism with a firm declaration, "This is where you stop."

The line drawn by freedom's spokesman is manned by America's finest young men and the sacrifice of many of their lives is the risk deliberately taken in order to avoid the sacrifice of many more lives in an eventual world-rending thermonuclear holocaust which would blacken the face of America and bury forever this Nation's tremendous ideal, freedom for all men.

Uncle Sam is fighting with all the strength and determination which traditionally has been applied to the task of gaining and preserving human freedoms, the task for which America was created. This fact is in no way lessened by the necessary careful action being undertaken to prevent this brush-fire war from blazing up into a worldwide contest.

It is an uncomfortable war, being fought under miserable conditions. The enemy lurks behind every tree and is not easily identified. New weapons and new techniques are being created on the field. The horse cavalry of the Civil War and the Spanish-American War and the tank cavalry of World Wars I and II and Korea have been replaced by very similar but far speedier and more potent helicopter units. Nights are being illuminated with the brilliance of the sun through the use of new equipment which has made after-dusk operations totally different than those the veterans among us remember.

But death strikes just as quickly and just as permanently and the brutality of battle has not changed.

The men engaged, particularly those from the Carthage community, have not been forgotten, nor the ideals of freedom for which they have totally committed themselves.

This fact will be publicly demonstrated Thursday, November 11, when Carthage marks Veterans' Day with a special salute to the men in Vietnam and a reaffirmation of community approval of the national policy of containment of communism.

The observance, which will couple emphasis on the Vietnam crisis with a renewal of the memory of the sacrifices of earlier wars, is being planned by the local American Legion and Veterans of Foreign Wars posts.

It will open at 10 a.m. with a big downtown parade, followed by solemn patriotic ceremonies at memorial hall. Postmaster Glynn Evans will serve as master of ceremonies. Pastor August Jarus of Faith Lutheran Church will deliver prayer and State Senator Richard M. Webster will speak.

It is of the utmost importance that community awareness of the necessary sacrifices in Vietnam be demonstrated through unanimous attendance at the parade and the memorial hall ceremonies.

There are other ways of expressing support for our men in Vietnam. Personal letters are among the finest means to alert them to the fact they have not been forgotten. At this season, Christmas packages also are important.

For the benefit of those who wish to send such remembrances, the Press is eager to publish the names and addresses of all men of this community who are serving in Vietnam. We invite and urge their relatives to send us their names and addresses for publication, so that all concerned citizens may forward letters, cards, and gifts.

Please do so at once, since Christmas messages in particular must be mailed immediately if they are to be delivered in time for the holiday observance.

A war of the utmost significance is being fought in Vietnam.

Its purposes is to halt the aggressive forward movement of godless, enslaving communism.

All of us have a basic responsibility to support our men at the front—through the public observance of Veterans' Day, through letters to the men, and in every other possible way.

Humane Treatment for Laboratory Animals: Washington Post Endorses Cleveland Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, it was with great pleasure that I read the editorial endorsement given by the Washington Post to my bill to provide humane standards of care for laboratory animals used in conducting federally financed research.

The Post thus joins many other influential newspapers and thousands of concerned citizens throughout the country in support of this legislation. I am deeply grateful for this important backing. It comes at a key moment; public hearings have been held on the bill and we anxiously await further action by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. I hope the Congress will have an early opportunity to enact good legislation in this important field. The Post's fine editorial follows:

PROTECTING ANIMALS

Usually, if you ask a man engaged in medical research to comment on proposals to promote the humane treatment of experimental animals, you will get a Pavlovian sputtering. The medical practitioners—as least those speaking in their name—automatically hurl the epithet "socialized medicine" at any suggestion of mandatory preparation for the hazards of old age; the medical researchers mutter "antivivisectionism" at any suggestion that a dog be given a drink of water before undergoing an operation in the name of science.

It was therefore, a welcome novelty to hear Assistant Surgeon General James A Shannon of the National Institutes of Health answer a question before the House Commerce Committee recently regarding the operation of the British law insuring humane treatment of experimental animals. Quite clamly, Dr. Shannon declared: "I actually worked in the University of Cambridge in the mid-thirties under the British system operated by the then Home Office relative to the experimental use of animals. I found no difficulty in obtaining, in a period of about 10 days, the licenses necessary, and I had no problem in explaining the purposes for which the research was done, and it went on with no bureaucratic interference whatsoever."

We congratulate Dr. Shannon on his candor, his calm and his commonsense. What a healthy attitude he takes toward experimentation, either scientific or political. The essential principles of the British system are embodied in the Clark and Cleveland bills which have administrative procedures adapted to conditions in the United States. We hope that Congress will consider these bills with the same sort of healthy calm when it returns in January.

The Way Back

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, the challenges of political leadership in this decade have been summarized well in a recent report by the research division of the Republican National Committee. In two articles in the Baltimore Sun, Thomas O'Neill and Gerald Griffin commented on this report and its implications. I would like to call their views to the attention of my colleagues.

The articles follow:

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun]

THE WAY BACK

(By Thomas O'Neill)

WASHINGTON.—An eye-popping preview of what actually happened in this month's scattering of odd-year elections turns up in a survey completed before the elections for the Republican National Committee on where the party went wrong a year ago, accompa-

nied by implicit directions for getting back into the national contention.

The survey could have been a battle plan for JOHN LINDSAY'S conquest of the New York mayoralty in the focal election, but this turns out to have been coincidence only.

Off that lesson, however, it is reasonable to anticipate that the 75-page study will get minute examination from the party generally en route to the 1966 State and congressional elections. It is already in the class of essential handbook at national headquarters, where its factual findings agree in detail with the convictions of Ray C. Bliss, the national GOP chairman.

It is the most comprehensive analysis yet made of the shattering defeat of a year ago. The work of the headquarters research division, it is an unimpassioned inquiry into what was done and with what result, and its criticisms are implicit rather than stated. They are sufficiently plain to serve as a danger signal for future campaigners, the more so when set side by side with the history of the triangular battle for election as mayor of New York.

In effect:

1. There are simply too few Republicans (28 percent of all voters) to win elections on their own, but most of these vote the party ticket regardless (80 percent for Mr. Goldwater). Mr. LINDSAY appears to have held a similar party proportion in New York, although he made no party appeal and set out to win liberal independents and Democrats.

2. The white backlash as a means of winning urban and suburban areas is a false hope. In the New York campaign the spoiler candidate running solely to try to trip the liberal LINDSAY, William Buckley, summoned this vote with every device he could muster. About two-thirds of his total came from that quarter, but he was left far behind.

3. Myth alone maintains the existence of a great silent vote of conservatives who will turn out at the polls only to vote for a fellow spirit. Contrary to the notion that these would swell the voting rolls, the researchers found that the proportion of adults voting in fact fell off in 1964 from the level of 4 years earlier. Mr. Buckley, running as a true Goldwater conservative, clung to the delusion and campaigned so, again without result.

4. Negro voters are important in urban elections, and "obviously much work must be done in this field" to improve upon the meager 6 percent of Negroes nationally who voted for Goldwater. Mr. LINDSAY, who had an important hand in framing the latest civil rights statute, fared well in Negro neighborhoods, even against the opposition of the demagogic racial hero, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

Other conclusions appear inferentially rather than in cold type. One is that Republicans should rid themselves of their terror of the dogmatic rightwing and its reprisal threats.

Since Republicans are so few, party candidates can hope to win in most cases only if they offer an across-the-board appeal embracing all elements, Republican, Democrats, independents. The hollowness of the reprisals available to recalcitrants are amply exposed by the Buckley miscarriage in New York. The kooks who began in May to plot a third party for 1968 can safely be ignored.

Independently of the report, the party has summoned the courage to enter a bill of divorcement from the radical right, and its allied ideological purists. It started with the John Birch Society disavowed, has moved to include all extremists of whatever splinter affiliation.

Mr. Bliss cautions Republican State chairmen against all the far outs. Senator DIRKSEN pulled back hurriedly from an engagement to speak to a Connecticut rightwing outfit whose favorite previous orators were California pets of the extremists, Senator GEORGE MURPHY and actor Ronald Reagan, who wants to be the Republican nominee for Governor of California next year. Senator KUCHEL, of California, declines to back the Reagan candidacy in the absence of a repudiation of the radicals as a hazard to the party. Mr. LINDSAY makes it possible to say, "who needs them?"

It is the opinion of the national chairman, Mr. Bliss, that recovery is a long-term task, and that Republicans must look two or three elections ahead and be ready with attractive, able candidates.

It is expected that in time he will recommend a new set of slogans for campaigners, abandoning the tired shibboleths "creeping socialism" and "State rights." They have no meaning for a newer generation of voters, and at best were always wishful nonsense. The big Republican needs are a broader base and a new approach.

[From the Baltimore (Md.) Sun]

A THEORY TAKES A BEATING

(By Gerald Griffin)

The theory that many Americans do not vote in our elections because the candidates are not sufficiently conservative is being badly battered. Some authorities, in the light of a sizable body of evidence, prefer to call it a myth rather than a theory. But the theory dies hard, among conservatives who want to believe in it.

Last month the research division of the Republican National Committee undertook to give the theory a decent burial. In a study of the 1964 election, in which Senator Goldwater was the Republican presidential nominee, the research division concluded that the belief in a huge, silent vote, which would turn out under the right conditions, was proved false.

Last week in New York the theory took another drubbing after William F. Buckley, Jr., a Goldwater-style Republican running for mayor as the candidate of the Conservative Party, tried to revive it. Buckley's theory was that New York Conservatives—who couldn't support the liberal Republican, JOHN V. LINDSAY, for mayor—would vote for a conservative candidate (Buckley) in such numbers that LINDSAY would be defeated and the Democratic candidate, Abraham D. Beame, would win.

LINDSAY won, of course, Buckley got about 13 percent of the total vote. Beame complained, with some statistical justification, that he himself had been defeated by Buckley's efforts. Beame's point was that Buckley had drawn off Democratic votes which he otherwise would have obtained.

This bit of comedy, picturing Buckley shooting at LINDSAY and hitting Beame, does not obscure the point that the theory of a big, sleeping conservative vote, waiting to spring to the balloting booths at the beckoning wave of a candidate labeled conservative, was borne out no more by the New York election, with the articulate Buckley as the conservative, than it was a year ago by the presidential election in which Goldwater wore the conservative label.

The late Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio believed strongly in the theory of the latent conservative, and thought he had demonstrated its validity. Looking back, it now seems more likely that what Taft demonstrated was his own special quality. Taft believed—as do many Americans—that a majority of our citizens are basically conservative, as opposed to liberal. That is, he thought they would support sound practical government (of which he was a notable exponent) in preference to a doctrinaire spread of Federal direction and control.

Taft used the 1948 presidential election to develop the theory. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, a New York Republican running a confident campaign in the middle of the road, was defeated by President Truman. Taft thought many voters stayed home on election day who would have voted Republican if an appeal had been made to their conservatism. In 1950 Taft was reelected to the Senate by a large majority, and he thought his own success in Ohio proved his point.

Yet in 1952 the Republican National Convention nominated Eisenhower for the Presidency and rejected Taft. Eisenhower had the backing of the Dewey forces and party liberals and moderates, plus the support of many other Republican leaders who, despite their ideological affection for Taft as a conservative, thought Eisenhower would be the stronger candidate.

It should be noted, too, that Taft's concept of conservatism was less doctrinaire than that represented by the ultraconservatives who made Goldwater their hero. Taft's political theory was based on traditional Republicanism along with a sound, thorough knowledge of government, and an acceptance of changes that were steadily taking place in this country. The support and practical help he gave President Eisenhower in 1953, before cancer overtook him, were noteworthy.

In any case, the Taft theory was reshaped later to suit the aspirations of Goldwater and his followers, who were critical of Nixon's 1960 campaign for the Presidency. They thought Nixon would have won if he had campaigned as a conservative and they demanded that Goldwater be given a chance to demonstrate conservative strength.

But, says the analysis made by the Republican National Committee's research division, "The belief held by some political observers that an enormous number of citizens who had never voted in previous elections would do so in 1964, favoring Senator Goldwater in the process, was not borne out by the results of the elections. Although the actual number of voters topped 70 million and set a new national record, the percentage of Americans of voting age who actually voted dropped slightly compared to 1960 and was smaller than the percentage voting in 1952."

This need not be taken to mean that there no longer are many conservatives, and that conservatism is to be disregarded. But there are degrees of conservatism in America; one man's conservative is another man's radical. The Republican research division seems to be suggesting that Republicans should give more attention to facts than to theories.

Secretary of the Treasury Fowler Tells the Economic Club of New York That a Further Rise in Interest Rates Is Like "the Dog Chasing Its Tail," Threatening Prosperity and Risking Recession

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler, speaking before the Economic Club of New York, minced no words in attacking the views of those who find tight money and high interest rates as the only solution to whatever problems, either real or imaginary, that plague our economy. Secretary Fowler pointed out that interest rates have been substantially raised in the last few years and that in-

stead of helping, higher rates will only harm.

The Secretary cautioned against any inflationary panic with the reminder that we have a serious unemployment problem yet to be solved and warned that any substantial change in our monetary and fiscal policies of the last 5 years could be ruinous.

He insists that it would be irresponsible to abandon tried and proven policies, particularly in favor of the drastic, stringent money tightening urged by those who habitually insist that inflation is lurking around every corner and behind every tree. The Secretary wisely pointed out to his audience that it makes no sense to raise interest rates to a point of conflict with domestic expansion and yet not provide a real solution to our balance-of-payments problem. On the inflation question, the Secretary cautioned against any price increases and urged continued cooperative effort of business, labor, and government, stating, however, that there is no sufficient evidence to justify higher interest rates because of any threat of inflation.

This is one of the most forceful and clearly reasoned statements I have read on the subject of monetary policies and interest rates. I commend it to my colleagues for careful study. There is little doubt that the wise and prudent policies counseled by Mr. Fowler, if followed, will assure us, barring international catastrophe, of indefinite continuation of our unprecedented prosperity.

His remarks before the Economic Club follow in their entirety:

REMARKS BY THE HONORABLE HENRY H. FOWLER, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF NEW YORK, WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL, NEW YORK, N.Y.

It has been said that "the Great Society is the one in which businessmen think greatly of their function." The author of that statement was not President Johnson, but Alfred North Whitehead, the great philosopher, speaking more than half a century ago.

A more contemporary American, speaking of our present-day economy said: "It is an economy where the health of business benefits all the people. It is an economy where the prosperity of the people benefits the health of business. It is an economy where, in large measure, the fortunes of each are tied to the fortunes of all."

Gentlemen, that speaker was not the head of our giant corporations—it was the President of the United States. Incidentally, in the spate of economic statistics which confuse us daily, one thing emerges loud and clear: namely, what is good for the country is certainly proving good for General Motors. And the same is true of virtually every business represented here tonight.

Instead of fortifying that last statement with a barrage of statistics about what has happened in the last 2 or 5 years to profits before taxes, profits after taxes, cash flow, gross national product, personal disposable income, consumption, weekly pay, employment, and numerous other indexes; let me be one speaker out of Washington who spared you a glorious statistical recital. There is no need to belabor the statistics, when to paraphrase one well-known commentator: "In your heart you know I'm right." And, I might add, in your annual report, too.

Behind all those heartwarming statistics you are being spared, there is an important fact of life in this good year 1965—you in business and we in government are a partnership for progress. We are bound by a common conviction that the right answer to our problems on both the domestic and international economic fronts must be based on a dynamic private sector as the prime mover in the achievement of our economic goals. Business, labor, and government have learned that by pulling together we can all achieve much more than by pulling apart.

It is against this background of a fruitful, working partnership between business and government that I would speak to you tonight about the most important task of that partnership—sustaining the greatest, longest, and best balanced economic advance in the Nation's history as it moves through its 57th month.

You will forgive me for speaking frankly and in a more personal vein than is customary. This is a very personal subject to you, and both this partnership and the economic advance are a personal and public thing to me. Much of the last 4½ years of my life have been given to promoting both—because it is good business for the Treasury and the country.

My personal credentials for a deep and demonstrated conviction that we must enable the private sector to play the prime and dynamic role in our national economy, include scars and bruises incurred in helping to secure the development, adoption, and execution of the liberalization of depreciation allowances—the investment tax credit in 1962—the corporate tax cut and further improvement of the investment credit in 1964—individual tax reductions of 1964 that included top-to-bottom rate reductions—and excise tax reductions this year.

But my most important credential by far is that I serve under a President of the United States who has done more and worked harder than any man in our long national history to bring about the better understanding that is essential to a fruitful working partnership between business, labor, and government. Night after night, day after day, as no President before him, President Johnson has brought together leaders of business, finance, and labor to meet with him, his Cabinet, and White House staff members—seeking advice, swapping ideas on what each could do separately and all could do together for a better America. He has made, "let us reason together", a national slogan as well as his personal expression of heart and mind.

It is in that spirit that we turn to our task—sustaining the economic advance.

Debate is raging on how best to keep it rolling. A number of my friends have engaged publicly in this debate. An even larger number are debating privately. There are those who are fearful of "overheating" or inflation. There are those who feel that the economy may run out of power and lose its upward thrust. Some of my friends see the exapnsion exploding with a boom and a bang because it is being excessively stimulated. And some of my friends see the expansion running out of gas unless there is more stimulus. My own position on this issue is frank and forthright. I am for my friends.

Since I am a mere lawyer by profession, I am not eligible to join either of these economic schools. So I have been thinking of starting my own new school of economics. To be a member you must have the capacity to worry about both inflation and deflation at the same time. Students in this school, when they read each morning's ration of glowing economic statistics, will not know whether to laugh or cry. They must be aware of the dangers of unbridled optimism either as a strategy for successful performance or as a medium for successful prophecy. They must also not be inclined to surrender to pessimism. In my school, neither Cassandra nor Pollyanna will be eligible as coeds.

The curriculum will be simple. It will consist of persistent study of the policies which have been employed to sustain the present expansion and the adjustments, adaptations, and changing emphasis appropriate to new problems, new needs, or new facts.

The unprecedented economic expansion we are seeking to sustain has consistently confounded those who have failed to discern its true course and character—those, often, who have also failed to comprehend the policies that have supported and sustained its progress.

And those policies have amply proven their worth. While they have not—and I would not dare to claim they have—eliminated the business cycle, it has been demonstrated that the cycle does not move by the calendar but by our private and public policies.

In considering the future of the current economic expansion and my views of the policies necessary to sustain it, my thoughts instinctively go back to the summer and fall of 1961. The views I held then—and hold now—were perhaps best expressed in my response to a request by the late President Kennedy at a Cabinet meeting in mid-November 1961—just 4 years ago to the week—for suggestions with reference to the coming year's legislative and administrative program. It was entitled: "A Recommended Program To Avoid Recession in 1963–64 or Minimize Period of Decline." Sparing you the analysis and commentary and much of the detail of the program recommended, let me outline the policies to which it was directed:

First, a steady and healthy increase in the rate of business investment in modernized plant and equipment, providing the capacity and efficient facilities essential to support more rapid growth at stable prices but without encouraging an unsustainable burst of investment activity;

Second, coordination of monetary and fiscal policies to promote this growth by providing new investment incentives in our tax structure, while maintaining the availability of ample credit for investment, homebuilding, and State and local construction at reasonable rates of interest;

Third, an early attack on structural problems potentially constricting our growth potential, including especially the training of additional supplies of manpower equipped to play a useful role in modernized industry or expanded services, private and public, and enactment of a Federal aid to education bill;

Fourth, the avoidance of destabilizing price, wage, inventory, and budgetary policies, including action to avoid a violent shift back and forth between large deficits and large surpluses in the Federal budget, to develop productivity measures and guidelines, and to encourage labor-management-Government understanding of appropriate price and wage changes;

Fifth, improvement of countercyclical tools through the enactment of automatic or discretionary countercyclical tax and expenditure devices that could be promptly brought to bear, in coordination with monetary policy, when desirable to counter actual or reasonably forecast sharp changes in demand.

What stands out, as we look back upon the expansion of the 4 years that have ensued since that early analysis, is how far we have come forward those goals, and how smooth the ride has been. For this expansion has remained remarkably free from the excesses and imbalances that too often in the past have upset our periods of prosperity.

There were tests that might easily have tripped up a less solidly based expansion—but that we have met and mastered, avoiding recession on the one hand and inflation on the other, as business, labor and Government have worked together in a climate of mutual cooperation and confidence.

I am not here tonight to contend that there is no need for flexibility in the public and private policy mix we have so successfully lived by for nearly 5 prosperous years.

Of course, new facts and new circumstances may call for a reexamination of policies. Policies must be adjusted and adapted to new problems and new needs as they emerge. And we must not airily dismiss potential new dangers. But there are dangers, too, in acting prematurely in response to fears for the future that are not grounded in hard facts and hard analysis.

A few months ago, many were concerned that the expansion might sputter and fail—particularly after the turn of the year, when the large rise in payroll taxes to finance medicare and increased social security payments would take effect. We took steps to meet the legitimate problem that did exist. Now that fear has largely receded and the principal concern seems to be that there will be inflation entailing risks to the expansion. This position must be examined and dealt with frankly. Are there solid grounds for these fears or, as Fortune magazine recently put it, has "the curve of business activity and the curve of sentiment about it parted company"?

In amassing the gains from our expansion, the Nation has brought unemployment down from 6.8 to 4.3 percent. We have raised industry operating rates from about 78 percent to some 90 percent of capacity in recent months. In so doing, we have brought our economic performance far closer to our rising economic potential. These welcome developments are the fruits of efforts which have been zealously pursued. Are they to become bitter fruit, giving rise to inflation and the loss of our expansion?

What is the situation?

The situation is that private demand is increasing at a healthy rate and defense expenditures are rising because of Vietnam at a time when the gap between demand and the availability of manpower and unused capacity has narrowed to the lowest point in this 57-month expansion.

Defense Department spending currently accounts for less than 8 percent of our total output, and the current levels of the buildup will mean no appreciable change in that percentage. During the Korean war period, by contrast, military spending necessarily zoomed from 5 to 13 percent of a much smaller gross national product.

There is still some room to absorb that spending through the fuller use of our current resources. For instance, unemployment is still significantly above the levels that we feel represent a realistic noninflationary target for our economy.

Much larger elbowroom is assured by the growth in our productive capacity. There is the prospect of large annual net additions to the labor force averaging 1.5 million each year. There is under way in both the public and private sector the most massive effort ever undertaken to attack the problem of structural unemployment, involving the training and retraining of young and old and those whose skills have been outmoded or never properly developed to take a more useful and efficient role in our economic society.

Furthermore, industry is already adding to capacity at a rapid rate, and most industries are ready and able to expand production substantially, even with present facilities. The McGraw-Hill reports last week of projected plans for 1966 expenditures for plant and equipment were reassuring. In no sense do they add up to a nonsustainable rate of expansion or modernization or an inflationary strain on the capital goods industry such as characterized 1956–57. The bulk of the new capacity seems to be going to the right places—to those industries where operating rates are highest.

Thanks to rigid Federal expenditure control in fiscal 1965 and 1966, our budgetary deficit position was rapidly approaching a balanced condition until the additional expenditures of the conflict in Vietnam intervened. At present tax rates, we can look forward to a revenue growth of some $6 to $7 billion or so a year as the economy grows in line with its potential—revenues which can be allocated to meeting increased budget requirements.

There are also several restraining factors on the economic horizon—including not only the rise in payroll taxes I mentioned earlier, but the runoff of steel inventories and the less than exuberant outlook for housing.

In the price sector, some disturbing signs have appeared. The last year has seen more of a tendency for price increases to outweigh declines than any year since 1958. Industrial wholesale prices have risen by 1.5 percent in twelve months after 6 years of comparative flatness. Consumer prices are 1.7 percent above a year ago, as compared with yearly increases averaging 1.3 percent since 1958.

In summary, the situation calls for confidence in our capacity to adjust to increased demands upon our economy. But, at the same time the situation requires us—both in the public and in the private sector— to recognize that the margin for error is much smaller and the need for responsible action is much greater.

What are some of the elements of responsible action? The situation requires that we forego further tax cuts until some more opportune time when the stimulation that would result from increased private consumption and investment will be more appropriate. Fiscal dividends from our economic growth in the form of tax cuts seem, for the present, to be a casualty of the increasing requirements for the defense of freedom in Vietnam. A favorable change in that situation might call for a review.

Responsibility also requires a budget that will enable us both to meet our domestic objectives and our international commitments without fostering inflationary pressures. It require a budget that, without neglecting national needs, seeks to finance new programs from savings on old ones to the maximum extent possible. It requires a budget that achieves all possible savings to offset greater defense needs by eliminating or reducing low priority civilian programs, and by stretching out or deferring the impact on spending of some of the new and proposed civilian programs—without delaying basic authorizing legislation or otherwise unduly impairing important, but longer-run objectives.

It requires, in short, the kind of budget that President Johnson is going to give us—a budget that reflects both the most stringent kind of fiscal discipline and the most effective response to essential national needs.

Some are not content to tackle any present or potential risks of inflation with that responsible kind of fiscal policy. They advocate abrupt restrictions on the expansion of money and credit to restrain the growth of demand, and would invite sharply higher long-term interest rates. This would be a substantial change in our policy mix of the last five years and amount to a new ball game. It would raise in the minds of our producers and consumers serious questions about whether or not to continue to buy and expand in the light of increased cost of money and tightness of credit.

The important point is that no sufficient evidence has yet developed to justify this kind of treatment of the price situation or of the supply-demand relationship by cutting back on demand rather than emphasizing efforts to expand supply. To restrain demand at this time would be to admit that the continued growth of the U.S. economy in amounts comparable to the advances of the last 2 years is beyond our resources. In those years our pluses and minuses have added up to a generally smooth and well-phased expansion of about ten and a half billion dollars a quarter in our gross national product. The pluses and minuses that are in prospect, according to the analyses of most of our economic forecasters, public and private, do not suggest a marked deviation from that pattern in the next year—either upward or downward. Is it too much? I believe the answer is, and should be, "no."

I would urge that from here on our priority objective should be to achieve that growth without increasing pressure unduly on reserve capacity. To do so we must increase our efforts to provide the capacity to absorb that growth so that the risks of pressure on prices and of aggregate demand on productive capacity are minimized by increases in supply rather than restrain of demand.

We must intensify our attack on structural causes of unemployment by more job training and retraining, a better organization of the labor market, and the decasualization of many types of seasonal or part-time employment. We must use every effort to increase productivity and hold down costs. In that effort, we must not forget the lessons of the 1950's—that the steady gains in productivity required to absorb increases in wages and other costs rest on steady growth and output—that the investment required to enhance efficiency, cut costs, and assure ample capacity over the longer run is dependent on the combination of steadily expanding markets and profits.

And to digress for a moment, we hear again a refrain that a solution to the balance-of-payments problem can be found in tight money and higher interest rates. Presumably proponents of this approach must be referring to rather drastic measures since that is what would be necessary to bring into equilibrium the interest rate levels that characterize the U.S. economy and other capital markets.

Let me also remind you that twice before the Federal Reserve has raised its discount rates—one half percent in the summer of 1963 and one half percent in the fall of 1964—to deal with balance-of-payments problems. We have clearly not overlooked this instrument. But our rises were followed by rises abroad and the gap remained—and in some important areas widened. Only a few months after the second increase it was necessary to request voluntary action to restrain and accelerating outflow of capital from our banks and nonbank financial institutions. As my predecessor, Douglas Dillon, several times pointed out—as early as Rome in 1962—the problem of disparity between interest rates and capital availability here and abroad is rooted in rates abroad that are far too high, and in the woeful inadequacies of foreign capital markets. This kind of substantial disequilibrium cannot be eliminated or reduced to manageable proportions under present circumstances by any monetary action at all consistent with our domestic needs.

May I suggest that the zealous exponents of the use of monetary policy to achieve a better balance among international interest rates have a fertile field for missionary work in Western Europe. We should not play the game of the dog chasing its tail to the point of severely damaging our economy and risking a recession. It makes no sense to raise persistently our interest rates to a point where they may conflict with the maintenance of our domestic expansion and yet not provide a real solution to our balance-of-payments problem.

But in no sense is this the end of the discussion. In any marriage or partnership, there comes a time for frank talk. That time has now arrived in the partnership between business and government—if we are to maintain our excellent record of price stability, which must continue to be a key element in sustaining the current expansion, as well as in bringing our balance-of-payments deficits to an end.

There is a particular danger today—when we are engaged in war in Vietnam at a time when margins between supply and demand

have narrowed, in hasty and ill-considered action in wages and prices—a misguided effort to exploit present markets for short term individual advantage at the inevitable expense of damaging the prospects for future markets and for healthy growth for all.

I would like every single businessman who is now contemplating or who may be contemplating in the future an increase in price to stop, look, and listen. Do changes in his unit costs and profit trends justify that action or permit him to hold steady? Or do gains in productivity and lower costs offer an opportunity to lower prices, broaden markets, and increase sales?

The wage-price guideposts of the Council of Economic Advisers point out the kinds of policies that serve the public interest in this sphere, but they can do no more than point out. It is business and labor that must carry the burden of responsibility.

The man who unnecessarily raises prices today or fails to take advantage of opportunities to cut costs and reduce prices will only add to other producers' costs tomorrow. That is a cycle that we must stop before it starts.

Everyone in the business and financial community, and in labor organizations, and everyone concerned with wages or prices, should look beyond their own personal and professional responsibilities to their very real—and much broader—common responsibility toward the economy at large.

That standard would be true in any season or year. But the need for responsible action of this nature is particularly acute in the period ahead against the background of smaller margins of unutilized labor and production capacity and the especial responsibility that the situation in Vietnam places on every American.

Today's prosperity reflects a combination of sound fiscal and monetary policies, intelligent business planning, and responsible restrain by business and labor in making wage and price decisions.

The future is in our hands—government, business, labor, and the public. It is not in the private interest and it is contrary to the public interest to gamble with that future for the sake of immediate—and very possibly temporary—gain.

In conclusion, I do not see before us any economic problems in sustaining our economic advance which we cannot handle—and without abandoning the essentials of the policy mix that has served us so well thus far.

Our task is simply to prove that we can stand prosperity. I have no doubt that we can and will—if we remember that the one thing which prosperity cannot stand is to be taken for granted. It must, on the contrary, be earned anew every day, every week, every year—earned by the continued cooperative effort of business, labor and government. For it is that effort—and not some phantom force—that determines how well our economy performs.

Once again we are approaching a crossroads of national decision. There are those in the private sector—in both business and labor—who would abandon this time-tested policy mix which has served so well as the basis of the working partnership between business, labor, and government and has given the Nation 57 months of uninterrupted and unparalleled prosperity. If it should be abandoned, what is to be used as a replacement? Old formulas that have not worked? New formulas that have not been thought through or grounded on a new consensus? Or the chaos of divergent policies that add up to no policy at all? The real question is: Why give up a winning combination? My answer is: Let's not throw it away.

Congressman Jacobs States Opposition to Reapportionment Amendment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH D. TYDINGS
OF MARYLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TYDINGS. Mr. President, because so much public attention has been focused upon the fight over Senator DIRKSEN'S reapportionment amendment here in the Senate, it is sometimes forgotten that any constitutional amendment must pass the House of Representatives, as well as the Senate, by a two-thirds vote. We who opposed the Dirksen amendment always believed that there was a better chance of beating the amendment in the House than in the Senate.

The original rotten borough amendment, Senate Joint Resolution 2, was defeated in the Senate last August 4, while its stepchild, Senate Joint Resolution 103, appears to have little chance of passage in the Senate next year. I find it heartening to know there is continued opposition in the House of Representatives. One dynamic and outspoken young Congressman, ANDREW JACOBS, of the 11th District of Indiana, has written an effective and hard-hitting statement of what reapportionment means to the voters of Marion County, Ind.

I ask unanimous consent that his letter for the October 1965 issue of the Marion County Democratic Central Committee Newsletter be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT IT MEANS TO YOU

(By Andy Jacobs, Jr.)

We hear a lot these days about reapportionment and equality of representation in the legislature.

Most people, who don't have an extremely dull ax to grind, would agree that it only makes sense in a free country to allow no more and no less than one vote to each citizen. In America it only makes sense that all citizens are equal politically and that no one is "more equal than another."

If this were not so, then a lot of men have wasted their time, and, far more tragically, their lives and limbs, crawling in muddy foreign soil to defend America and its way of life.

We know that some Americans have found it possible to say, with faces as straight as Senator DIRKSEN'S, that if you live in or near a city you don't deserve to have your vote count for as much as that of your country cousin.

These people say that Indiana's 50 State senate seats should not be divided equally among the citizens of Indiana. They say that "interests," rather than people, should be represented in the State senate.

Thus, if only 1 man owned all the farms in Indiana, under the Dirksen theory, that 1 man should be given 26 State senators while the other 24 senate seats would be divided among the other 4.6 million citizens of Indiana.

Of course, there's nothing new about the Dirksen position. It's the sort of thinking that led some in our history to advocate allowing the right to vote only to the landowner, the so-called town voter.

"But," one asks, "why at this late date would a man like Senator DIRKSEN advocate a system so alien to the American belief in political freedom and equality?" Senator DIRKSEN, the man who placed Senator Goldwater's name in nomination at San Francisco, believes that property and money should speak louder than people in the State senate?

What does all this mean to the people who live in Marion County?

Consider this: In the 1963 legislature, by a one-man, one-vote system, Marion County would have had two more State Senators representing us.

The State Senate that year passed a sales tax which in many instances applied to the city dweller but not the farmer. And, that tax passed the State Senate by one vote.

Thus, we started by being cheated out of two votes and then lost the battle for fair and equal taxation by one vote. That's what it means to you.

And, that's what it meant to America when she fought the Revolutionary War over the trespass of taxation without representation.

Senator DIRKSEN says we should have a referendum on whether each citizen should have an equal vote and voice in the State legislature. Your Congressman says that there are some things too basic even to vote on.

We don't take a vote on whether an innocent citizen has a right to life or liberty. And we don't need to take a vote on whether a citizen has a right to vote and have his vote count for as much as the next fellow's.

Your Congressman believes it to be self-evident that a citizen is endowed by the "Creator with certain inalienable rights and among these is life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" and an equal vote to protect them.

The 1st Session of the 89th Congress—A Record of Accomplishment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM D. FORD
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD. Mr. Speaker, for many months, newspapers throughout the Nation have vied with one another to find new adjectives to describe the 1st session of the 89th Congress. We have heard nicknames ranging from "The Action Congress," the "Do-It-All Congress," and the "Fabulous 89th." Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY has labeled it "The Education Congress." Senator PAT MCNAMARA calls it, appropriately, "The Congress That Kept Its Promise to the American People."

There is no question that this Congress has compiled an outstanding record of accomplishment. As a Member of Congress, and as a member of the Democratic majority which carried through this tremendous program, I am well aware of this record, and I am proud of it. Every American family will be af-

fected and benefit directly from these legislative achievements, and Americans for many generations to come will continue to benefit from new programs now undertaken by the Congress.

President Johnson has called this session of Congress the greatest in American history and described our work as "the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of this Nation."

I should perhaps, be more restrained in my remarks, lest I be accused of immodesty. But it is difficult to restrain the enthusiasm I feel when I look back on our record. We have built the foundation to fulfill goals first sought more than 30 years ago by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and advocated since then by Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Let me review for a moment some of the highlights of our legislative accomplishments:

MEDICARE AND SOCIAL SECURITY AMENDMENTS

The medicare law will enable every American to enjoy his retirement years without the constant fear that illness may wipe out his savings and make him a burden upon his loved ones. The law provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing-home care for persons 65 and older, financed through the social security system. It also offers an optional, low-cost insurance program to help pay physicians' fees, with half the cost of the premiums paid by the Government. Pension benefits for all social security retirees were increased by 7 percent, retroactive to last January 1, and the first checks for this increase have already reached the people.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION ACT

This landmark law provides, for the first time in the history of our Nation, direct Federal aid to improve the quality of elementary and secondary education. It authorizes $1.3 billion for the first year of a 3-year program designed specifically to raise the quality of education and reach every American child with a real opportunity to learn. Although the bulk of the money is earmarked to help children from low-income families, all school districts will share in the benefits. I was proud, indeed, to serve on the House Education and Labor Committee, and its General Education Subcommittee, which drafted this legislation and guided it through hearings and debate until its final passage by Congress.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

This legislation provides a five-year program of assistance on the college and university level, with a first-year authorization of $250 million. The bulk of the money will aid needy students, through an undergraduate scholarship program. As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, and the General Education Subcommittee, I also helped to draft this legislation, and worked for its adoption. In a day when a college education is as vital as a high school education was a generation ago, this act should make it possible for any qualified high school graduate to continue his education. This measure will be especially helpful to the children of middle-class workingmen's families who wish to continue their education beyond high school.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

President Johnson signed the immigration bill into law at the Statue of Liberty. This was a truly significant location, for the nationality quota provisions of our Nation's immigration policy had stood for many years as a contradiction to the "open door" policy symbolized by the famous statue. The new immigration bill abolishes the old national origins system, which set the immigration quota for any nation at one-sixth of 1 percent of the persons of that national origin who lived in the United States in 1920. This system, which discriminated heavily against the nations of southern Europe, is replaced with a first-come, first-served system of preferential admissions for immigrants with special skills, education or training, or those with close relatives in the United States. Immediate family members may join parents or children from whom they have been separated for years by the old law.

WAR ON POVERTY PROGRAM

Congress extended the Economic Opportunity Act through 1968, and authorized nearly $1.9 billion for antipoverty programs in the coming year. This major assault on poverty throughout the Nation is being carried out through a series of programs including the community action program, Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, adult basic education, and small business loans. This many-pronged attack is designed to train both youngsters and older persons in new fields of employment, and to encourage local citizen particiation in antipoverty campaigns.

HEART DISEASE, CANCER, AND STROKE PROGRAM

This far-reaching legislation allocates $340 million for a 3-year program of research into the cause and treatment of heart disease, cancer, and strokes—the three leading causes of death in the United States. Its goal, as outlined by President Johnson, is "to speed the miracles of medical research from the laboratory to the bedside." By this act we are finally bringing the tremendous resources of the Government into the fight against these killer diseases.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Congress, for the first time, has taken special notice of the growing number of older Americans, and their unique problems. This act creates an Administration on Aging, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Funds are authorized to make extensive studies into the problems of the aged, including income, health care, housing, employment, retirement, and recreation.

VOTING RIGHTS ACT

This law strengthens the machinery for guaranteeing the right to vote for all citizens, by prohibiting poll taxes and literacy tests. It also provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of the eligible electors are registered.

HOUSING AND URBAN AFFAIRS

Taking note of the fact that 70 percent of our population now lives in metropolitan areas, Congress established a new Cabinet-level Department to administer programs affecting cities. The new Department will take over the functions now in the Housing and Home Finance Agency and its constituent departments, and gives the problems of our cities and their growing suburbs, special attention.

OMNIBUS HOUSING ACT

This law extends the current urban renewal and public housing programs; continues the FHA loan insurance program, and encourages urban planning and beautification.

AID TO DISASTER AREAS

I was particularly pleased with the passage of this bill, since I was its original sponsor. It authorizes Federal funds to assist school districts which are hit by natural disasters such as tornadoes hurricanes, earthquakes, and floods. Money is available both for repair and rebuilding of school facilities, and for operational purposes. The bill also provides for Federal aid to State-operated or State-supported institutions which offer free training to handicapped children, and eases the requirements for large cities to qualify for Federal aid under the impacted-area program.

These are only some of the highlights of the first session. We also adopted a new farm program, water pollution and air pollution control, military pay increases, drug controls, highway beautification, water resources development, and an arts and humanities program.

REDUCTION IN TAXES

With such a tremendous list of programs to help assure a better life for all Americans, it is particularly noteworthy that we have been able to reduce Federal taxes. Many persons are inclined to think that the Federal Government is responsible for the continuing upward spiral of taxes. The excise tax reductions of 1965 are proof that this is not so. This act slashes nearly $5 billion from the Nation's annual excise taxes. This is a savings to citizen-taxpayers and a healthy boost for the Nation's businessmen. It completely eliminated excises on jewelry, furs, luggage, appliances, and scores of other items, and it authorized a gradual reduction in excise taxes on automobiles and telephone bills. Many businesses burdened by the so-called emergency or wartime taxes are given a new lease on life.

This action followed on the heels of the income tax cuts of 1964, which made the largest Federal tax reduction in U.S. history—some $11.5 billion in income and corporate taxes.

What these figures mean, in effect, is that Federal taxes will have been slashed by nearly $16.5 billion as a result of income and excise tax cuts signed into law in the past 2 years:

In Michigan, it is estimated that the income and excise tax reductions will give taxpayers $666 million more money to spend each year. Citizens in the Detroit metropolitan area will have an extra $272 million.

In 1966, Michigan residents will benefit to the extent of $54 million in lower automobile taxes, $33 million in lower telephone and telegraph taxes, and $73 million on such items as handbags, luggage, jewelry, furs, and cosmetics. These annual savings will be even higher in following years, when further tax cuts go into effect on automobiles and telephone service.

Let us look at the revenue side of the Federal financial picture. Despite the massive tax reductions, President Johnson announced last March that gross collections of Federal taxes had hit an all-time high of $114.4 billion for fiscal year 1965. That represents an increase of $2.2 billion over the previous fiscal year.

On the spending side, the picture is bright. Twenty years ago, the Federal budget amounted to 45 percent of the gross national product, which was then $218.3 billion. Today, the Federal budget is only 15 percent of the gross national product, which has reached the $650 billion figure. And this, despite the fact that defense and war-related spending accounts for about 75 percent of our current Federal expenditures.

In relation to gross national product, our Federal public debt also has decreased. In 1945, it was 118.7 percent; today the national debt is only 49.5 percent of the gross national product.

As the 89th Congress completes its 1st session, I think we can take considerable satisfaction in our work, and in the state of the Nation. Despite the grave and vexing problems that we face today, both at home and abroad, Americans can be proud of our great strides toward making this land a better place in which to live, and a model for the entire world to follow.

I repeat, I am proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress; I am proud of the accomplishments that we have made, and I look forward to another fruitful session when we return in January.

Americans in Vietnam Are Fighting Poverty as Well as Communist Troops

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMILIO Q. DADDARIO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DADDARIO. Mr. Speaker, two newsmen of channel 3, Hartford, a station operated by the Travelers Broadcasting Service Corp., recently were sent to Vietnam to cover the activities of Americans engaged in combat there.

Paul Kuntz and Bob O'Dwyer of WTIC–TV secured both films and radio reports on the action involving our men. Centering on Connecticut men, they reported regularly on the way these men were carrying out their mission. When they returned, the Hartford Courant asked Paul Kuntz to describe their activities and their impressions for publication in that newspaper.

Paul's account highlights the dual mission of American forces, to protect the areas of civil authority and to help guide the Vietnamese on their own course toward freedom and democracy. I believe his account deserves wide distribution and I offer it for the RECORD:

AMERICANS IN VIETNAM ARE FIGHTING POVERTY AS WELL AS COMMUNIST TROOPS

(By Paul G. Kuntz)

(NOTE.—Paul Kuntz of Windsor Locks is in Vietnam interviewing Connecticut men for WTIC. The following is a report written especially for the Courant.)

DA NANG, SOUTH VIETNAM.—People keep saying the war in Vietnam is a different kind of war, and we are finding that statement is more than true.

Photographer Bob Dwyer and I saw how different it is when we spent 4 days with the Marine amphibious force in the Da Nang area. Veterans of World War II and Korea would probably consider some of the tasks being performed by today's fighting men as nearly impossible.

For example, one battalion of marines, guarding a section of the Da Nang perimeter, has an area of responsibility that covers approximately 152 square miles. This means Lt. Col. Verle E. Ludwig and the estimated 1,000 marines under his command must do their best to physically control this vast area.

It obviously cannot be done in the old style in which each company had an average frontage to cover of maybe 300 yards, and a battalion covered a frontline position of perhaps 1,000 yards. Patrolling is the only answer in this guerrilla warfare; patrolling and development of a civic action program.

Colonel Ludwig said his unit averages 14 to 20 patrols in each 24-hour period. These patrols are moving out through the steaming hot, or extremely wet jungle for periods varying all the way from 3 to 4 hours to 3 to 4 days. Most of the patrols are strictly on their own. They cannot expect resupply once they leave their company defensive area.

The colonel noted if a patrol leaves his command post it can take them as long as 4 days just to reach the edge of his tactical area of responsibility and return.

En route a patrol like this will first have to wade through waist-deep water in the rice fields, then try to dry off in the dank shadows of heavy jungle trees that sometimes reach 60 to 70 feet into the sky. A good many of these patrols draw Vietcong sniper fire, but boobytraps of every type imaginable are just as much feared by the patrolling Marines as are the Vietcong sniper bullets.

Most of the Marine patrols are small. One front-line battalion commander told me if he sends out a company or even a platoon on a patrol they will draw very little, if any, fire. The Red guerrillas do not appear to be willing to tangle with any large-size Marine unit. A 12-man squad-size patrol, and some even smaller are most effective in seeking out and destroying the enemy.

Tanks are not always useful on the patrols, but in some of the Da Nang areas near the coast they are. Gunnery Sgt. Edmund Robitalle, of 33 Julius Street, Hartford, told us of two incidents involving his tank company which probably have taught the guerrillas a good deal of respect for the heavy, noisy, lumbering tanks. In one case a Marine tank hit a Vietcong mine that had been laid to stop it. The tank just kept rolling along.

In the other incident, Sgt. Robitalle said the guerrillas fired three shots from an anti-tank gun. The tank took all three shots. One man was wounded, but the big vehicle just kept moving. As a result, the Vietcong have learned that firing on our tanks is just a waste of ammunition, Robitalle said.

The area around Da Nang is under constant surveillance from the air. These aerial observers have the job of spotting any build-up of Vietcong forces and bring them under immediate air or artillery fire.

That afternoon we talked with artillery officers who said they frequently fire at pinpoint targets, but also fire at night what are known as harassment and interdiction missions. On an irregular schedule, through the night, the Marine gunners lob in a half dozen shells at areas picked almost at random. The artillery shell might just drop into their area.

Tearing down the morale of the Vietcong, and building up the confidence of the Vietnamese people in their own Government is the dual role of all American military men. Most units are doing their best to assist the buildup side of this mission with a civic affairs program.

Lt. Jim Keeley, of Providence, a civic affairs officer with one Marine unit, said the Vietnamese citizens in his particular sector had an average annual income of $8 per person. "You can see we have our own little pocket of poverty right here in our battalion area," he said.

Keeley had just returned from a visit to a nearby village when we talked with him. He, a couple of Navy medical corpsmen and several marines who accompanied him had spent the morning handing out candy, clothing, and soap to the natives. Most of the clothing is supplied by a number of charitable groups across the United States. The corpsmen provide first aid type medical treatment for the natives, and a Navy doctor is also available on many such civic development missions to handle the more serious cases.

Lieutenant Keeley also told us proudly that his civic affairs program also has begun to show military results. He said on a recent trip to one village he and the Navy doctor were asked to assist a woman who had a miscarriage. They did since there was no doctor in the community. The next day one resident told the lieutenant the village was used as a headquarters for a Vietcong platoon each night. A Marine platoon surrounded the village that night and killed a number of guerrillas.

The war in Vietnam is strange to us Americans. It is a war of no front lines, no safe rear areas, constant sniper fire and boobytraps. The morale of the men we have met and interviewed is sky high. They know why they are here and what is expected of them. They know they must carry a rifle in one hand to destroy the Communist guerrillas, and use the other hand to direct the citizens of Vietnam toward the road to freedom and democracy.

Report to the People of the Second Congressional District of Nebraska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GLENN CUNNINGHAM

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a report to my people in the Second Congressional District of Nebraska on my voting and attendance record for the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

The purpose of this report is to collect in one place and in concise form information which is scattered through thousands of pages of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The description of bills is for the purpose of identification only; no at-

tempt has been made to describe the bills completely or to elaborate upon the issues involved.

This report includes all rollcall votes. As you know, rollcall votes are those upon which a Congressman is publicly recorded for or against an issue. However, the 201 votes listed in this report represent only about one-third of the bills acted upon by the House. Rollcall votes are not taken on the majority of the bills. The majority of the laws are decided by voice vote. In addition to the rollcall votes listed, there were 182 quorum calls—attendance checks—taken in the House which are omitted here to conserve space. This accounts for the nonconsecutive numbering of the rollcalls listed in this report.

Based upon the total of 1,129 measures passed by the House of Representatives, I had a voting and attendance record of 96 percent.

The report follows:

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
2	Jan. 4	Election of Speaker. (McCormack 289, Ford 139.)	Ford.
3	Jan. 4	H. Res. 1, authorizing seating of Mississippi delegation: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 276 to 149.)	Yes.
4	Jan. 4	H. Res. 8, adopting the rules of House with an amendment giving additional authority to Speaker: On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 224 to 202.)	No.
6	Jan. 19	H. Res. 126, dismissing contest of election of Representative Ottinger, of New York: On resolution. (Adopted 245 to 102.)	No.
7	Jan. 26	H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965: On motion to recommit with instructions to bar export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic. (Adopted 204 to 177.)	Yes.
10	Feb. 8	H.J. Res. 234, making supplemental appropriations for Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1965: On motion to instruct House conferees to disagree to Senate amendment allowing aid to United Arab Republic at President's discretion. (Rejected 165 to 241.)	Yes.
12	Feb. 9	H.R. 3818, eliminating 25-percent gold cover in Federal Reserve banks: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 93 to 289.)	Yes.
13	Feb. 9	On passage. (Passed 300 to 82.)	No.
16	Feb. 17	H.R. 2998, extending Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: On passage. (Passed 302 to 63.)	Yes.
19	Feb. 18	H.R. 45, increasing U.S. participation in the Inter-American Development Bank: On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce funds from $750,000,000 to $725,000,000. (Rejected 142 to 237.)	Yes.
20	Feb. 18	On passage. (Passed 288 to 93.)	No.
23	Feb. 25	H. Res. 188, providing funds for expenses of Committee on Un-American Activities: On motion to recommit to Committee on House Administration with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 58 to 333.)	No.
24	Feb. 25	On resolution. (Agreed to 360 to 29.)	Yes.
28	Mar. 3	S. 3, authorizing $1,092,400,000 for public works and development programs in the Appalachian region: On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill authorizing $995,000,000 for 2-year economic development program for all depressed areas in United States. (Rejected 100 to 323.).	Yes.
29	Mar. 3	On passage. (Passed 257 to 165)	No.
31	Mar. 10	H.R. 2, expanding Federal controls over depressant and stimulant drugs: On passage. (Passed 402 to 0.)	Yes.
33	Mar. 15	H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150.000 for National Council on Arts: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 217 to 113, a ⅔ majority being required.)	No.
35	Mar. 16	H.R. 5505, establishing standards for congressional districts: On amendment permitting at-large elections of Representatives. (Rejected 147 to 255.)	Yes.
38	Mar. 17	H. Res. 276, providing for consideration of H.R. 5374, Supreme Court pay bill: On resolution. (Agreed to 202 to 183.)	No.
39	Mar. 17	H.R. 5374, restoring the differential between Supreme Court and lower court salaries existing prior to 1964 Federal pay bill: On passage. (Rejected 178 to 202.)	No.
42	Mar. 22	H.R. 5688, amending crime laws of District of Columbia: On motion to recommit with instructions to hold hearings. (Rejected 166 to 216.)	No.
43	Mar. 22	On passage. (Passed 250 to 131.)	Yes.
45	Mar. 23	H.R. 5721, providing for acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco: On passage. (Passed 206 to 170.)	No.
51	Mar. 26	Motion to approve House Journal without further reading: On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion. (Agreed to 274 to 119.)	No.
52	Mar. 26	H.R. 2362, providing grants to States for elementary and secondary education: On motion to recommit with instructions to change formula so that the grant for each child from low-income families would be equal. (Rejected 194 to 267.)	Yes.
53	Mar. 26	On passage. (Passed 263 to 153.)	No.
57	Mar. 31	H.R. 3708, Older Americans Act of 1965, providing for development of programs for the aging: On passage. (Passed 396 to 1.)	Yes.
58	Mar. 31	H.R. 1111, Water Resources Planning Act, authorizing funds for Federal-State water resources development programs: On passage. (Passed 384 to 0.)	Yes.
60	Apr. 1	H.R. 4257, extending and expanding Manpower Development and Training Act programs: On passage. (Passed 395 to 0.)	Yes
62	Apr. 5	H.R. 980, providing for return of obscene mail matter: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 360 to 21.)	Yes.
63	Apr. 5	H.R. 7064, authorizing construction of U.S. Embassy building in Saigon, South Vietnam: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 378 to 0.)	Yes.
64	Apr. 5	H.R. 7060, making appropriations for Treasury and Post Office Departments, Executive Office of the President, and 4 independent agencies: On passage. (Passed 347 to 7.)	Yes.
66	Apr. 6	H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965 including $344,328,000 for Appalachia programs to be available beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged against 1965 authorization: On passage. (Passed 348 to 62.)	Yes.
70	Apr. 8	H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and taxes, and providing medical care benefits for aged: On Byrnes' motion to recommit with instructions to substitute Byrnes bill, H.R. 7057, providing a voluntary comprehensive health insurance program for the aged financed by general revenue and contributions from participants. (Rejected 191 to 236.)	Yes.
71	Apr. 8	On passage. (Passed 313 to 115.)	Yes.
72	Apr. 13	H.R. 2998, authorizing appropriations for the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency: On conference report. (Agreed to 316 to 65.)	Yes.
74	Apr. 13	H. J. Res. 1, proposing a constitutional amendment relating to presidential inability and succession: On passage. (Passed 368 to 29.)	Yes.
76	Apr. 14	H. Res. 310, authorizing ($50,000 for investigation of Ku Klux Klan by Committee on Un-American Activities: On resolution. (Agreed to 313 to 43.)	Not voting.
78	Apr. 27	H.R. 6497, authorizing increase of $1,000,000,000 in the U.S. quota in the International Monetary Fund: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 113 to 275.)	Yes.
79	Apr. 27	On passage. (Passed 301 to 88.)	No.
82	Apr. 28	S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control: On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
84	Apr. 29	H.R. 7091, making supplemental appropriations for fiscal 1965: On conference report $109,000,000 higher than House-approved bill and including Appalachia funds for use beyond fiscal 1965 but to be charged to 1965 authorization. (Agreed to 316 to 55.)	No.
85	Apr. 29	On motion that House concur with Senate amendments adding funds for helicopter subsidies in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. (Rejected 114 to 228.)	No.
86	Apr. 29	H.R. 4714, authorizing annual appropriations of $150,000 for National Council on the Arts: On passage. (Passed 239 to 116.)	No.
87	May 3	H.R. 2986, extending and amending certain provisions of the Public Health Service Act: On passage. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Yes.
90	May 4	H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers: On passage. (Passed 389 to 0.)	Yes.
92	May 5	H.J. Res. 447, providing $700,000,000 in fiscal 1965 supplemental appropriations for U.S. military operations in southeast Asia: On passage. (Passed 408 to 7.)	Yes.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 7657, authorizing $15,300,000,000 for military equipment procurement and research:	
94	May 5	On passage. (Passed 396 to 0.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 366, providing for consideration of H.R. 7717, National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
96	May 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7717, authorizing fiscal 1966 appropriations for National Aeronautics and Space Administration:	
97	May 6	On passage. (Passed 389 to 11.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2984, extending and expanding Federal grants for construction of health research facilities:	
99	May 10	On passage. (Passed 334 to 4.)	Yes.
		S. 701, implementing the International Coffee Agreement of 1962:	
101	May 12	On passage. (Passed 300 to 97.)	No.
		H.R. 8122, authorizing $2,555,521,000 for the Atomic Energy Commission in fiscal 1966:	
104	May 20	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete authority for cooperative arrangement establishing a nuclear reactor. (Rejected 43 to 313.)	No.
105	May 20	On passage of bill. (Passed 352 to 1.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7750, authorizing appropriations for foreign aid in fiscal 1966:	
109	May 25	On motion to recommit with instructions to reduce development funds by $131,000,000 and stipulate that labor unions participating in Latin American housing projects be "non-Communist dominated." (Rejected 178 to 219.)	Yes.
110	May 25	On passage of bill. (Passed 249 to 148.)	No.
		H.R. 8370, making appropriations for the Department of Agriculture for fiscal 1966:	
112	May 26	On motion to recommit with instructions to bar use of any funds to finance export of farm commodities to United Arab Republic or Indonesia. (Rejected 187 to 208.)	Yes.
113	May 26	On passage of bill. (Passed 354 to 41.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8639, making appropriations for the Departments of State, Justice, and Commerce, and the judiciary:	
116	June 1	On passage. (Passed 332 to 60.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 3584, extending Federal inspection and safety requirements to small coal mines:	
117	June 1	On passage. (Passed 336 to 42.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 8371, reducing Federal excise taxes:	
119	June 2	On passage. (Passed 401 to 6.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 7777, authorizing appointment of Gen. William F. McKee as FAA Administrator without affecting his status as retired Air Force officer:	
121	June 3	On passage. (Passed 228 to 137.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 3157, permitting spouses of railroad employees to receive both railroad retirement and earned social security benefits:	
123	June 7	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8775, making appropriations for the legislative branch for fiscal 1966:	
126	June 8	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete funds to provide operators for automatic elevators. (Rejected 149 to 244.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7105, amending and extending the Export Control Act:	
127	June 8	On passage. (Passed 388 to 1.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 413, providing for consideration of H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
129	June 9	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 273 to 109.)	No.
		H.R. 8464, increasing the temporary national debt limit:	
130	June 9	On passage. (Passed 229 to 165.)	No.
		H.Con. Res. 285, suspending the rule against USIA domestic propaganda so that the President Kennedy film could be distributed in United States:	
131	June 9	On amendment requiring that film be shown without charge. (Rejected 174 to 216.)	Yes.
132	June 9	On resolution. (Agreed to 311 to 75.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6927, establishing a Department of Housing and Urban Development:	
141	June 16	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute bill establishing an Office of Urban Affairs and Community Development in the Executive office of the President. (Rejected 141 to 259.)	Yes.
142	June 16	On passage of bill. (Passed 217 to 184.)	No.
		H. Res. 416, providing funds for each Representative to hire a student intern:	
143	June 16	On resolution. (Agreed to 229 to 153.)	No.
		H.R. 7743, providing loans and loan insurance for students attending vocational schools:	
145	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 300 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 8620, providing price support payments for wheat, feed grain, and cotton growers affected by 1965 floods and other natural disasters:	
146	June 21	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 2.)	Not voting.
		H. Con. Res. 416, requesting the President to direct attention of United Nations and others to the denial of the rights of self-determination for the peoples of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania:	
147	June 23	On motion to suspend rules and agree to resolution. (Agreed to 298 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
153	June 23	On passage. (Passed 407 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.J. Res. 541, extending the Area Redevelopment Act for 2 months:	
155	June 24	On passage. (Passed 224 to 167.)	No.
		H. Res. 425, providing for consideration of H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
157	June 28	On resolution. (Agreed to 230 to 115.)	No.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
162	June 30	On amendment modifying rent subsidy provisions. (Adopted 240 to 179.)	No.
163	June 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete rent subsidies and other provisions. (Rejected 202 to 208.)	Yes.
164	June 30	On passage of bill. (Passed 245 to 169.)	No.
		H. Res. 440, providing for consideration of H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
167	July 6	On resolution. (Agreed to 308 to 58.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
175	July 9	On amendment providing penalties for falsifying voting or registration information or buying votes in Federal elections. (Adopted 253 to 165.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6400, Voting Rights Act of 1965:	
176	July 9	On amendment allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 155 to 262.)	No.
177	July 9	On amendment waiving English literacy requirements. (Rejected 202 to 216.)	No.
178	July 9	On motion to recommit with instructions to substitute more comprehensive bill. (Rejected 171 to 248.)	Yes.
179	July 9	On passage. (Passed 333 to 85.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8356, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
181	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Rejected 216 to 139, a ⅔ majority being required.)	No.
		H.R. 242, requiring Government summer jobs in Washington, D.C., to be apportioned among residents of all States:	
182	July 12	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 336 to 22.)	Yes.
		S. 559, requiring warning labels on cigarette packages:	
185	July 13	On conference report. (Agreed to 285 to 103.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8926, removing silver from coinage except for 40 percent in half dollars:	
188	July 14	On amendment retaining 40 percent silver in dimes and quarters. (Rejected 187 to 218.)	Yes.
189	July 14	On passage. (Passed 255 to 151.)	No.
		H.R. 9075, increasing military pay:	
193	July 20	On passage. (Passed 410 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in "poverty" program funds to $1,900,000,000 in fiscal 1966:	
196	July 22	On motion to recommit with instructions to maintain Governors' veto and fiscal 1965 level of spending ($947,500,000). (Rejected 178 to 227.)	Yes.
197	July 22	On passage. (Passed 245 to 158.)	No.
		H. Res. 437, providing for consideration of H.R. 77, repealing sec 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
199	July 26	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 248 to 171.)	No.
		H.R. 6675, Social Security Amendments of 1965, increasing social security benefits and providing medical care benefits to the aged:	
203	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 307 to 116.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7984, providing rent subsidies and expanding public housing, urban renewal, and community facilities programs:	
204	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 168.)	No.
		H.R. 2985, authorizing Federal grants for initial cost of professional and technical personnel for community mental health centers:	
205	July 27	On conference report. (Agreed to 414 to 0.)	Yes.
		H.R. 77, repealing sec. 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act permitting State right-to-work laws:	
208	July 28	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 200 to 223.)	Yes.
209	July 28	On passage. (Passed 221 to 203.)	No.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H.R. 8856, permitting the Atomic Energy Commission to condemn land for overhead power transmission lines notwithstanding local ordinances prohibiting overhead lines:	
212	July 29	On passage. (Passed 275 to 125.)	No.
214	Aug. 2	S.J. Res. 81, authorizing increase in funds for Interstate Highway System in fiscal 1967: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 313 to 11.)	Yes.
215	Aug. 2	H.R. 8027, providing assistance in training State and local law-enforcement officers: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 326 to 0.)	Yes.
216	Aug. 2	H.R. 6964, authorizing certain rehabilitation practices for Federal prisoners: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 323 to 0.)	Yes.
218	Aug. 3	S. 1564, Voting Rights Act of 1965: On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language allowing political subdivisions with more than 50 percent of voting-age Negroes registered to free themselves from coverage. (Rejected 118 to 284.)	Yes.
219	Aug. 3	On conference report. (Agreed to 328 to 74.)	Yes.
220	Aug. 3	H.R. 8469, increasing civil service retirement annuities: On passage. (Passed 394 to 0.)	Yes.
221	Aug. 4	H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction: On conference report. (Agreed to 389 to 0.)	Yes.
222	Aug. 4	S. 1742, authorizing certain changes in World Bank Charter: On passage. (Passed 330 to 54.)	Yes.
224	Aug. 5	H. Res. 498, providing for consideration of H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax: On resolution. (Agreed to 329 to 44.)	Yes.
225	Aug. 5	H.R. 4750, extending interest equalization tax: On passage. (Passed 274 to 97.)	No.
228	Aug. 9	H.R. 9918, strengthening motor vehicle financial responsibility laws of the District of Columbia: On amendment substituting unsatisfied judgment fund plan. (Adopted 173 to 156.)	Not voting.
230	Aug. 10	H.R. 10306, making it a crime to knowingly destroy or mutilate a draft card: On passage. (Passed 393 to 1.)	Not voting.
234	Aug. 12	S. 1648, Public Works and Economic Development Act, authorizing $3,250,000,000 in grants and loans for regional development: On amendment further expanding public works and development facilities grants. (Agreed to 196 to 194.)	Not voting.
235	Aug. 12	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete loans, provide for annual congressional review, and require use of American-made products. (Rejected 163 to 224.)	Not voting.
236	Aug. 12	On passage. Passed 246 to 138.)	Not voting.
238	Aug. 16	H.R. 6431, providing that certain forms of nickel be admitted duty free: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 297 to 48.)	Not voting.
239	Aug. 16	H.R. 8635, establishing a Federal Boxing Commission: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 346 to 4.)	Not voting.
242	Aug. 19	H.R. 7750, authorizing $3,360,000,000 for foreign aid in fiscal 1966: On conference report. (Agreed to 244 to 150.)	No.
243	Aug. 19	H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill of 1965: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 169 to 224.)	Yes.
244	Aug. 19	On passage of bill. (Passed 221 to 172.)	No.
246	Aug. 24	H.R. 10586, making supplemental appropriations of $1,200,000,000 for Departments of Labor and Health, Education, and Welfare for fiscal 1966 including $1,000,000,000 for elementary and secondary education: On motion to recommit so that all supplemental requests can be considered at the same time. (Rejected 139 to 263.)	No.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of Western Hemisphere immigrants and relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limit of 170,000 for all others:	
248	Aug. 25	On amendment placing Western Hemisphere under numerical limitation. (Rejected 189 to 218.)	Yes.
249	Aug. 25	On passage. (Passed 318 to 95.)	Yes.
252	Aug. 26	H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions: On passage. (Passed 367 to 22.)	Yes.
253	Aug. 30	H.R. 9022, authorizing disaster assistance to elementary and secondary schools and making more cities eligible for "impacted" school aid: On passage. (Passed 304 to 37.)	Yes.
254	Aug. 31	H. Res. 551, providing for consideration of H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts: On resolution. (Agreed to 364 to 23.)	Yes.
255	Aug. 31	H.R. 9042, authorizing agreement with Canada on duty-free treatment of automobiles and parts: On passage. (Passed 280 to 113.)	Yes.
257	Sept. 1	H.R. 3141, expanding the health professions educational assistance program: On passage. (Passed 340 to 47.)	Yes.
259	Sept. 2	H.R. 5863, authorizing research into high-speed ground transportation: On passage. (Passed 317 to 24.)	Yes.
262	Sept. 7	H.R. 8439, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966: On motion to table motion to discharge Committee on Armed Services from further consideration of H.R. 8439. (Agreed to 320 to 19.)	Yes.
263	Sept. 7	H.R. 10775, authorizing certain military construction in fiscal 1966: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 347 to 0.)	Not voting.
264	Sept. 7	H.R. 168, increasing veterans' disability compensation: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 348 to 0.)	Not voting.
265	Sept. 7	S.J. Res. 102, authorizing funds for the President's Crime Commission: On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Passed 338 to 0.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations of $4,001,453,000 for foreign aid and Export-Import Bank in fiscal 1966:	
269	Sept. 8	On passage. (Passed 239 to 143.)	No.
273	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 272. (Agreed to 225 to 126.)	Yes.
275	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 274. (Agreed to 241 to 127.)	Yes.
279	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 278. (Agreed to 256 to 123.)	Yes.
281	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceedings under rollcall No. 280. (Agreed to 255 to 120.)	Yes.
282	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to order previous question (end debate) on motion that Journal of Sept. 9 be approved as read. (Rejected 138 to 244.)	No.
283	Sept. 13	On ordering previous question (ending debate) on motion to approve Journal. (Agreed to 257 to 126.)	Yes.
284	Sept. 13	On motion that Journal stand approved as read. (Agreed to 264 to 119.)	Yes.
285	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 175 to 204.)	No.
		H. Res. 506, providing for consideration of H.R. 10065, Equal Employment Opportunity Act, under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
286	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 259 to 121.)	Yes.
287	Sept. 13	On motion to table motion to reconsider vote on rollcall No. 286. (Agreed to 193 to 181.)	No.
288	Sept. 13	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 173 to 201.)	Yes.
290	Sept. 13	On motion to dispense with further proceeding under rollcall No. 289. (Agreed to 243 to 136.)	Not voting.
		H. Res. 499, providing for consideration of H.R. 7371, repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act under procedure of bypassing Rules Committee:	
291	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 201 to 171.)	No.
		H. Res. 478, providing for consideration of H.R. 9460, providing for establishment of National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
292	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 260 to 114.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 536, providing for consideration of H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees, under procedure bypassing Rules Committee:	
293	Sept. 13	On resolution. (Agreed to 288 to 84.)	Yes.
296	Sept. 14	H.R. 2091, establishing concession policies in National Park Service areas: On motion to recommit. (Rejected 73 to 298.)	No.
299	Sept. 15	H.R. 8283, authorizing increase in poverty program funds to $1,800,000,000 in fiscal 1966: On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist on House provision maintaining Governors' veto. (Agreed to 209 to 180.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9460, establishing a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities:	
301	Sept. 15	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 128 to 250.)	No.
		H. Res. 574, directing Postmaster General to provide names of 1965 summer employees:	
303	Sept. 16	On motion to table resolution. (Adopted 186 to 180.)	No.
		S. 2042, extending indemnity provisions of Atomic Energy Act:	
304	Sept. 16	On passage. (Passed 337 to 30.)	Yes.
		H.R. 9221, making appropriations for Department of Defense for fiscal 1966:	
306	Sept. 17	On conference report. (Agreed to 380 to 0.)	Yes.

Roll-call No.	Date 1965	Measure, question, and result	Vote
		H. Res. 585, dismissing election contests of 5 Mississippi Representatives:	
307	Sept. 17	On resolution. (Agreed to 228 to 143.)	Yes.
		H. R. 10873, establishing program of group life insurance for members of armed services on active duty:	
309	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 360 to 0.)	Yes.
		H. Res. 460, expressing sense of House of Representatives that the United States and other American States take whatever steps necessary to prevent communistic aggression in Western Hemisphere:	
310	Sept. 20	On motion to suspend rules and pass. (Agreed to 312 to 52.)	Yes.
		S. 4, Water Quality Act, expanding Federal assistance for water pollution control:	
313	Sept. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 379 to 0.)	Yes.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors:	
315	Sept. 22	On amendment deleting $277,000,000 Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Adopted 207 to 185.)	Yes.
		H.R. 30, providing for participation of United States in Inter-American Cultural Center in Florida and authorizing $15,000,000 for U.S. exhibit:	
316	Sept. 22	On passage. (Passed 254 to 113.)	Yes.
318	Sept. 22	On motion to adjourn. (Rejected 89 to 204.)	Yes.
		H.R. 7371, repealing an exemption from the Bank Holding Company Act:	
320	Sept. 23	On amendment repealing all major exemptions from act. (Adopted 199 to 178.)	No.
		H. Res. 580, providing for consideration of H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
321	Sept. 23	On ordering previous question (ending debate). (Agreed to 279 to 70.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10232, authorizing matching grants for rural water and sanitation facilities:	
322	Sept. 23	On passage. (Passed 325 to 10.)	Yes.
		S. 306, authorizing standards to control air pollution from automobiles and a research and development program on solid waste disposal:	
324	Sept. 24	On motion to recommit with instructions to delete solid waste disposal provisions. (Rejected 80 to 220.)	No.
325	Sept. 24	On passage of bill. (Passed 294 to 4.)	Yes.
372	Sept. 27	On motion to discharge Committee on Rules from further consideration of H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Adopted 213 to 183.)	No.
		H. Res. 515, providing for consideration of H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia:	
328	Sept. 27	On resolution. (Agreed to 222 to 179.)	No.
330	Sept. 27	On motion that House immediately consider H.R. 4644, home rule for the District of Columbia. (Agreed to 234 to 155.)	No.
		H.R. 4644, providing home rule for the District of Columbia:	
336	Sept. 29	On motion to strike the enacting clause. (Rejected 179 to 219.)	Yes.
337	Sept. 29	On amendment substituting Charter Board home rule plan. (Adopted 227 to 174.)	Yes.
338	Sept. 29	On motion to recommit. (Rejected 134 to 266.)	No.
339	Sept. 29	On passage. (Passed 283 to 117.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2580, eliminating national origins quota system in immigration, providing for admission of relatives of U.S. citizens without limitation, establishing priorities, and fixing annual limitations:	
341	Sept. 30	On conference report. (Agreed to 320 to 69.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10281, increasing pay of Federal employees:	
342	Sept. 30	On motion to recommit with instructions to remove automatic future increases for judges, executives, and Members of Congress and the Cabinet. (Agreed to 238 to 140.)	Yes.
343	Sept. 30	On passage. (Passed 370 to 7.)	Yes.
		H.J. Res. 642, authorizing an additional Library of Congress building to be named James Madison Memorial Building:	
345	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit with instructions to create visitors center. (Rejected 17 to 321.)	No.
346	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 328 to 5.)	Yes.
		H.R. 10871, making appropriations for foreign aid:	
347	Oct. 1	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to insist upon retention of provision prohibiting aid to countries that furnish aid to North Vietnam. (Rejected 164 to 174.)	Yes.
348	Oct. 1	On conference report. (Agreed to 204 to 127.)	No.
		H.R. 3142, providing Federal grants for medical library services and facilities:	
349	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 296 to 3.)	Yes.
		H.R. 6519, providing for completion of Jefferson National Memorial, St. Louis:	
350	Oct. 1	On passage. (Passed 250 to 12.)	Yes.
		S.J. Res. 32, authorizing compensation to Ryukyu Islands for use and damage by U.S. Armed Forces:	
353	Oct. 7	On resolution. (Agreed to 312 to 55.)	Yes.
		H.R. 2020, authorizing $20,000,000 for construction of southern Nevada water project:	
354	Oct. 7	On passage. (Passed 239 to 134.)	Yes.
		S. 2084, authorizing $325,000,000 for highway beautification:	
356	Oct. 7	On motion to recommit with instructions to give States authority to determine areas in which outdoor advertising and junkyards would be permitted. (Rejected 153 to 230.)	Yes.
357	Oct. 7	On passage of bill. (Passed 245 to 138.)	No.
		H.R. 9811, omnibus farm bill:	
359	Oct. 8	On conference report. (Adopted 219 to 150.)	Not voting.
		H. Res. 598, providing for consideration of H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
363	Oct. 12	On resolution. (Agreed to 253 to 80.)	Not voting.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
366	Oct. 13	On motion to recommit with instructions to add special fee on imports. (Rejected 160 to 230.)	Yes.
367	Oct. 13	On passage. (Passed 246 to 147.)	No.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations $4,200,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
369	Oct. 14	On amendment deleting funds for rent subsidies. (Adopted 185 to 162.)	Yes.
370	Oct. 14	On passage. (Passed 242 to 100.)	No.
		H.R. 9567, authorizing a 5-year program of assistance to institutions of higher education and to students attending such institutions:	
376	Oct. 20	On motion to recommit conference report with instructions to disagree to Senate language providing for a National Teachers Corps. (Rejected 152 to 226.)	Yes.
377	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 313 to 63.)	Yes.
		S. 2300, authorizing construction and repair of certain public works on rivers and harbors, including $277,000,000 for Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine:	
378	Oct. 20	On conference report. (Agreed to 221 to 139.)	No.
		H.R. 11588, making supplemental appropriations of $4,700,000,000 for fiscal 1966:	
380	Oct. 21	On conference report. (Agreed to 251 to 84.)	No.
381	Oct. 21	On motion to agree to amendment providing $800,000 for preliminary planning of Dickey-Lincoln power project in Maine. (Agreed to 165 to 162.)	No.
		H.R. 11135, allocating sugar quotas:	
383	Oct. 22	On conference report. (Agreed to 174 to 88.)	No.

Air Transport Profit and Lower Fares

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN R. HANSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the United States stands today as the greatest example of the success which can be achieved through a capitalistic system. Our system and our profit motive have produced the highest standard of living in the history of the world.

Our economic progress has been such that it staggers the imagination. The credit for this progress must go to the capitalistic system and to the ingenuity and efficiency of the American businessman.

Recently William A. Patterson, the chairman of the board of United Air Lines, spoke on the subject of profit before the Economics Club of Detroit. Mr. Patterson was concerned mostly with his own business, of course, and dealt mainly with the air transport industry. But his comments can be applied to all American industries, and I am therefore presenting this copy of his speech for insertion into the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues:

AIR TRANSPORT PROFIT AND LOWER FARES

(By William A. Patterson)

After 37 years in air transportation—pioneering years with triumphs and disappointments, large and small—I'm beginning to near the end of the long flight. Next April, except for responsibilities as chairman of the board and chairman of our company's executive committee, I plan to become inactive. And the irony of the situation is that my inactivity will begin when the industry is attaining its greatest activity and greatest success.

Now, success is always welcomed but I'm a little concerned about its interpretation. I'm sure that some persons—well intentioned but totally unfamiliar with the trials of the past—will view airline profits with an unsympathetic eye. If they had invested toil and time in the development of the air transport industry, they would view its success in a different light.

I've found that time is the great teacher of truth.

We had an unusual illustration of this fact last month when the rulers of Russia decided to place Soviet industry on a profit basis. Repeated failure, want and waste compelled them to repudiate a fundamental part of Marxist doctrine. And the long proclaimed ideal of "production for use and not for profit" became just another slogan on the scrap heap of history.

Time has forced even the Russian commissars to recognize that profits are essential to progress. Yet, in our country—the world's prime example of economic progress—there are those who regard profits with hostility. They seem to believe that normal healthy returns are rather sinful and that large returns are downright immoral. In their lexicon, as someone has said, profit is a dirty word.

If we could peer into their minds, I think we'd see an outmoded picture of the greedy fat man created by cartoonists some years ago. You may recall, he wore a high silk hat, a cutaway coat and spats. The vest over his ample midsection was decorated with dollar signs and his pudgy fingers glittered with gems. Depending on the times, he was identified as a capitalist, the trusts, profiteer, monopolist, and economic royalist.

This fellow became a myth in past years but he can be invoked for many merely by mentioning the word "profit." They immediately think of price gouging, cornered markets, and sand in the sugar. Their vision of silk-hatted swindlers blinds them to the fact that profit is the all-important fuel of our economic engine. Lean out the profit and the engine sputters. Given adequate fuel, it surges ahead over every kind of roadway.

Before condemning any profit, it would seem fair to inquire as to how it was derived and to what use it is put. No right-thinking individual would defend the profit that comes from unethical products and procedures; from grossly underpaid sweat-shop labor; or from contrived scarcities and the manipulations of privately controlled cartels and monopolies.

On the other hand, profit based on good personnel practices, efficient production of a quality product or service, and successful competition in an open market is an accomplishment that society should reward in full. Criticism of such profit as "too big" or "excessive" has the flavor of sour grapes.

Now as for the use of profit, it is important to consider dividend distribution. Is the payout reasonable in terms of technological advances, the company's present condition and its future competitive position? What part of profits is plowed back into the business for research, refurbishment, modernization, and expansion? How much, if any, is diverted for purposes that serve community and Nation?

On this last point, I believe that many who have the fat man complex would be surprised by the various end-uses of profit. They can begin their education by examining reports of foundations and philanthropic organizations. A survey of 465 companies several years ago disclosed that their contributions to health and welfare agencies, education, religious causes, and for civic and cultural purposes amounted to $154 million annually. And that total did not include the donations made by company executives as private individuals.

There are more than 5,000 foundations in this country and, in one way or another, they owe their existence to profit. They bear the names of large and small enterprises, business leaders, and industrialists—Ford, for example, Carnegie, Rockefeller, Alfred P. Sloan.

Not millions but billions in foundation funds have been expended for hospitals, schools, scholarships, medical research, mental health, science, the humanities and arts. Some of us who complain when government enters social areas that have been neglected can be thankful that part of the slack is taken up by the work of foundations.

In touching on the derivation of profit a few moments ago, I reserved a special type for fuller discussion—the type that includes an element of government subsidy. Now some may immediately classify such profit as objectionable and I can appreciate their point of view. However, let's examine a particular case, one I'm familiar with—the air transport industry.

The industry had its origin in the mid-1920's, after pilots employed by the U.S. Post Office had demonstrated the feasibility of air mail service. Congress wisely decided to entrust private enterprise with the task of developing a nationwide air transport system. An Air Mail Act, approved in 1925, authorized the Post Office to transfer its routes to private contractors on the basis of competitive bids.

Three obligations were placed on successful bidders. They were charged with the necessity to develop the art of flying; to establish a market for commercial air transportation; and to attain economic self-sufficiency.

The rates for hauling air mail were sweetened with subsidy, or perhaps I should say seasoned with subsidy, because the dish was not always nourishing. The maximum rate was $3 a pound but, to win their contract, most operators bid below the maximum and some found out there wasn't enough mail to pay expenses.

One of our predecessor companies, Varney Air Lines, began operations in April 1926. The Varney fleet consisted of six Swallow biplanes. They cruised at 90 miles an hour and, compared with jetliners that cost $4 to $6 million, the Swallow could be purchased for $4,500. Pilots were paid $250 a month and even this modest salary was sometimes in question because at the outset the Varney route failed to produce enough air mail revenue.

Pacific Air Transport, another of our predecessor companies, also began service in 1926 and also found it hard to make ends meet. The combined revenues of Varney and Pacific Air Transport for 1926 amounted to $230,000 in mail payments and $1,530 for carrying passengers.

Coast-to-coast air travel became possible in 1927 but it called for a strong back, an adventurous spirit, and $400 to pay the fare. The trip took about 32 hours—at least, on paper—and there weren't any in-flight movies to pass the time.

Today, you can travel by jet from one coast to the other at a fare 63 percent lower than in 1927 and at a speed increase of well over 500 percent. If the advance in safety, comfort, and other intangibles could be expressed mathematically, it would exceed that 500 percent. And as for mail, United now flies a ton of letters a thousand miles for about one-twentieth of what the Post Office paid in the early years.

Seldom have obligations been so abundantly fulfilled. The art of flying has been advanced from propeller planes of wood and canvas to subsonic turbine-powered aircraft that are triumphs of sophisticated technology. In developing a market, the airlines have reached the point where their share of domestic intercity common carrier traffic is greater than the combined portion of rail and bus.

United became self-sufficient in the late 1940's and the Civil Aeronautics Board certified that fact in January 1951. With only one exception, mail payments of the Nation's 11 trunklines have not included a dime of subsidy in the last 8 years.

It's a different story for the local service airlines. They operate over routes of lower traffic density, serving smaller cities. Congress and the Civil Aeronautics Board believe air transportation stimulates the economic growth of these communities, and that in all likelihood they'll eventually develop satisfactory traffic volumes. In that expectation, mail subsidy is paid.

When compared with other business operations, the airlines are unique in several ways. They're Government regulated, for example, but intensely competitive. They use very expensive machines to provide a service that's extremely perishable in the sense that a seat unsold when a flight depart cannot be stored and put up for sale again. But the most unusual feature of our business is that from time to time we deliberately render our machines obsolete.

Since World War II, we've gone through round after round of aircraft purchases, advancing from the DC–3 to the jets. Each round has been spurred by competition and the urgency to improve, rather than the necessity to replace something worn out. And each round has resulted in greater safety, speed and comfort.

In the opening stage of the transition to jet operations, the industry invested $3½ billion on new aircraft and supporting equipment. This was followed by an outlay of about $2½ billion for additional planes, including short-haul jets. These expenditures and the industry's great appetite for supplies and materials have created work for an estimated 5,000 factories and jobs for 100,000 manufacturing employees. Since 1960 the Nation's airlines have added 25,000 to their payrolls and the prospect is that 50,000 more will be hired over the next 5 years.

Earnings in the transitional period have been a source of both gloom and encouragement. In 1961 the return on the total trunkline capital investment was a piddling 1½ percent. That was the low point and the outlook brightened thereafter. Last year the trunkline return was 9½ percent. That's an overall average, incidentally, and it doesn't mean that each company did that well. United's return was around 8 percent—somewhat lower than the 10¼ percent established by the Civil Aeronautics Board as fair and reasonable for the major carriers.

In the first 5 years of the jet age, 1959 through 1964, our company invested $677,569,000 in jets and supporting equipment. Net earnings for those 5 years totaled $78,400,000, of which 31 percent was paid out in dividends. The remaining 69 percent was retained to improve the business. Earnings accounted for approximately 10 percent of the funds necessary to finance the crucial first step from piston to turbine power. Huge additional sums had to be raised through sale of debentures and other securities, augmented by depreciation and amortization charges against earnings.

Last April we announced a $750 million program, covering the purchase, lease, and option of 144 more aircraft. They're required to phase out our remaining propeller planes and convert to all-jet operations within 4 years from now. By that time our fleet of 308 jetliners will represent an investment of $1.6 billion.

That's part of an improvement program unparalleled in the history of transportation or, so far as I know, in general industry. And it's being accomplished without presenting higher and higher bills to the public.

Since 1962 the trunk line average fare per passenger mile has declined by 6 percent. In our company's case, the downtrend is even greater. In the last 3 years the average cost per mile to the passengers on United has

gone from about 6.4 to 5.7 cents, a decrease of 12 percent. In view of the extensive upgrading of service and the tremendous costs of equipment, I believe the industry's achievement in containing fares is little short of extraordinary.

To give specific items, United's fare reductions last year for passengers on certain long-haul routes amounted to almost $6 million. Reductions in the current year, including a change in the family group discount, will save the traveling public approximately $8 million over a 12-month period.

Apart from fares, our airmail rate was reduced 3 cents per ton-mile last June and in August the basis for determining excess baggage charges was liberalized. A full year of the revised mail rate will save the Post Office about $2 million. And the new free baggage allowance means that an extra $3.6 million will be retained annually in the pockets of customers.

The airlines are entering the harvest time of their past efforts to advance and improve. Unquestionably, 1965 will be the industry's best year on every count. United, for example, expects to achieve total operating revenues of approximately $785 million, as compared with $669 million in 1964. Passenger revenues should top out around $705 million, an increase of perhaps 18 percent.

For an industry that was legislated into existence, so to speak, and then nurtured on subsidy until it could stand on its own feet, I think the record is very impressive. Congress, the Department of Commerce, and the Civil Aeronautics Board can be justifiably proud of a philosophy of government that has encouraged private enterprise to create the best air transport system in the world.

It's one of the outstanding success stories of modern times but it would be misleading to tell you the airlines are going to live happily ever after. There are further challenges to meet, further improvements to undertake. The one that looms largest is the supersonic transport plane.

So far as I can detect, the traveling public isn't clamoring for supersonic speed—at least, domestically—but it nevertheless looks as though our decision will have to be made in the next 18 months. There's a question of national prestige involved and, on the economic level, there's the necessity to maintain this country's leadership in aircraft manufacturing.

Unlike previous types of commercial transports, development of the supersonic plane will not come as a byproduct of military aircraft design and construction. The total expenditure will be astronomical. In terms of the cost per aircraft, each seat on a supersonic plane could well represent an investment of up to $200,000. In comparison, cost per seat for the finest and fastest piston-engine plane was $34,000. For the Boeing 707 and the DC-8, it amounted to $46,000.

But the supersonic is in the future and, meanwhile, as I've said, we have a record year coming up. We've already had indications that before the black ink dries on our statements—before we have time to analyze and reflect on the year's results—there will be hints, suggestions, and perhaps demands that we go further in lowering fares.

That brings us back to the dirty word, profit. Those who will be heard suggesting reductions in this or that fare will actually be disturbed by the industry's profit.

My question is, Would we have a better air transport system if there were no profits? Would it be better if the airlines made just a little profit, enough to keep them alive but feeble? Or is the industry entitled to a healthy profit that will permit it to pay ample dividends, liquidate debt expeditiously, and accumulate financial strength for further advances?

Airline earnings for 1965 should be viewed from the standpoint of past striving, present accomplishments and the demands of the future. But I know that visions of the fat man wearing a silk hat will prevent some from seeing the facts. They will not regard the success of this year as well earned, well deserved. They will regard it as pure gravy.

Well, I've been associated with air transportation since 1929 and I can assure you there have been years of bread and butter and years of bread without butter. But the only airline gravy I've seen is in the casseroles stewardesses serve at mealtime.

One final thought on our economic system: It has various names—free enterprise, mixed capitalism, and so on—but it's essentially a system of rewards and penalties, of profit and loss. President Johnson knows the advantages of that system and he is aware of the importance of business as a prime constructive force in the Nation's destiny.

You may have noted that one of the programs of his administration is designed to make unemployables employable. I think this is an indication of the President's philosophy that social improvement inevitably rests on the resources, profits, and productivity of private enterprise. I don't believe there is major disagreement with most of his objectives but I'm convinced that his philosophy has not percolated through all levels of government.

And, in this, as in other matters, time will be the teacher.

Dr. Edwin Bancroft Henderson—Community Leader and Civil Rights Hero

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WILLIAM L. DAWSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DAWSON. Mr. Speaker, it is a heartwarming privilege to say a few words about my friend, Dr. Edwin Bancroft Henderson, who has devoted his life to improving the education and human rights of the people in the District of Columbia and Fairfax County, Va. Few people epitomize so well the selflessness and dedication which give vitality to the principles of equality that are the backbone of this great Nation. Now, at age 82, Dr. Henderson and his lovely wife, Mary, are moving to Tuskegee, Ala., to live with their son's family and to enjoy the pleasant company of their grandchildren.

Thousands of persons, spanning three generations, have been inspired by Dr. and Mrs. Henderson in their tireless fight fof the civil rights for all citizens.

Dr. Henderson was born in Southwest Washington, but has lived for the past 55 years in Washington's suburb of Falls Church, Va. In his youth, "E. B."—as we all call him—was a champion athlete. He sparred with professional boxers and led his Washington YMCA basketball team to a national championship. His interest in young people led him to become a teacher of physical education in the District of Columbia public schools, where he eventually rose to be the director of physical education for the Negro division of the school system. It is a fitting coincidence that 1954, the year of his retirement from the District of Columbia schools, was the year the Supreme Court issued its historic decision in Brown against Board of Education invalidating racial segregation in our country's public schools.

During his years with the District of Columbia school system, Dr. Henderson worked vigorously and constantly to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. He fought racial segregation all his life. He was the major leader of the Committee Against Segregation in Recreation, which fought so valiantly against the soul-shattering racism which formerly pervaded the District's recreation program. His continued interest in athletics and the Negro's achievements in sports is reflected in his fine book, "The Negro in Sports." He did more than any other person I know to encourage Negro athletes and to end the debasing practice of white-only sport and athletic contests. It was largely as a result of his indefatigible work that the old Uline Arena—now the Washington Coliseum—was desegrated.

He led the long fight to end segregation at the National Theater.

His constant flow of acute and trenchant letters to the newspapers contained some of the most perceptive comments on local, State, and National politics that have ever been printed. They were an important factor, especially during the 1940's and 1950's, in educating the public into awareness of the evil of segregated facilities. His vast knowledge of civil rights and his keen intellect made him one of the foremost consultants to citizens fighting against racial discrimination.

Dr. Henderson's first major battle against racism came in 1912 when the Town Council of Falls Church proposed an ordinance to confine Negro residences to a small ghetto section. Dr. Henderson organized the opposition to that proposal and it was defeated. The group he organized eventually became the Fairfax County branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This branch recently celebrated its 50th anniversary at a banquet honoring Dr. and Mrs. Henderson as its founding members.

Dr. Henderson had a leading role, also, in the fight against racial segregation on buses traveling between the District of Columbia and Virginia, a practice which the Supreme Court held unconstitutional in 1946. He fought against the Ku Klux Klan which paraded regularly in Fairfax County and committed frequent acts of violence and malicious mischief.

His struggle against great odds to improve the educational facilities in the "separate-but-equal" schools of Fairfax County—which were indeed separate, but surely not equal—was a saga that could fill a book.

Dr. Henderson's contribution to the human rights struggle in the District and Fairfax County was aided in fullest measure by his wife. Enthusiastic, conscientious, young in heart, full of the joy of life, Mrs. Henderson was for many years principal of the James Lee Elementary School in Falls Church. She was a charter member and the first Negro in the 10th District Women's Democratic Club. She was outstanding and

indefatigable in bringing hundreds of new members into the Fairfax County NAACP. She has been, I know, a source of great support to her husband during the more than a half-century of their marriage.

Their sons are carrying on the Henderson tradition of community service. One, Dr. Edwin Meriwether Henderson, is a dentist; the other, Dr. James Henry Meriwether Henderson, is engaged in cancer research at the famed Tuskegee Institute. E. B. and his wife are justly proud of them.

The Nation's Capital and Fairfax County, Va., are better places for all people because Dr. and Mrs. Henderson worked and lived there. Theirs is a lasting contribution, to be long remembered by all who believe in decency and goodness. As they leave the area to begin a new life in Alabama, I say to these generous and gentle folk: "Godspeed, good health, long life, and our heartfelt thanks to you, for your deeds, your inspiring selflessness, your humanitarian example, and the gift of optimism and hope you have given to us all."

Department of Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ELMER J. HOLLAND
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. Speaker, several days ago I listened to Congressman GRAY reveal an amazing list of facts concerning the Department of Justice and its use of Edward Grady Partin, an alleged embezzler, under indictment, as a Federal undercover man in the Hoffa case in Chattanooga. As the Congressman continued to document his remarks, the more amazed I became.

During the interim I thought quite a bit about his statement and I then read it very carefully in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Seeing it in black and white and systematically listed in chronological order almost made me ill—at least it made me sick at heart.

It is hard to believe—and it is something I do not want to believe—that an agency of our Government would utilize such tactics in an effort to secure a conviction of an individual regardless of who he may be or what his profession might be. If this is an accepted practice of the Department of Justice and one which is often used by its representatives, any individual could be convicted on trumped up charges and accusations.

There is little doubt in my mind but that the Judiciary Committee should carry out the orders of the resolution it passed last year and investigate the operations of the Department of Justice. Let it find out—and report to the Congress—if the statements made by Congressman GRAY are correct or not. Let it look into the charges made and confirm or dismiss them.

All my life I have been a firm believer in fairplay and I always expected true justice to be available to all. This is what I would like to see right now, Mr. Speaker, and I join with my colleagues in requesting an investigation by the Judiciary Committee.

Nice Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. HANSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, for over 4 years, the astonishing boom in U.S. business has continued to climb in an almost unbroken arc. Early reports for the third quarter indicate that corporate profits rose to a new postwar peak of nearly $45 billion after taxes. In addition, the return on manufacturing investments reached its highest level since the Korean war—13.8 percent.

Thanks to an even larger than expected third quarter growth in the total output of U.S. goods and services—$11 billion versus the anticipated $9.5 billion, nearly every segment of the Nation's business shared in this great advance.

Business is, in fact, so good that we now have to deal with some unforeseen problems.

A recent editorial in the Carroll Daily Times Herald examined the problems of our great prosperity. I would like to present this editorial for the benefit of my colleagues.

The editorial follows:

NICE PROBLEM

One of the problems confronting American business today is how to cope with prosperity.

There is, in some instances, too much business.

Not for everyone, of course—including, perhaps, you and some of the rest of us.

But try and get something in a hurry that you feel you just have to have right now, and you're likely to run into delays that will have you talking to yourself—and to the people you're dealing with.

Paradoxically, most companies that find themselves overloaded with orders are acutely embarrassed, genuinely sorry for the delays and trying desperately to catch up.

For one thing, a reputable company doesn't like to project an image of indifference or inefficiency. For another, almost everyone would rather be thanked than cussed.

Reasons for the delays in filling orders vary. Management points to the difficulty in obtaining enough skilled labor—to long waits in getting parts for the products a company manufactures, to breakdown of key machinery through postponement of repair and maintenance work that has been put off to enable the factory to keep going at top speed, to longer vacations by skilled workers.

And some delay is due to insistence by proud management that quality for which the product is famous shall not be lowered one whit, no matter how long it may take to fill an order.

If American business runs true to form, it will lick this problem as it has others. And the way no one wants it to be solved is by a recession from the current high levels of consumer demand.

Most of us will agree that if we have to have a business problem, let it be that business is too good. This kind of trouble we can stand, even if some of us do have to wait a little longer for something we think we needed yesterday.

At least most of us are able to buy what we need. And some of us can remember when this wasn't the case.

James A. Reed, Former Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—An Appreciation by Congressman James C. Cleveland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, on September 1 Mr. James A. Reed left his post as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury to return to private life after 4 years' service.

His departure is a loss to the Government. During his tenure, Secretary Reed had responsibility for administration of the Coast Guard, the Bureau of Customs and the Bureau of Narcotics. Administrative procedures in each of these areas were improved and reorganized with resultant increases in efficiency and substantial savings to the taxpayer.

During Mr. Reed's tenure, long-range plans for the procurement, development and maintenance of Coast Guard vessels, shore stations and aircraft were finally developed. As a result of this planning and foresight, Congress appropriated more money for the Coast Guard than ever before. In the 1950's the average annual appropriation for acquisition, construction and improvement of Coast Guard facilities was only $5 million. Greatly underfinanced, this service also lacked firm goals and was threatening to drift aimlessly. Under Mr. Reed, there has been rapid improvement.

For fiscal year 1966, Congress saw fit to appropriate $116 million for acquisition, construction and improvements. For the next 8 years, annual appropriations of close to $200 million will be needed to complete this modernization program. By the mid-1970's, because of the careful groundwork laid by Mr. Reed, his office, and the Congress, the Coast Guard will have a modern fleet, modern shore stations and modern aircraft. It will be more efficient and more economical to the Government; better able to carry out the critical missions assigned to it day in and day out.

Another noteworthy accomplishment of Mr. Reed's work with the Coast Guard is that for the first time a separate authorization bill for the Coast Guard was enacted 2 years ago. For the first time the Coast Guard has thus been given the opportunity to present its programs

to the Congress in an orderly manner, first to a legislative committee and then to the Appropriations Committee. This has had an excellent effect on the morale and efficiency of the Coast Guard as, indeed, has the modernization program. In connection with this morale problem, which had been reaching critical dimensions in the opinion of many informed authorities, money now has been appropriated to provide an official residence in the Washington area for the commandant of the Coast Guard, hitherto the only head of a military service without such a residence.

Similar modernization of the Customs Service took place under Secretary Reed's direction. Complaints from passengers concerning Customs personnel which once flooded the Bureau are now virtually zero because of the increased courtesy and service to the traveling public being given by Customs personnel.

Mr. Reed early recognized the imperative need for modernizing the procedures of the Customs Bureau, which was operating under an administrative structure dating back to 1789. After intensive study conducted with the aid of outside consultants, improvements were embodied in Reorganization Plan No. 1 presented to the Congress by the President this year and approved. This should provide the public with much more efficient service and save millions of dollars each year.

Developments within the Bureau of Narcotics, while not so dramatic, have resulted in a marked improvement of operations under Mr. Reed's direction. The groundwork has been laid for further improvements. This is particularly true of the Bureau's overseas operations. Until 3 years ago, responsibility for suppressing the manufacture and exportation of illicit drugs overseas was divided between the Bureau of Narcotics and the Bureau of Customs. A certain amount of friction existed between the agencies because of this. As a result, it was decided to assign responsibility for all overseas operations relating to illicit drugs to the Narcotics Bureau and that Customs should be concerned with smuggling alone. Cooperation between the two agencies has improved markedly since the change and the cases developed by each agency have increased.

These are only some of the main highlights of the accomplishments of former Secretary Reed. I think the House will agree that they have been of great value to the Nation and will join me in this expression of appreciation to Mr. Reed.

Interregional Water Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CRAIG HOSMER
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the past year has been a year in which the importance of one of our most strategic resources—water—has been forcefully brought to our attention at a national level. Devastating floods within my State and in the Midwest, the continuation of drought conditions in the Northeastern States, the Florida Everglades, and the Pacific Southwest, and the wasteful and tragic pollution of our waters have all caused us to be more thoughtful and concerned about our water supplies than ever before.

Our increasing awareness of this need and our research for devices and programs to assist in overcoming our water crisis have caused a number of us to recognize many similarities in the problems of each region, indicating that a sharing of experiences on an interregional scale would be valuable. While the specific solutions to drought in New England may vary considerably from that in the arid Southwest, the vehicles for their solution may have much in common.

This becomes of increasing importance when answers are being sought and solutions developed at the Federal level. And it is encouraging to know that we are abandoning more and more localized short-term projects and looking toward regional development of our natural resources to meet the accelerating needs of people. A most important step in this direction and indicative of this thinking was taken this year when Congress passed the Water Resources Planning Act.

We have also seen enacted this year the new water pollution control law, a new program for rural water systems, acceleration of the saline water program and enhanced criteria for development of recreational opportunities in connection with our water resources. It is becoming evident that the success of these programs will depend upon a more adequate understanding of the legislative objectives of each region and area in developing and supporting these legislative efforts.

With these thoughts in mind, I am pleased to note that the Southern California Water Conference, an informal group of water leaders, has called for an interregional conference on "Water Problems and Their Solutions." Various responsible officials from New York, the Delaware River Basin States, and the Colorado River Basin States have been invited to participate, to probe and examine each other's problems with the hope that it might be productive of new ideas and approaches.

James Krieger, chairman of the conference, has called the meeting for November 15 in Los Angeles and the exchange of ideas should be most productive and serve as a guide for further conferences.

It is imperative that we intensify our efforts to coordinate Federal programs and enlarge the role of local government in seeking answers to local problems while serving the best interests of the Nation. I feel exchanges of this type can be very beneficial and I look forward to a better understanding of the crisis in our national water picture as a result.

Forty Billion Dollars of U.S. Government Bonds Held by Federal Reserve System Have Already Been Paid for Once, as Chairman Martin Has Admitted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, the Federal Reserve System holds in its open market account approximately $40 billion in interest-bearing U.S. Government securities acquired overtime pursuant to purchases in the bond market. These securities were acquired from private holders and resulted in a credit to the total reserves of the commercial banking system. The seller of the bonds would receive either a demand deposit in his favor upon the books of his bank or receive cash. In the event cash is desired, the commercial bank would make demand upon its Federal Reserve bank in an amount equal to the credit to its reserve account. Thus, upon issuance of the Federal Reserve notes in the amount of the bond purchase, the Federal Reserve is thus acquiring an interest-bearing obligation of the Government in exchange for a non-interest-bearing obligation—currency in the form of Federal Reserve notes which are legal tender. Thus, at this point, the bonds have been paid for once and logically should be canceled.

This was admitted to be true by Mr. William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, on December 11, 1956, testifying before the Joint Economic Committee. The colloquy, appearing on pages 117–118 of the printed hearings, proceeded as follows:

Chairman PATMAN. In practice, it is a bookkeeping operation. But the truth is, all the bonds that you have—and you have about $25 billion worth of bonds, do you not?

Mr. ROUSE. Something less than that; yes, sir.

Chairman PATMAN. About 24 or 25?

Mr. ROUSE. About 24.

Chairman PATMAN. Every one of those bonds have been bought, not on the resources of the Federal Reserve banks, but on the credit of the Nation by exchanging Federal Reserve notes for them, have they not?

Mr. ROUSE. Yes; they are bought by the—out of Federal Reserve funds.

Chairman PATMAN. No; you are mistaken there, are you not? You do not say that they are bought with Federal Reserve funds. The money is created by those bonds. Do you not understand that?

Mr. ROUSE. It is created—yes, indirectly.

Chairman PATMAN. Well, directly.

In other words, if you buy bonds, you must pay for them, and those $24 billion worth of bonds were paid for, but not by Federal Reserve bank funds; they were paid for by Federal Reserve notes.

Now, I will not insist on your answering that. I will ask Mr. Martin to answer that.

Is that not correct, Mr. Martin?

Mr. MARTIN. It would be the same thing, sir.

Chairman PATMAN. In other words, that is where the power to create money comes in through the Federal Reserve.

Mr. MARTIN. Yes.

Chairman PATMAN. You create the money. In other words, the money is printed, it is paid for by the bonds, the $24 billion worth of bonds.

Mr. MARTIN. We have the power to create money.

Chairman PATMAN. And you did do it to buy these bonds?

Mr. MARTIN. In the purchase of bonds, we ease the money market; in sales of bonds——

Chairman PATMAN. I am not talking about the reasons or arguments. I am just asking.

Mr. MARTIN. I was just talking about the process. The purchase of bonds would ease the money market, and the sale of bonds would contract it.

Chairman PATMAN. Let's divorce it from any argument about any market, easy or hard, and confine it to the bonds that you already have. You have $24 billion worth of bonds. Now, those bonds were bought by giving of Federal Reserve notes in exchange for the bonds, were they not?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, Federal Reserve credit.

Chairman PATMAN. What is that?

Mr. MARTIN. Federal Reserve credit. They were not specific——

Chairman PATMAN. That is what I mean. But every one of them is an obligation of the U.S. Government, is it not?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Chairman PATMAN. And every one of those notes that you trade for those bonds of the Government says on its face that it is an obligation of the U.S. Government?

Mr. MARTIN. That is correct.

Chairman PATMAN. And that is what makes it good.

Mr. MARTIN. That is right.

Chairman PATMAN. Now then, whenever you take that Government obligation from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing and you trade it for $24 billion worth of bonds which you have, and you have those bonds now, you draw interest on those bonds, do you not?

Mr. MARTIN. We do.

Furthermore, in hearings on H.R. 7601, before the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, July 7, 1965, to retire $30 billion of U.S. Government bonds held by the Federal Reserve System, Chairman Martin on pages 79 and 80 of the printed testimony again admitted that these bonds had already been paid for once:

Mr. MARTIN. The bonds were paid for in the normal course of business.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. MARTIN. And that is the only time they were paid for.

The CHAIRMAN. Just like we pay debts with checks and credits.

Mr. MARTIN. Exactly.

The CHAIRMAN. In the normal course of business they were paid for once, you will admit that, will you not?

Mr. MARTIN. They were paid for once and that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Reliance on Foreign Ships and Foreign Seamen for Tonnage Essential to American Defense

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on September 29 last, Thomas W. Gleason, president of the International Longshoremen's Association and chairman, Joint Maritime Labor Committee issued a statement in behalf of that committee with regard to the U.S. Government placing dominant reliance on foreign ships and foreign seamen for tonnage essential to our defense.

Under the permission heretofore granted me, I include the statement of the Joint Maritime Labor Committee:

STATEMENT BY THE JOINT MARITIME LABOR COMMITTEE

The Joint Maritime Labor Committee met today to consider the effects of, and take action on, the U.S. Government policy of placing dominant reliance on foreign ships and foreign seamen for tonnage essential to our defense.

The Defense Department under its unworkable "effective control" theory actually counts as part of America's defense potential, American-owned ships manned by seamen picked up anywhere in the world with no effective security clearance on ships flying Liberian, Panamanian and Honduran flags. In many cases, seamen for these "effective control" ships are recruited in Hong Kong which is notorious as an outlet for Communist Chinese agents.

The danger of these policies has been demonstrated beyond question in the months since the American buildup in South Vietnam began.

Efforts of the Defense Department to use foreign ships and foreign seamen to carry American military cargo to South Vietnam have resulted in repeated delays of essential military supplies, increased hazards and hardships for American troops in the combat zone and severe embarrassment to the United States.

In Long Beach, Calif., last month a 9,000-ton military cargo was delayed at least 3 weeks while efforts were made unsuccessfully to load it, first abroad a Mexican ship, and then aboard a Greek ship.

In the case of the Mexican ship, the Mexican Government advised its owners not to sail to South Vietnam after loading began. In the case of the Greek ship, members of the crew refused to sail when they learned of the mission and ringleaders among them denounced American purposes in South Vietnam.

In Tacoma, Wash., a few weeks later, another Greek crew refused to sail with military cargo for South Vietnam.

In all these cases, it was not until American-flag ships finally were brought in that the military cargo was successfully loaded and started on its way.

There have been many other instances here and abroad involving many ships and seamen of many nationalities where shipments to South Vietnam have been disrupted.

In spite of these clear-cut incidents, the Defense Department has not altered its policy on use of foreign flag ships and seamen and continues the dangerous effective control theory in full force.

On October 3, a ship now called *Australis* and flying the Greek flag will arrive in Port Everglades, Fla. This ship is a symbol of the resignation of the United States from maritime leadership and the resulting damage to our national security, economy, and prestige.

The *Australis* was formerly the SS *America*, owned by an American company, under the American flag with American officers and crew. She now flies the Greek flag and is crewed by Greek and other seamen who owe no allegiance to the United States.

The *America* proudly served our country in peace and war for 25 years. Built originally for the passenger trade, she was ready for commercial service at the start of World War II and went instead immediately into the vital task of troop transportation.

After 5 years of monumental service to our war effort, she was restored at the end of the war as the Nation's principal passenger liner. For some 20 years after that, she served the country proudly adding to its prestige, providing thousands of jobs to American citizens, millions of dollars to American communities and contributing to a favorable balance of payments.

Like all American passenger ships, the *America* was constructed and operated in accordance with the highest safety standards in the world, unmatched by any ships under any other flag. Like all American passenger ships, she was built with national defense features that would permit her immediate conversion to troop transportation service in an emergency.

The *America* was retired last year with no provision for a new replacement. Congress had authorized the building of a replacement vessel 6 years before but construction was blocked by the Bureau of the Budget and other agencies. The Maritime Administration had said that she would be kept as part of the American reserve fleet ready for any emergency. But again within a very short time the Maritime Administration reversed itself and announced that it had approved sale of the *America* to Greek interests.

We charged then that this sale violated the Merchant Marine Act and endangered American security. The Maritime Administration ignored our protests and claimed that the sale agreement contained provisions for retaining effective control of the ship. This effective control was based on the Greek owners agreeing that they would "make the ship available if needed" by the United States in an emergency.

The agreement of sale also contained a provision, the Maritime Administration said, which assured that the *America* would not operate in competition with American-flag shipping for a period of at least 5 years. Her scheduled arrival in Port Everglades demonstrates the falsity of the claim. The incidents in Long Beach and Tacoma demonstrate the stupidity of any claim of effective control over ships flying foreign flags and manned by foreign crews.

Our unions represent seamen, officers, longshoremen, shipyard workers, and other maritime workers whose livelihoods are endangered by these shortsighted maritime policies. Our members dedicate their strength and skills every day to our country's present effort in South Vietnam and they are prepared to do whatever is required in the defense of our country in any emergency at any time.

As citizens, our members are deeply concerned about the danger that has been presented to our country by maritime policies which the fate of the *America* symbolizes. As workers, they are deeply concerned about the wasting of their skills and dedication and the threat to their future.

The Joint Maritime Committee, therefore, has decided today to establish machinery for bringing home to Congress and the American people all the facts of the deplorable situation. We will make our protests known and felt in every port of this country. The action will begin with the arrival of the *Australis* on October 3.

Hawaii To Have Foreign-Trade Zone

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA
OF HAWAII
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the establishment in Hawaii of a foreign-

trade zone has generated considerable interest, among other things, in the possible development of petrochemical production facilities in the Island State. The foreign-trade zone concept, which is relatively new in the United States, is particularly suited to Hawaii because of its unique central Pacific location.

A very helpful statement on foreign-trade zones in the United States, with emphasis on petroleum imports and petrochemical production, is furnished by Mr. Richard H. Lake, Executive Secretary of the Foreign-Trade Zones Board, an independent Federal agency. Mr. Lake's statement, which was released for publication in the Oil Daily, follows:

PERSPECTIVE: U.S. FOREIGN-TRADE ZONES

(By Richard H. Lake)

The opportunity to manufacture at a foreign-trade zone in the United States combines the advantages of a domestic operation with those advantages usually attributed to an overseas production site. This accounts for most of the current interest now focused on foreign-trade zones. A relatively new idea here, the zone approach has proven itself abroad for several centuries in the form of free-trade zones and free ports.

The Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934, as amended, established the Foreign-Trade Zones Board to administer the act which provides for the establishment and operation of foreign-trade zones "to expedite and encourage foreign commerce." The board consists of the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Army, and is headquartered at the U.S. Department of Commerce in Washington.

A foreign-trade zone is best described as: an isolated, enclosed, and policed area, in or adjacent to a port of entry, operated as a public untility by a public or private corporation, and furnished with facilities for receiving, handling, storing, processing, manufacturing, and exhibiting goods, and for reshipping them to world markets by land, water, or air. Any foreign and domestic merchandise, unless prohibited by law or classed as detrimental to the public interest, health, or safety, may be brought into a zone without being subject to the customs laws of the United States governing the entry of goods or the payment of duty thereon.

In the zone this merchandise may be stored, handled, processed, and used in the production of various products and, in original form or otherwise, may be shipped from the zone to foreign and domestic markets. Merchandise is subject to prevailing import controls and duties if sent into the customs territory of the United States, but not if shipped abroad.

Subject to these limitations, the only merchandise permitted to enter U.S. customs territory from a foreign-trade zone is merchandise which could otherwise be imported from abroad. In either case it would be subject to the payment of customs duties. This assures maintenance of safeguards without subjecting domestic industry to unwarranted restrictions which would provide production and marketing advantages to producers located abroad.

Many business and economic plus factors are derived from features of the foreign-trade zone concept which permit:

1. Duty-free and quota-free manufacturing for export using foreign as well as domestic components.

2. Employment of labor, machinery, technology, and management in the United States at zone sites outside of U.S. customs territory.

3. Manufacturing in the United States with no need to outlay working capital for payment of customs duties unless and until output enters U.S. customs territory for consumption. In effect, even certain "imports" could be "Made in the U.S.A."

4. Determination of customs duties on zone-produced goods entering U.S. customs territory based upon duty rates applicable to foreign components, rather than duty rates applicable to the overall product.

5. Access to quota-restricted production components under the same competitive conditions available to producers located abroad.

6. Capital investment opportunities in the United States as an alternative to similar investments abroad.

7. U.S. products, competitively produced and competitively priced for world markets.

8. Economic utilization of unused domestic production capacity.

Foreign-trade zones have been in continuous operation since 1937 when the first zone was established in New York City. Development of additional zones was slow, due to the interruption of commerce occasioned by World War II and a limiting feature of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act which prohibited manufacturing in zones. An amendment in 1950 enlarged the features of the act, including provisions for manufacturing.

In addition to six zones currently established in New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Toledo, and Mayaguez, P.R., subzones for manufacturing are operated in San Francisco, Calif., and at Penuelas, P.R. A new general-purpose zone is scheduled to open early next year as part of the State of Hawaii's economic development program.

The San Francisco subzone, opened in 1963, houses women's apparel production facilities operated by Lilli Ann Corp. of California. The Penuelas subzone, opened in May 1962, contains a petrochemical production plant operated by Union Carbide Caribe, Inc. The latter subzone was the first zone site established solely for manufacturing.

At the present time two applications for new zone sites are pending before the Foreign-Trade Zones Board. One application, from the port of New Orleans, proposes establishment of a subzone at Taft, La., where Union Carbide Corp. would erect and operate petrochemical production facilities. The second application, from the board of supervisors of Bay County, Mich., proposes establishment of a foreign-trade zone and two subzones in Bay County. These subzones would house feedstock storage and petrochemical facilities operated by Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

The current moves to establish new zone sites for petrochemical production facilities employing foreign feedstocks have precipitated considerable controversy. On one hand, zone proponents view the zone approach as a means of providing domestic chemical producers sorely needed access to competitively priced feedstocks from abroad, thereby reducing present inequities which limit their procurement to the higher priced domestic feedstocks. They point to the zone approach as an effective alternative to relocating abroad and one way to reduce an increasing flow to the United States of petrochemicals produced abroad.

Zone opponents, on the other hand, object to the zone approach as a "loophole" which, if used extensively, would subvert the objectives of the oil import control program which they feel must be maintained in the national interest.

These and related questions are being studied by industry and by various Government agencies responsible for this commodity area and will probably be considered in future developments affecting petroleum import policies. Whatever the outcome, the foreign-trade zone idea has and will continue to sharpen Government and industry focus on vital national issues with respect to petroleum imports and petrochemical production.

The Hour Grows Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LAURENCE J. BURTON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BURTON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Deseret News of Monday, September 13, 1965:

WHITHER AMERICA? THE HOUR GROWS LATE

Next to his family, his job, and his religion, one of the biggest influences on the life of the average American is that of government.

Awake or asleep, at work or at play, government touches just about everything we do. The food we eat is regulated by pure food and drug laws. The air we breathe is subject to antipollution control laws. The clothes we wear are taxed. The place where we work is governed by minimum wage, social security, and workmen's compensation laws. The mattress we sleep on bears a tag attesting that its manufacture was subject to government regulations.

As the population increases, the role the government plays in our lives is bound to increase. More people need more government workers to serve them. As people live in closer proximity to each other, the danger of a man's infringing on his neighbor's rights increase; hence, more laws result.

The trouble is that government also can infringe on our rights, that it can grow faster than conditions warrant, and that in solving some problems its solutions create even worse problems.

For example:

From 1954 to 1964 the U.S. population increased 18 percent—but the number of Americans on relief increased 42 percent. This despite record prosperity.

In 13 years the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has increased its spending more than 300 percent, more than doubled its personnel force, and almost quadrupled its payroll costs.

During the past decade, Federal aid payments to State and local governments have more than tripled. With Federal aid, of course, goes Federal control.

The tax burden has grown to the point where the average citizen must work more than 3 months of each year to support the government before beginning to earn money to spend as he wishes.

Over the years, most experts agree, the executive branch of the Federal Government has become progressively stronger at the expense of the legislative branch, weakening the system of checks and balances that helps safeguard our individual liberties.

One of every five dollars spent in the United States and one of every eight jobs comes from the Federal Government, making us highly dependent on a single source for our income.

The rise and fall of a nation has been traced by one scholar through the following steps:

From bondage to spiritual faith.
From spiritual faith to courage.
From courage to liberty.
From liberty to abundance.
From abundance to selfishness.
From selfishness to complacency.
From complacency to apathy.
From apathy to dependency.
From dependency back again into bondage.

In this country, the hour is late.

We have precious little time in which to replot our course. For when government

starts stunting the growth of the human spirit instead of fostering qualities like initiative and self-reliance, the time may not be far off when challenges start mastering us instead of the other way around.

Northeast Power Failure Causes Delay in Clearing of Checks, Temporarily Relieving Tight Money Situation in New York—Wall Street Journal Quotes Financier That "The Good Lord Has Reversed the Federal Reserve's Monetary Policy"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in addition to alerting America to weaknesses in our communications and power transmission systems, the recent Northeast power failure has had other interesting side effects, particularly on the financial and securities market.

For many months now, I have stood on the floor of this House denouncing the dangerous and unjustified high interest, tight-money policies of the Federal Reserve System. I have repeatedly emphasized the Federal Reserve's illegal, but nonetheless effective independence from the rest of the Government in directing our vital monetary affairs. We in Congress have failed to act, thus permitting the Federal Reserve's chronic tight-money bias to cause recession after recession.

The Wall Street Journal carries in some detail the effects of the power failure on banking and money market activities in Wall Street. I particularly draw attention to the delay in check collections caused by the power failure which had the effect of temporarily adding to bank reserves which the Federal Reserve has refused to do in doggedly pursuing its tight-money course. The result of this delay was welcome relief from the Fed-sponsored credit starvation.

So what we in Congress have failed to do was, nevertheless, accomplished by an act of God, if only for a day.

The relevant portion of the Wall Street Journal article follows, including a quoted statement by a Wall Street specialist that "The good Lord has reversed the Federal Reserve's monetary policy":

The district Federal Reserve bank in New York similarly gave some relief to member commercial banks whose normal accounting operations were stalled by the power breakdown. The Reserve bank announced that institutions that failed to meet reserve requirements by the close of the statement week, which ended yesterday, wouldn't have to pay penalty interest rates usually assessed for such deficiencies. The Boston Federal Reserve bank was similarly authorized by the Federal Reserve Board in Washington to grant such a waiver.

At the end of each statement week, larger member banks have to have on deposit at Federal Reserve banks enough cash to cover, on a daily average basis, at least 16½ percent of their customers' checking deposits and 4 percent of savings-type deposits; without the waiver, banks falling short of their daily-average reserve requirement would have to pay a penalty at an annual rate of 6 percent, 2 percentage points above the "discount rate," currently 4 percent.

The New York Federal Reserve bank, which operates a large-scale check-clearing operation, planned, as in the case of commercial banks, to have a sizable crew in today to catch up with its check-processing backlog.

The delay in check clearance, Federal Reserve officials noted, was almost sure to distort the System's weekly statistics. The figures, especially on the reserve positions of banks, are watched closely by economists and businessmen as an indication of any change in monetary policy. A sharp increase in the "float" of checks in the process of collection would add to the banks' reserves, unless offset by other factors, because they automatically receive Federal Reserve credit for the amount of those checks.

The Federal Reserve, in carrying out its function of regulating the supply of credit in the banking system, in recent months has sought to keep a moderately tight rein on the availability of such credit. The expansionary influence of the rise in "float" resulting from the developments of the past 2 days could counter that tighter tendency, at least temporarily.

This prompted a money-market specialist to observe: "The good Lord has reversed the Federal Reserve's monetary policy."

Foreign Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN R. HANSEN
OF IOWA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HANSEN of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, the foreign aid policies of the United States have been under fire since their very conception. It is indeed unfortunate that the great majority of the critics are totally unaware of some of the more basic facts concerning the program.

For example, most people do not realize that most of our aid dollars are spent in the United States. Over 85 percent of all foreign aid appropriations are spent in this country. It is our policy to send American goods and services overseas rather than dollars.

The current foreign aid bill amounts to one-half of 1 percent of our gross national product today. Compare this with the 2 percent we were spending on aid in 1949 at the peak of the Marshall plan.

The major objective of our foreign aid program is to bolster the ultimate security of the United States and to help others so that they can help themselves. As a measure of its success, foreign aid has ended in 26 countries, all of which are now economically stable and self-supporting nations.

The Carroll Daily Times Herald recently printed an article which pointed out the great success achieved in Austria through our foreign aid program. I would like to offer this article for the benefit of my colleagues. The article follows:

AUSTRIA: BOOMING EXAMPLE OF EFFICACY OF FOREIGN AID

(By Bruce Biossat)

GRAZ, AUSTRIA.—The Austrian industrial landscape in many places sprouts the marks of strong postwar American influence. Our help saved basic enterprises from near disaster.

In the United States, the confirmed anti-foreign-aid contingent manages regularly to suggest that American assistance—no matter how labeled and where directed—has been virtually a total waste from its Marshall plan beginnings in 1948.

This is, of course, a cross misrepresentation, since our first sweeping air efforts rescued almost the whole of Western Europe from the brink. Austria is a stunning exhibit.

Many miles northwest of here heavy trucks groan up the terraced slopes of Austria's famous Erzberg, a mountain of iron supplying its steel industry. "The trucks are a Marshall plan contribution," says a mining company official.

The big steel mill at Donawitz off to the southeast was one of the first enterprises in Austria to get such aid. The new equipment was vital in restoring a plant stripped of 10,000 tons of machinery by the rapacious Russians.

In a village much closer to Graz, the same story is heard at the huge Elin-Union Co., makers of generators, transformers, electrical motors of many kinds. The Soviets carted off 180 truckloads of machinery and tools. Our aid in tools and other materials set the now thriving industry off on its recovery course.

The Steyr-Daimler-Puch Co. here, suppliers of half the bicycles sold by America's leading mail-order house, lost 3,000 machines to the Russians after the war. Allied bombers already had wiped out half the plant. Once again, U.S. assistance provided crucial machines needed for rebuilding.

At war's end in 1945, Austria's bombed and ravaged industry was down to one-third of prewar levels. Twelve years later, thanks largely to U.S. help but also to some British effort, the once enemy land was producing at two and a half times the prewar 1937 rate.

When the Marshall plan ended 10 years ago, America had poured in almost $1 billion in aid. Austria, landlocked and ribbed with mountains, was embarked on a hard struggle—thus far just partly rewarded—to find a place for its 7 million people in the world's industrial sun.

Like the Dutch, the Austrians are warmly convincing in their expressions of appreciation for this help.

But, from the purely selfish viewpoint, we Americans have more than Austria's gratitude to show for our efforts. Much of the aid money was spent with U.S. suppliers.

Wandering through a steel mill, an electric motor plant, an automobile-motorcycle-bicycle factory, a gunmaker's shop, you see on machines of all sizes the nameplates of familiar American manufacturers and their cities: Detroit, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, San Francisco, Fond du Lac, Wis.

At Vienna's international trade fair, some 2,200 Austrian machinery makers now exhibit their wares. Yet the Austrians go on buying substantial amounts of U.S. equipment. Last year their total imports from America came to $100 million.

These obvious, direct rewards are not, however, the best ones.

The real satisfaction has to be that we had an important part, sharply visible to anyone who will come and take a look, in putting a free, spirited nation back on its feet. That is just about as far from "pouring money down a rathole" as you can get.

Congressman Cleveland Evaluates the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JAMES C. CLEVELAND

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLEVELAND. Mr. Speaker, in keeping with my practice of past years, I offer at this time an assessment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, including an accounting of my own stewardship as U.S. Representative from the Second District of New Hampshire.

This Congress, now at its half-way point, has been called variously the greatest in history and a mere rubber stamp on the road to socialism. I do not subscribe fully to either statement. Some good laws were passed, a few bad ones were defeated, and a large number of measures were enacted which will require skillful administration and may require revisions by Congress.

The Congress appropriated more money than any other in peacetime history—more than $119 billion. The national debt increased sharply and $11.5 billion of the appropriations was to pay the yearly interest on these obligations.

MANY CRITICAL PROBLEMS IGNORED

In spite of these enormous activities and appropriations Congress failed to deal with numerous critical areas such as crime, inflation, the rising cost of living, tax refunds to the States, congressional reform, foreign aid reform, labor law reform, modernization of the social security system, reform of agricultural programs and, of course, balancing the budget.

New directions, however, were taken in such major fields as medical care to the aged, voting rights, aid to education, special Federal assistance to particular disadvantaged areas, immigration, air and water pollution, public mass transportation, Presidential succession, highway development, public health, the coinage and taxes.

GREAT SOCIETY TIDAL WAVE

A tidal wave of Great Society legislation swept over the Congress and the country. Effective discussion and reasoned criticism were well nigh obliterated. The minority party, overwhelmed more than 2 to 1 by the majority party, could do little to stem the flow or gain consideration for its views. Denied a fair share of professional staff and laboring against such heavy odds, the minority party did well to create as many proposals and offer as many alternatives it did. Time and again—on the Appalachian bill, on voting rights, on medicare, on education, on tax reform, on highway beautification, and others—the minority was shouted down and shunted aside, in some instances, without ever being given an opportunity even to explain its proposals. The decision had been made; our opponents were not interested in dissent.

This mass production of complex, poorly drafted, Presidential "must" bills has resulted in programs that will take a long time to assess. Even some of the top leaders of the majority have called for a "go slow" second session of Congress next year to give Congress time to plug the loopholes and tighten the programs established so hastily.

"COME, LET US REASON TOGETHER"

This Congress bowed to the wishes of the executive branch to a degree perhaps unequaled in American history. The traditional balance, decreed by the Constitution, between the legislative and executive branches, seemed suspended in tribute to a very powerful Chief Executive.

The White House exerted unprecedented pressure upon the Congress, cloaking its action under the name of reason and consensus. The President, himself, frequently referred to his favorite Biblical text: "Come now, and let us reason together," as authority for his methods. The citation is Isaiah, chapter 1, verse 18. The session had operated only a month under Johnsonian techniques when I felt constrained to point out in the House the two verses of Isaiah which follow and which describe what was actually happening. The 19th and 20th verses read:

> If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall eat the good of the land: But if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be devoured with the sword; for the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

NEW MINORITIES?

During my tenure in Washington, in particular during this session, I have been disturbed by the accelerating transfer of power to large special-interest blocs and by the accompanying trend to concentrate decisionmaking in Washington. Big business, big labor, big politics, big corporate agriculture, and, indeed, big government itself, exercise a disproportionate power. Small farmers, small businessmen, small communities and the millions of individual and unorganized citizens throughout the country who are not immediately part of a special interest still have rights but are increasingly less able to exercise them.

This is not a new phenomenon on the American scene. Throughout our history we have seen groupings of excessive power in the hands of one or another combination of interests. It is, however, rising again in a new form and ought to be guarded against with vigilance. The small farmer, businessman and the small communities and States must be protected if our country is to continue to foster individual initiative and enterprise, which are still the mainsprings of our Nation's greatness. Under present conditions they are rapidly becoming the new minorities.

KEEPING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

In the following paragraphs, I shall set forth the major issues on which votes were recorded and state my position on them. I want this record crystal clear. In my last campaign I was dismayed by the misrepresentation of my voting record. I was accused of voting against bills which I voted for . One glaring example was the charge that I opposed the higher education bill when, in fact, I voted for it. This charge was based on the ground that I had voted for a motion to recommit the bill to committee with instructions to amend it. The motion to recommit with instructions—really a vote to amend—for which I voted in this instance would have added a nondiscrimination clause to the higher education bill. This was before the Civil Rights Act and it would have helped greatly to counteract racial discrimination in a most important area. Most Republicans and many Democrats voted for it. Yet, my vote for this motion to recommit was taken up and presented to the people of my district as a vote against the education bill. This sort of distortion leaves a bitter memory and I am determined to do everything I can to see that it will not happen again.

MINORITY AND SUPPLEMENTAL VIEWS

An important function of the minority party is to criticize the majority's programs and to offer counterproposals where indicated. Republicans, being in the minority, presented their positions in minority and supplemental views filed with many of the committee reports on major legislation. The views of the minority thus became part of the official record of legislation, help determine the party's record and, very often, form the basis for future legislation. In the research and scholarship which goes into each of these, it is important for the minority to have adequate professional staff. Even if Members of Congress were all scientists, engineers, economists, lawyers, educators, and military experts, the demands on their time would never permit them an opportunity to make the meticulous probings and investigations required in drafting valid proposals. Adequate professional staffing is essential to the formulation of sound laws.

Following is my record on the major issues in the 89th Congress to date, not necessarily in order of importance.

In a year which further tested this country's resolve to defend freedom, I supported the President's foreign policy moves, particularly his efforts to stem the Communist conquest of South Vietnam and to break the attempted Communist coup in the Dominican Republic. I reserve the right to criticize the administration, however, when I believe it is making mistakes. I believe that had we made our determination to resist aggression clearer at the beginning we might have averted much of our present difficulties both in Latin America and in southeast Asia.

DEFENSE

In line with our foreign policy, which requires us to maintain a constant state of powerful readiness to meet any military challenge, I voted for the President's defense requests.

FOREIGN AID

I continued my support for the foreign aid program, while voting for cuts in the program and urging far tighter administration of it. I voted to eliminate Egypt and Indonesia from the program and joined those who believe that the military and economic aspects of the program should be separated.

CIVIL RIGHTS

I voted for the administration's voting rights bill after first supporting a Republican bill that was broader in application. I voted against the dismissal of the challenge brought against Representatives elected from Mississippi. This matter should have been heard in public hearings. While defending every citizen's right to protest injustice, I strongly deplore taking to the streets in destructive riots.

FISCAL POLICY

I voted for repeal of the wartime excise taxes but fought for reductions in Federal spending. Prosperity based on deficit spending and taxcuts is temporary. When inflation, which is underway again, waters down the value of the dollar and prices rise, pay raises and increased Government benefits are eaten away. In an effort to impose a measure of discipline on Federal spending, I voted against raising the national debt limit to $328 billion.

EDUCATION

I voted for both the Higher Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. I voted against providing funds for the National Teachers Corps at this time because the subject needs more examination by the Congress. I was one of the sponsors of the National Arts and Humanities Act which will help restore the balance between the arts and sciences, which are so heavily endowed with Federal funds.

I also authored a bill by which parents of college students would receive income-tax credits to ease the burden of tuition costs. Another bill of mine proposes a massive Federal program to expand and upgrade the Nation's educational radio and television network. The electronic media are superb teaching tools and not nearly enough has been done to exploit them.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

My Committee on Public Works was deeply involved in this area. From the committee this year came the Appalachian Regional Development Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act, the Highway Beautification Act, and the Omnibus Public Works Act. I helped draft the Republican alternative to the Appalachian bill, the National Resources Development Act, which would have aided every eligible disadvantaged area in the country. I voted against the Appalachian bill which concentrates special aid on an 11-State area to the exclusion of all other areas of the country where the need is just as great, northern New Hampshire among them. I supported the Public Works and Economic Development Act, which combined the former area development and accelerated public works programs. My vote for the bill came after I was able to get the bill amended so that every State would qualify for at least one project and so that Federal funds cannot be used to set up businesses producing goods already in oversupply. I opposed the Highway Beautification Act, nominally written in the committee but in fact dictated by the White House, whose aids actually sat in closed committee sessions to direct the writing of the bill. I am for a good program but this bill is so vaguely written that no one could say how broad its effect will be. Its loose provisions fall heaviest on the small businessman and the bill has rightly been called a lawyer's bill because of the costly litigation it is certain to generate. I vigorously opposed the Lincoln-Dickey hydroelectric project on the St. John River in northern Maine. This $300 million affair was included in the Omnibus Public Works Act and represented about 10 percent of the entire bill. This project is really part of the Passamaquoddy tidal power project that has been rejected time and again as technically unfeasible. The Lincoln-Dickey project would build an old-fashioned facility to produce electric power that will be duplicated by the private utilities for about $71 million over the next few years. This costly project will consume tax money while the private utilities will pay taxes.

HOUSING

I voted for the Housing Act but opposed the proposal to subsidize rent payments because it seemed wrong to provide tax money for families whose incomes could be as high as $11,200 in some places. This was supposed to be a program for the needy. I voted against creation of the new Cabinet post of Housing and Urban Development, proposing instead the creation of a new Office of Urban Affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

HEALTH

I voted for the administration's program to provide medical care for the aged after first voting for the Republican counterproposal, which, in my opinion, offered a much better, broader range of benefits for those truly in need. The chief trouble with the compulsory program is that it will either cost too much by carrying those who do not need it, or there won't be enough money to provide proper help for those who do. The need for a Federal program was clearly demonstrated, however. The medicare bill also carried in it much-needed, long overdue increases in social security benefits.

In other health legislation, I voted for the Drug Control Act, programs establishing or increasing aid to community health research centers, mental health centers, and centers to conduct research into major diseases. I voted for continuing the Health Professions Assistance Act and authored a successful amendment by which doctors and dentists will be encouraged to locate in rural areas lacking proper medical care. I also sponsored a bill to provide humane treatment for laboratory animals used in federally financed research. It gained wide support across the Nation and public hearings were held, which, hopefully, will lead to a good law

IMMIGRATION

I voted for the Immigration Act, which ends the outmoded national origins quota system, and will make it easier to reunite separated families and obtain those persons whose skills are needed in this country.

FARM LEGISLATION

I voted against the massive farm bill which continues to favor the big corporate farmer at the expense of the small farmer. It also continues an infamous wheat program which amounts to a bread tax. I voted against the administration's sugar bill, which is loaded with unwarranted sweetmeats for special interests. The benefits of generous subsidies to foreign countries line the pockets of the big sugar owners and dealers and do not reach the people. I also opposed the International Coffee Agreement as against consumer interest.

RIGHT-TO-WORK

I voted against repeal of section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act, which would have invalidated so-called right-to-work laws in 19 States. This is a matter properly left to the States to decide for themselves and, in any event, should be considered as part of general reform of labor laws, not as a separate issue. If the right-to-work option is destroyed, Congress ought to take steps to guarantee greater democracy in unions.

PRESIDENTIAL CONTINUITY

I voted for the Presidential continuity resolution, now awaiting approval by the States to become part of our Constitution. It fills a serious governmental gap by providing for the Vice President to take over if the President is unable to carry out his duties. It also provides for filling a vacancy in the Vice Presidency. Another bill I supported makes the assassination of the President a Federal crime.

HOUSE RULES

I opposed the changes in the rules of the House by which nearly total control over the flow of legislation is concentrated in the hands of the Speaker of the House. With these changes, the House reverted almost to the days of Speaker Cannon who ruled with such an iron hand that his grip had to be broken with rules changes voted in 1912. Memories are short.

MILITARY CIVILIAN PAY

I supported pay raises for both the Armed Services and the civilian employees of the Federal Government. The civilian pay increase won my support only after another increase in Congressmen's salaries, provided in the original bill, was taken out, along with raises for certain other high Government officials. These were adequately taken care of by the last Congress.

WAR ON POVERTY

I opposed continuing the present course of this program which has become so involved with politics as to negate much of its value. The whole program should be revamped.

VETERANS

I supported measures to increase compensation to veterans with service-connected disabilities and their dependents, and which increased assistance for disabled veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation training. I introduced a bill which would provide a GI bill of rights for combat veterans of the cold war. I joined the vigorous, successful protests against Veterans' Administration plans

to move the main functions of its offices in Manchester and White River junction to Boston.

CANADIAN AUTO AGREEMENT

Illustrating the tremendous power of big business, this measure permits the removal of United States and Canadian tariffs in auto parts. I voted against it. It is special-interest legislation of the first order and is a direct threat to American jobs.

AIR AND WATER POLLUTION

I voted for all measures to aid the fight against air and water pollution and supported the Water Resources Planning Act. In addition, I voted for measures creating new national parks in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and California.

SILVER AND GOLD

With the greatest reluctance, I voted for the bill removing silver from dimes and quarters and dropping the silver content of half dollars to 40 percent. I did so only when it was clearly demonstrated that there simply was not enough silver left to meet the demands of coinage and industry. However, I voted against repeal of the requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain a 25 percent "gold cover" to back their deposits. The repeal represents further relaxation of fiscal discipline, which is so badly needed.

COMMITTEE APPOINTMENTS

At the end of the session, I was designated ranking Republican member of the newly created Subcommittee on Public Works which will act as watchdog over Federal programs to assist development of disadvantaged areas. These consist of the Economic Development Act programs and the Appalachian regional development program. In January, I was named chairman of the Republican Task Force on Congressional Reform and Minority Staffing. The task force participated in and closely followed the public hearing conducted by the Joint Committee on Congressional Reform, and engaged extensively in research and preparation of proposals that will be advanced for public and congressional consideration next year.

During this busy year, I attempted to keep my constituents informed through regular newspaper columns and radio and television reports. All postal patrons in the district received a questionnaire as well as the results, which included my own answers.

I visited as many communities in my district as time allowed and welcomed numerous New Hampshire visitors to Washington. My district office remains open year round in Concord to receive constituents.

Hawaii's New Rum Hailed as the Best

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, the intoxicating charm of our "valley island" of Maui in the Hawaiian archipelago is world famous. It is not surprising, then, that Maui should be the birthplace of what Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, calls the best rum made anywhere. The rum, which is already being used in Calvert's popular "bottled daiquiri" and Mai Tai, a local rum drink, was officially introduced in Hawaii as the "Leilani Hawaiian Rum" by Mr. Bronfman and Mr. Arthur F. Murphy, executive vice president of Calvert Distillers Co.

Started as an idea by the Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co. in 1962, the rum which is made with cane molasses at the Seagram distillery in Puunene, is being acclaimed as the best rum Seagram & Co. makes anywhere. In a recent interview with Mr. Shurei Hirozawa, business and labor editor of the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Mr. Bronfman said, "It is the soil and climatic conditions on Maui that gives the molasses the ingredients that make good rum." The light golden rum not only has a distinctive flavor but is sweeter and has a good aroma.

Seagram has made plans to double the capacity of their distillery in Puunene as the aromatic island rum is expected to become a national and international favorite when it is introduced to the rest of the country and the world.

I submit for inclusion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Mr. Hirozawa's article on Seagram's "Leilani Hawaiian rum" which appeared in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of September 30, 1965:

DISTILLER DELIGHTED—HAWAII'S NEW RUM HAILED AS THE BEST

(By Shurei Hirozawa)

The makers of Hawaii's first commercial rum are so pleased with their product that they are sure it will become a national and international favorite.

They are so keen about it that plans are already underway to double the capacity of the distillery on Maui.

"We were delighted to discover that the rum is the best we make anywhere," Edgar M. Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, said in an interview yesterday. Seagram makes rum in six countries.

Bronfman, a youthful 37, and Arthur F. Murphy, executive vice president of Calvert Distillers Co., Seagram's marketing subsidiary, are here to officially introduce the rum—to be known as Leilani Hawaiian Rum—at sunset festivities today at the Royal Hawaiian Hotel.

Calvert will market the rum, with distribution in Hawaii to be handled by McKesson & Robbins. Local sales will start immediately.

IDEA CAME FROM ISLAND FIRM

Bronfman said the idea of a Hawaiian rum came from Hawaiian Commercial & Sugar Co., which needed a market for its large production of molasses.

C. C. Cadagan, president of Alexander & Baldwin which owns Hawaiian Commercial, approached the Seagram firm through a San Francisco banker to see if the venerable distiller was interested.

"That was 3½ or 4 years ago," Bronfman said, "and we expressed some interest.

"We took some cane molasses from Maui to our laboratory in Louisville, Ky., and our chemists took it from there."

Meanwhile, Bronfman came to Honolulu in May 1962, and discussed the offer with Cadagan at lunch.

The raw rum produced in the Louisville laboratory looked good enough, he said, to make Seagram decide to go ahead with the program.

And Hawaiian Commercial made such a fine offer that this was another attraction to Puunene, Maui, he said. Seagram leased the land and built the distillery.

Now after 3 years of aging, the rum is the best, Bronfman said. And Seagram makes rum in Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Canada, Venezuela, and Argentina.

"It's the soil and climatic conditions on Maui that give the molasses the ingredients that make good rum," he said. "As far as we know, no one knew previously that Hawaiian molasses made such a good rum."

THERE'S A SHORTAGE ALREADY

Bronfman said Calvert has been using Hawaiian rum in its bottled daiquiri, which has become one of Calvert's most popular products.

This is causing a shortage and Bronfman said plans are being made to double the 320,000 cases a year capacity at Puunene. Construction may begin in 3 months, he said.

The rum made on Maui is of a natural, light golden hue, and has a good aroma. It is sweeter and has a character all its own, the executives said.

In comparison, Puerto Rican rum has almost no flavor, they said.

The world rum market has been growing from 6 to 7 percent annually but the U.S. market growth has been less than that, absorbing 2.5 million cases annually.

Seagram's general wine and spirits subsidiary has 10 percent of the U.S. market and 50 percent of the world market. It has a smaller share of the U.S. market because it entered it only 10 years ago.

"We feel our Hawaiian rum can take a good part of the U.S. market," Bronfman said.

After its introduction in Florida in January, California in March, New York in April and the rest of the Nation after that, distribution will begin in Japan, Australia, New Zealand, and Europe.

The island market has been expanding faster than the national market, mainly because of tourists and the Mai Tai, a rum drink. Annual sales of 7,500 cases is three times what it was 5 years ago.

The name Leilani was chosen because Bronfman said that is the only Hawaiian song he knew and it made him happy every time he heard it.

Alfred Hayes, of New York Federal Reserve Bank, Undermines Administration Efforts for International Monetary Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, international monetary problems are a common topic of conversation these days. There are many reasons for this, probably the most important of which are free world security as well as our own balance-of-payments situation.

Very recently, Secretary of the Treasury Fowler went abroad to represent our best interests in solving the shortage in international liquidity. The time has come for action, and this is an area in which the administration, under the President's leadership, is working ably and hard. An increase in international reserves is necessary to insure growth in world trade which is very profitable to

America, and it is time some hard work was done at the conference table toward this goal.

Negotiations with foreign central bankers and other monetary officials are hazardous at best and are characterized by many of the difficulties one associates with complex international diplomacy.

So, it is deplorable indeed that, while these ticklish negotiations are in progress, a high government official, Mr. Alfred Hayes, president of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, should undercut the administration's efforts for a conference to discuss the problem. Mr. Hayes is selected for his $75,000 a year job, plus liberal expenses, by the big money market bankers on Wall Street. He has no direct responsibility at all to the American public who support him in fine style. Mr. Hayes claims, although his bank holds $40 billion of Government securities which are public property, that his bank and he himself are not really part of the Government. But, in any case, there is no excuse for his recent sounding off to financial men in New York on a subject which is certainly not his responsibility as fixed by Congress during a time when the administration is struggling to bring some order out of the international monetary situation. Mr. Hayes is against reform, but for higher and higher interest rates as his pet cure-all.

Mr. Hayes sits up in a walnut-paneled ivory tower in New York City calmly sabotaging his own Goverment by shaking the confidence of the people in the efforts of their elected officials. If Mr. Hayes feels compelled to dissent from official administration policy, then he should do so with care and discretion. But if he feels unable to resist a public outburst against the administration, then at least he should have the decency to wait until the Government's views have had a fair chance to take hold toward a successful solution to the problem. If a vitally needed conference on this problem falls through, one of the individuals the American public can thank is Al Hayes.

Activities and Accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy in the 89th Congress, 1st Session

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CHET HOLIFIELD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, it is generally acknowledged, and with justification, in my opinion, that the 1st session of the 89th Congress was one of the most productive legislative sessions in the history of our Nation. I am proud to have served in this body during this crucial period. The past session has been similarly fruitful for the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. As chairman of the Committee, I have had the staff prepare a brief report highlighting the committee's activities and accomplishments during that time.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this report shows that the Joint Committee has contributed significantly to the continued preeminence of the United States in the peaceful and military applications of atomic energy. Moreover, I believe the activities of the committee bring credit to Congress—and to our system of Government as a whole—by demonstrating the ability of a representative democracy to cope with the increasingly complex technological problems of our day.

I wish to thank all the members of the committee, from the majority and minority sides and from both Houses, for their devotion to duty and close cooperation in the Committee's work. In order that Members of Congress and the public may be better informed, I include in the RECORD at this point the report on the activities and accomplishments of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 89th Congress, 1st session.

ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE JOINT COMMITTEE ON ATOMIC ENERGY IN THE 89TH CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Foreword

The following report on the activities of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy during the 1st session of the 89th Congress (1965) has been prepared at the direction of the chairman for the information of the Congress, the executive branch, and the public.

The Joint Committee on Atomic Energy was first organized on August 2, 1946 and is a House-Senate Committee consisting of nine members from each body, of which no more than five from each body can be members of the same party. Following is a listing of the present membership:

CHET HOLIFIELD, California, chairman.
JOHN O. PASTORE, Rhode Island, vice chairman.
MELVIN PRICE, Illinois.
WAYNE N. ASPINALL, Colorado.
ALBERT THOMAS, Texas.
THOMAS G. MORRIS, New Mexico.
CRAIG HOSMER, California.
WILLIAM H. BATES, Massachusetts.
JOHN B. ANDERSON, Illinois.
WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, Ohio.
RICHARD B. RUSSELL, Georgia.
CLINTON P. ANDERSON, New Mexico.
ALBERT GORE, Tennessee.
HENRY M. JACKSON, Washington.
BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, Iowa.
GEORGE D. AIKEN, Vermont.
WALLACE F. BENNETT, Utah.
CARL T. CURTIS, Nebraska.

The Joint Committee is one of the few committees established by statute, rather than by rule of each House, and is unique in several respects. For example, it is the only joint committee of the Congress with legislative functions, including the initiation and reporting of legislative proposals. The committee is also charged by law with legislative responsibility as "watchdog" of the national atomic energy program. It follows closely the classified activities of executive agencies, including the Atomic Energy Commission and the Departments of Defense and State concerning the military applications of atomic energy.

Of equal importance, the committee plays a major role in stimulating the peaceful applications of the atom. For example, the committee has encouraged such programs as the development of civilian nuclear power, the preservation of food through irradiation and the application of nuclear power in space.

In all these activities, the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, as the representative of Congress and the public, seeks to assure the implementation of the following statutory policy expressed in the Atomic Energy Act of 1954:

"* * * the development, use, and control of atomic energy shall be directed so as to make the maximum contribution to the general welfare, subject at all times to the paramount objective of making the maximum contribution to the common defense and security * * *."

During the 89th Congress, 1st session, the Joint Committee conducted a total of 86 hearings and other sessions, 52 of which were public and 34 of which were executive. These sessions occupied a total of 185 hours. In addition to the three Joint Committee reports which were filed on pending legislation, a total of 16 publications consisting of hearings and committee prints were published or are in the process of printing by the Joint Committee in the first session of the 89th Congress. These publications include a number of records of hearings in executive session, with classified material deleted. A list of these publications follows:

AEC authorizing legislation, fiscal year 1966: part 1, hearings January 27, February 2, 3, 4, 10, 16 and March 10, 1965; part 2, hearings February 8, 9, 10 and April 8, 1965; part 3, hearings March 11, 18, 19, 24 and April 13, 1965.

International agreements for cooperation (hearings April 22 and June 30, 1964).

Current membership, publications, and other pertinent information on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, committee print (February 1965).

High energy physics program: Report on national policy and background information, committee print (February 1965).

High energy physics research, hearings March 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1965.

Peaceful applications of nuclear explosives—Plowshares, hearings January 5, 1965.

Proposed amendment to section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, hearings May 27 and June 2, 1965.

Selected materials on atomic energy indemnity legislation, committee print (June 1965).

Proposed extension of AEC indemnity legislation, hearings June 22 to 24, 1965.

Space nuclear power generators, hearings August 6, 1965.

Radiation processing of foods, hearings June 9 and 10, 1965.

Federal radiation council protective action guides, hearings June 29 and 30, 1965.

Development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry, hearings August 10 and 11, September 8, 1965.

International agreements for cooperation, hearings April 29, June 4 and 17, July 13 and 27, 1965.

I. LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES

A. AEC Fiscal Year 1966 Authorization Act (Public Law 89–32)

In accordance with section 261 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, as amended in 1963, the Joint Commitee reviewed the authorization for all appropriations to the Atomic Energy Commission, including both operating and construction funds.

The committee held extensive hearings on the AEC recommended fiscal year 1966 authorization bill over a period of 11 weeks beginning January 27, 1965, and reviewed each major atomic energy program in considerable detail. The complete hearings, including unclassified portions of the classified executive sessions, were published in three volumes under the title "AEC Authorizing Legislation, Fiscal Year 1966."

The hearings culminated in the introduction of "clean bills" by Chairman HOLIFIELD (H.R. 8122) and by Vice Chairman PASTORE (S. 1957). These bills were reported in the House on May 13, 1965 (H. Rept. No. 349) and in the Senate on May 14, 1965 (S. Rept. No. 191). The report included comprehensive statements by the committee on virtually every major atomic energy activity.

The bill, which was passed without substantive amendment by the House and

Senate, authorized appropriations for the Atomic Energy Commission for fiscal year 1966 in the amount of $2,555,521,000, as follows:

Operating expenses	$2,260,776,000
Plant and capital equipment	294,745,000
Total authorization	2,555,521,000

In addition, the bill authorized the AEC to enter into two new cooperative arrangements for the construction and operation of civilian nuclear power reactors.

Operating expenses: The authorization bill provided approximately $2.3 billion for "Operating expenses" for the AEC's program The joint committee's report broke this sum down among the AEC's principal programs. Among the highlights of the operating budget authorization are the following:

1. In the civilian power reactor program, the committee bill authorized a total of $70.8 million—1 million less than the amount requested by the Atomic Energy Commission. The committee noted that the AEC program is characterized by a continued shift in emphasis from development of low conversion ratio light water reactors to the more advanced breeder-type reactors which hold the promise of a more effective utilization of our nuclear fuel resources. Although the committee strongly indorses a Government supported program directed toward development of advanced converter and self-sustaining breeder reactors, and ultimately high-gain breeders, it believes that continual vigilance must be exercised to phase the Government out of further developments of types of reactors which are commercially available, which efforts should be carried forward by private industry. In this connection the committee recommended that AEC accelerate its withdrawal from the basic superheat program, in which field additional developments should be supported by private industry.

2. In the cooperative power reactor demonstration program, the AEC requested new authorization in fiscal year 1966 of $91.5 million for the 525,000 kilowatt large seed-blanket reactor (LSBR) and $40.8 million for the 330,000 kilowatt high-temperature gas-cooled power reactor (HTGR). The LSBR is under consideration for construction by the State of California to supply power to pump water for the State's water supply project. The Public Service Co. of Colorado plans to build and operate the HTGR on its electric utility system.

(a) LSBR—The committee approved the requested authorization of $91.5 million for this project. The basic objective of this project is the development of a power reactor utilizing ordinary water reactor technology which will generate or breed as much nuclear fuel as it burns. The committee believes the LSBR project will produce valuable information which will be of significant benefit to the entire utility industry in the United States.

The AEC'S proposed authorization bill limited the AEC to a cooperative arrangement with the State of California. However, the committee recommended that the authorization for the project be broadened to include potential participants other than the State. The committee further believed that research and development in the seed and blanket technology should be continued without interruption, and accordingly included a provision in the authorization bill which permitted the AEC to utilize not in excess of $25 million appropriated to the AEC pursuant to the bill, for performing research and development work on the LSBR prior to execution of a contract for this project.

(b) HTGR—The committee recommended that the $40.8 million requested for this project be approved. Like the large seed-blanket reactor, the high-temperature gas-cooled reactor is expected to offer significant advantages over commercial reactors available today. Moreover, as in the case of the LSBR, this reactor system is aimed at developing a means for making extensive utilization of another energy source—thorium.

In recommending approval of this project the committee made a change in AEC's recommended authorization bill to provide that the cooperative arrangement must be in accordance with the basis for an arrangement described in the program justification data sheet submitted by the AEC in support of the fiscal year 1966 authorization, consistent with previous authorizations for cooperative projects.

3. In the merchant ship reactor program, the committee recommended an increase of $1.1 million in the authorization for operating funds requested by the AEC, bringing the total program to $2.5 million for fiscal year 1966. The committee recommended this increase because it believes this application of nuclear energy has the potential of contributing significantly both to our national security and to the commercial posture of the United States.

The committee noted its dissatisfaction with the lack of direction which has been provided within the executive branch for this country's nuclear merchant ship program. In addition, the committee strongly urged the AEC to proceed expeditiously in the setting forth of a maritime reactor program and then in carrying out the critical research and development work needed to make this application of nuclear energy a success.

4. In the SNAP (Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power) program, the AEC requested $70.5 million which included $22 million for development of an Advanced Space Power System (SNAP 50).

The SNAP 50 project, which was started in 1962, was originally designed to develop an advanced reactor for use in space capable of generating electric power in the 300–1,000 kilowatt range. The project was started in 1962 and experienced a series of cutbacks in its objectives in each of its 3 years of existence. The changes in SNAP 50 included the cancellation of the original flight test objective, the cancellation of an experimental reactor test and the cancellation of the objective of developing a complete SNAP reactor system for ground test.

These actions taken by the executive branch in the last 3 years all pointed to the fact that work on the SNAP 50 was in the advanced technology phase and that SNAP 50 was not seriously considered as a project with significant development objectives.

Accordingly the committee recommended a $10 million reduction in the level of effort for this program, from the requested $22 million to $12 million. In line with its general conclusions concerning the SNAP 50 program, the committee reduced AEC's plant and capital equipment request by a total of $2.2 million, and recommended that the AEC consider transferring the SNAP 50 work from the CANEL research and development laboratory. The AEC subsequently transferred this development program to another laboratory and declared the CANEL facility excess to its needs.

Another development in the SNAP program of considerable importance was the flight test of the SNAP 10A device. This device which consisted of a reactor and associated thermoelectric conversion system producing 500 electrical watts, mounted on an Agena rocket, was placed in orbit on April 3, 1965, and operated continuously for 43 days. SNAP 10A thus demonstrated the ability safely to launch, start up, and operate a reactor in space and established an important first in the U.S. space effort. The orbiting of the SNAP 10A was the result of the insistence of the committee and Congress that the United States complete the development and flight test of the world's first nuclear reactor for space.

5. In the physical research program, the committee recommended a total of $239 million in operating funds. While the total amount recommended by the committee was equal to that requested by the AEC, the committee made a number of significant changes in individual subprograms.

(a) High-energy physics—At the committee's request, the AEC submitted to the President in January a report on policy for national action in the field of high-energy physics. This report, which was submitted by the President to the Joint Committee, clearly made the point that the high-energy physics research program is a national one and not solely the mission of any one agency.

Included within the AEC's request for high-energy physics was $1.9 million for advanced accelerator design studies on a 100 to 300 billion electron volt proton accelerator. In its report to the President and Congress, the Commission recommended that such a machine be authorized for design in fiscal year 1967, and for construction in fiscal year 1968.

While no final decision has been made to build the accelerator, the committee believes that any consideration in the next fiscal year of funds for engineering design of the proposed large accelerator will necessitate prior selection of an appropriate site. Site selection activities are currently underway be the Commission, and by the National Academy of Sciences under an AEC contract.

(b) Medium-energy physics—Among the highlights of the committee's recommendations for this subprogram was the allocation to it of $500,000 from the high-energy physics subprogram, to be utilized with other available funds for research and development and advanced design studies for a proposed meson physics research facility to be constructed at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. In supporting work on this facility the committee noted that the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, which has a special interest and competence in medium-energy physics, had already developed a preliminary design for the meson facility, which would be the highest intensity proton accelerator of hundreds of Mev energy in the world. When built, this accelerator will permit scientists from the entire country to perform unique research on the atom's nucleus; and scientists from the Rocky Mountain States will have available to them in their region a research tool of outstanding merit. The committee also authorized funds in the amount of $1.2 million for partial architect-engineering for the meson facility.

(c) Controlled thermonuclear research—The committee reduced AEC's $22.5 million request for the controlled thermonuclear research program by $1 million. In this connection the committee has required that the AEC lay before the committee prior to the fiscal year 1967 authorization hearings a thorough study as to where this program is going and what the probabilities of practical success may be for controlled fusion.

Plant and capital equipment: The authorization bill also provided $294.7 million for "plant and capital equipment" for the AEC program for fiscal year 1966.

Final Action on Bill

On May 20, 1965, the authorization bill was debated and passed in the House of Representatives by a rollcall vote of 350 to 1. On May 24, 1965, the Senate considered and passed the bill by a voice vote. The authorization bill was then forwarded to the President and approved by him on June 2, 1965, as Public Law 89–32.

B. Extension and amendment of the Price-Anderson legislation (Public Law 89–210)

The Price-Anderson Act (so-called in recognition of its sponsorship by two members of the Joint Committee, Congressman MELVIN PRICE, and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON) was enacted in 1957 as an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act of 1954, and has

often been referred to as one of the cornerstones of our national atomic energy program.

The Price-Anderson Act affords protection to the public, and to AEC's licenses and contractors, from the risks associated with atomic energy by providing for a program of private insurance and governmental indemnity amounting to a maximum of $560 million to cover damages that conceivably could arise from a nuclear incident. The act further provides for a limitation of liability of all persons indemnified in the event of a catastrophic nuclear incident resulting in damages which exceed the total amount of private insurance and governmental indemnity, subject, of course, to further congressional action in light of the particular circumstances.

As originally enacted, the Price-Anderson Act was limited by its terms to AEC licenses and contracts which became effective on or before August 1, 1967. It was understood that a comprehensive review would be undertaken by the Joint Committee toward the end of the act's 10-year term in order to determine whether the need which originally prompted Congress to approve this legislation still existed.

On May 26, 1965, Congressman MELVIN PRICE and Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON introduced H.R. 8496 and S. 2042, respectively, identical bills to amend and extend the Price-Anderson Act. The introduction of these bills followed many months of informal meetings and discussions among members of the Joint Committee, the Atomic Energy Commission, and their staffs, and representatives of private industry. On May 27, 1965, the Joint Committee announced that public hearings would be held on these bills. In announcing these hearings, Chairman HOLIFIELD and Vice Chairman PASTORE identified the following policy questions to which the Joint Committee expected to address itself:

1. Will there still be a need for Price-Anderson type legislation after August 1967?

2. Will additional nuclear liability insurance be available from commercial sources in the immediate future, and, if so, in what amounts? Will increasing amounts of such insurance become available over the next several years?

3. If Price-Anderson type legislation should be extended, what should be the period of the extension?

4. If an extension of a governmental indemnity program in the nuclear field is warranted, what changes, if any, should be made in the Price-Anderson legislation?

5. Should the amount of the governmental indemnity available under the Price-Anderson legislation be reduced as more commercial nuclear liability insurance becomes available?

Public hearings on these bills were held June 22–24, 1965, before the Subcommittee on Legislation. Every individual and organization that requested permission to testify was invited to appear before the committee. Among the points identified during these hearings was the willingness of the commercial nuclear liability insurance pools to increase the amount of liability insurance available to the nuclear industry from $60 to $74 million as of January 1966. Under the amendments to the Price-Anderson Act contained in H.R. 8496 and S. 2042 this would reduce the amount of governmental indemnity available for large power reactors from $500 to $486 million. The total protection available to the public would, however, be unchanged. The hearings, with extensive supporting data, were printed by the Joint Committee under the title "Proposed Extension of AEC Indemnity Legislation."

On August 26, 1965, the Subcommitee on Legislation met in an executive session and after full discussion voted without dissent to approve the bills, H.R. 8496 and S. 2042, with two technical amendments. The full committee met on the same date to consider these bills and after careful consideration voted unanimously to report them out with the technical amendments approved by the Subcommittee on Legislation (H. Rept. No. 833; S. Rept. No. 650).

Following are the highlights of the legislation as reported by the Joint Committee:

1. The legislation would extend the effective period of the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions of the Atomic Energy Act for an additional 10 years, from August 1, 1967, to August 1, 1977;

2. The legislation would require a decrease in the $500 million governmental indemnity afforded under the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions corresponding to the amount whereby the financial protection required of an AEC licensee or contractor exceeds the amount of commercial nuclear liability insurance currently available; i.e., $60 million. In this respect, the bills reported by the Joint Committee differed from the recommendation of the AEC, which had proposed a simple extension of the Price-Anderson Act for 10 years;

3. The legislation would provide that in no event would be liability of all persons who might be liable for public liability arising from a single nuclear incident exceed $560 million; i.e., the maximum amount of governmental indemnity which could be afforded under the Price-Anderson indemnity provisions, as they would be amended by the legislation, together with the maximum amount of financial protection required in accordance with these indemnity provisions.

The extension and amendment of the Price-Anderson Act recommended by the committee (S. 2042) was considered and passed in the Senate on August 31, by voice vote, and by the House of Representatives on September 16 by a rollcall vote of 337 to 30. The bill was signed into law (Public Law 89–210) by President Johnson on September 29, 1965.

C. Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act (Public Law 89–135)

In 1961, Congress authorized construction by AEC of a $114 million linear accelerator facility on the property of Stanford University, in California. In order to obtain electrical power for this facility, the AEC attempted to arrange with the local public utility for construction of the necessary high voltage transmission line. Two local governmental authorities in the State of California thereafter refused to permit this power line to be constructed unless it were placed underground.

The AEC was eventually compelled to institute condemnation proceedings to obtain an easement for this line. These proceedings were contested and after an initial U.S. District Court ruling favorable to the Government, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 9th Circuit reversed the lower court's decision and held that section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act subjected the AEC to the authority of these local governments with respect to their ordinances prohibiting overhead transmission lines.

On May 25, 1965, identical bills were introduced by Chairman HOLIFIELD, Mr. HOSMER, Vice Chairman PASTORE, and Senator HICKENLOOPER for the purpose of reiterating the intent of Congress underlying section 271 and clarifying the meaning of the section to show that it in no way limited the sovereign immunity possessed by the AEC by virtue of the supremacy clause of article VI of the U.S. Constitution. The bills accordingly would make it clear that section 271 did not prevent the AEC from constructing and maintaining an overhead transmission line for the Standard linear accelerator, notwithstanding the authority or regulations of local governmental authorities.

Public hearings were held on these bills before the Subcommittee on Legislation on May 27 and June 2, 1965. These hearings were printed under the title "Proposed Amendment to Section 271 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954."

On June 8, 1965, the Subcommittee on Legislation met and after careful deliberation voted without dissent to adopt certain amendments to these bills which had been suggested as a result of informal conferences between the staff of the committee and representatives of the Department of Justice and the AEC. The subcommittee also voted to file identical "clean bills," which were introduced on June 8, 1965, by Chairman HOLIFIELD (as H.R. 8856), and by Mr. HOSMER, Vice Chairman PASTORE and Senator HICKENLOOPER.

The full committee met to consider these bills on June 16 and 29, 1965. After full discussion, the committee voted unanimously on June 29, 1965, to report out the bills as approved by the Subcommittee on Legislation, without amendment, and to adopt a committee report on the bills (H. Rept. No. 567; S. Rept. No. 390).

The bill (H.R. 8856) was considered in the House on July 12 and July 29, 1965, and passed on the latter date by a rollcall vote of 275 to 125. The bill was considered and passed in the Senate by a voice vote on August 10, 1965.

On August 24, 1965, H.R. 8856 was signed into law by President Johnson as Public Law 89–135.

II. AGREEMENTS FOR COOPERATION

Section 123 of the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 provides that no cooperation with foreign nations concerning the peaceful uses of atomic energy shall be undertaken until the proposed agreement for cooperation has been submitted to and lain before the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy for a prescribed period of time. Pursuant to that requirement a proposed agreement for cooperation with one nation and amendments to existing agreements with five other nations were submitted to the committee by the Department of State and the Atomic Energy Commission during 1965. Each of these proposals was the subject of a hearing before the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation.

The lone new agreement was with the Government of Brazil and superseded the existing agreement with that country. This agreement, like the amendments to the agreements with the Republic of Korea and the Government of Israel, authorizes a 10-year period of cooperation and provides that the International Atomic Energy Agency will be promptly requested to assume responsibility for safeguards inspections to insure against the diversion of fissionable materials to military purposes. In this connection the Subcommittee on Agreements for Cooperation in April held a hearing at which the U.S. representatives to the IAEA and various representatives of the Department of State and the AEC gave testimony relating to the current activities of the Agency. Pursuant to the policy of transferring safeguards responsibilities to the IAEA—a policy which the Joint Committee vigorously supports—arrangements thus far have been made for the assumption by the international organization of the responsibility for applying safeguards under 13 agreements for cooperation. Five additional countries that have received U.S. nuclear materials and equipment through the IAEA in connection with IAEA projects have agreed to the application of Agency safeguards. Two other countries with advanced nuclear development programs—the United Kingdom and Canada—have also concluded safeguards agreements with the IAEA and other nations with which they are cooperating in the civil uses of nuclear energy.

Two agreements for cooperation—with Turkey and the United Kingdom—were

amended in 1965 to extend their effective period for 1 year. The agreement with Austria was also amended to permit the AEC to transfer to that country uranium more highly enriched than that which the AEC was previously furnishing the Austrian Government.

Several of the amendatory agreements submitted during the year were not submitted to the Joint Committee at a date which would allow the full statutory period (30 days) to elapse before the existing agreements expired. As a result the committee on June 28, 1965, wrote to the Secretary of State and the Chairman of the AEC requesting that henceforth any proposed extension to an agreement for cooperation be submitted at least 2 to 3 months in advance of the existing agreement's expiration date.

No agreements for cooperation for mutual defense purposes, which under section 123 of the act must also lie before the Joint Committee, were submitted during 1965.

III. INFORMATIONAL HEARINGS

As noted in section I of this report the Joint Committee during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, held extensive hearings as part of its legislative activities. In addition, the committee conducted a number of informational hearings in both public and executive session on a wide range of subjects. Highlights of the committee's information hearings follow.

A. Plowshare program

The committee held its first hearing of the 89th Congress on January 5, 1965, to receive public testimony on the AEC's program for the development of peaceful applications of nuclear explosives, commonly known as the Plowshare program. The Commission provided the committee with a progress report on recent underground nuclear detonations devoted to advancing Plowshare technology for excavation, industrial, and scientific uses. The AEC also outlined plans for future developments in the Plowshare program, including possible use of completely contained underground nuclear explosions to stimulate the production of gas and oil. In addition to AEC witnesses, Dr. Gerald Johnson, Associate Director (for Plowshare) of the Lawrence Radiation Laboratory at Livermore, Calif., testified.

B. Guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium and U–233

On February 10, 1965, the committee received public testimony from the AEC concerning AEC's proposed guaranteed purchase prices for plutonium and U–233 produced in licensed reactors, which were submitted to the committee on January 18. These prices would be established pursuant to authority contained in section 56 of the Atomic Energy Act, and would apply to material delivered to AEC before January 1, 1971. By law, proposed guaranteed purchase prices must lie before the committee for a statutory 45-day period before becoming effective. Subsequent to the committee's hearing, the AEC published these guaranteed purchase prices in the Federal Register. This constituted the first formal step to implement the legislation, enacted in 1964, authorizing private ownership of special nuclear materials.

C. High energy physics program

The Joint Committee received from President Johnson on January 26, 1965, a report on Policy for National Action in the Field of High Energy Physics, prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission in collaboration with other executive agencies, in response to the committee's 1964 request. The committee printed this report together with other background information in early February 1965 in preparation for its hearings on the U.S. high energy physics programs.

On March 2, 3, 4, and 5, 1965, the Subcommittee on Research, Development and Radiation held intensive open hearings on the objectives and needs of high energy physics. The leaders of high energy physics research—theoretical and experimental—testified before this committee during those hearings. In addition the committee heard a panel chaired by Dr. Frederick Seitz, President of the National Academy of Sciences, and including other eminent scientists from diverse field discuss the Relation of High Energy Physics to Other Sciences, Education and Technology. One of the seven sessions of the high energy physics hearings was devoted to a discussion with Government witnesses on the organization for Management of Proposed Large Accelerators. Dr. Leland Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation; Dr. Donald F. Hornig, the President's Science Adviser; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, AEC; and Dr. Gerald F. Tape, a member of the Atomic Energy Commission, participated in this discussion.

D. Radiation processing of food

On June 9, and 10, 1965, the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held open hearings on radiation processing of food. The committee received information on the Government's research program being carried out by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Department of Defense (U.S. Army). Special attention was directed toward the future program extending through the next 5-year period. In addition, representatives of industry testified concerning present and expected future applications of radiation processing of food products.

E. Fedcral Radiation Council protective action guides

On June 29 and 30, 1965 the Subcommittee on Research, Development, and Radiation held open hearings on the protective action guides published by the Federal Radiation Council. Guides for iodine 131 were made public in August of 1964 and those for strontium 89, strontium 90, and cesium 137 were made public in May of this year. The technical bases for the guides were presented by a representative of the Federal Radiation Council and advisers who had assisted in the formulation of the guides. Testimony was reecived from Federal agencies which would become involved in the use of the guides should a contaminating situation develop. In addition, invited witnesses and those who had specifically requested an opportunity to appear presented their individual views on the usefulness of the Federal Radiation Council's protective action guides.

F. Development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry

On August 10 and 11, 1965, the committee held open hearings on the development, growth, and state of the atomic energy industry, often referred to as the "202" hearings. Prior to 1964, annual hearings on this subject were required by law. As a result of an amendment to the Atomic Energy Act in that year, the holding of these hearings is now permissive and at the discretion of the committee. The last such hearings were held in 1963.

This year there was special emphasis placed on the civilian nuclear power program and the plans by private industry for expansion of the Nation's nuclear electric capacity. In addition industry representatives presented views on licensing procedures, plutonium technology, toll enrichment services, oceanographic applications, and the nuclear merchant ship program.

In a second phase of these hearings, on September 8, representatives of the Atomic Energy Commission provided their views on comments expressed by the industrial representatives during the earlier phase.

G. Confirmation of Presidential appointees

The Senate section of the Joint Committee met in public session on July 13, 1965, to consider the nomination of Mr. Verne B. Lewis to be Deputy U.S. Representative to the International Atomic Energy Agency. Mr. Lewis was nominated by the President on June 7, 1965 to fill the vacancy created by the transfer of Mr. Frank Hefner to other State Department duties. Mr. Lewis' nomination was reported favorably on July 13 by the Joint Committee and approved by the Senate on July 15, 1965.

The Senate section also confirmed Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, to be the representative of the United States of America to the Ninth General Conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency. The following-named persons were designated to be alternate representatives to the conference: Henry DeWolf Smyth, John Gorham Palfrey, James T. Ramey, Verne B. Lewis, and Kenneth Holum. These executive nominations were confirmed by the Senate on September 14, 1965.

IV. CLASSIFIED ACTIVITIES

In addition to the open hearings described in previous sections of this report, the Joint Committee conducted an extensive number of hearings in executive session on classified matters. These hearings covered a broad range of subjects related to the relationship of nuclear energy to the worldwide national defense and security interests of the United States. Highlights of the committee's executive hearings, and other classified activities, follow.

A. Intelligence briefings

On January 28, February 4, and June 16, 1965, the Joint Committee received intelligence briefings on recent developments affecting the field of atomic energy from Mr. John A. McCone, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and Adm. William F. Raborn, his successor.

These meetings were a continuation of the regular practice of committee briefings by the CIA on vital matters affecting the security of the United States.

B. Weapons program and nuclear test ban treaty safeguards

The Atomic Energy Act of 1954 requires that the development of the U.S. nuclear program be organized so at all times to make the maximum contribution to national security and the common defense. In pursuing this paramount objective, the Joint Committee has consistently paid utmost attention to the Commission's weapons program, the Department of Defense's activities in the nuclear weapons area and to all activities of the Federal Government relating to the limited nuclear test ban treaty safeguards.

On January 13, 1965, the Military Applications Subcommittee of the committee held executive sessions to receive testimony from the AEC and its weapons laboratories on U.S. nuclear weapons research, development, production, and test readiness programs. Among the witnesses heard were Commissioner Gerald Tape; General Delmar Crowson, AEC's Director of Military Applications; Dr. Norris Bradbury, Director, Los Alamos Weapons Laboratory; Dr. John Foster, Director, Lawrence Radiation Laboratory-Livermore, and Mrs. S. P. Schwartz, president, Sandia Corp.

In connection with its authorization hearings the committee held executive hearings February 3 and 4 on the AEC's weapons program and the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards. In addition to AEC witnesses, the committee received testimony from Mr. W. J. Howard, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy); Lt. Gen. J. Donnelly, Director, Defense Atomic Support Agency; Dr. Robert Sproull and Dr. Robert Frosch, Director and Deputy Director, respectively, of the DOD's Advanced Research Projects Agency; and Maj. Gen. Jermain Rodenhauser, Director, Air Force Tactical Applications Center.

The four Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards proposed by the Joint Chiefs of Staff in connection with U.S. ratification of the treaty are so important to our national

security that a yearly review by the Congress of their implementation is in order. This year combined executive hearings of the Joint Committee's Military Applications Subcommittee and the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee's Special Committee on Nuclear Safeguards were held on August 16, 17, 23, and September 2, 1965. The hearings were chaired by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON. Testimony was received from the AEC, the Directors of the AEC weapons laboratories, the Department of Defense, the Director, Central Intelligence Agency, and the Deputy Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. While the staffs monitor the implementation of the safeguards on a continuing basis, it is the intent of the committee to hold periodic hearings to review these safeguards.

In summary, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the committee held 11 executive hearings on the weapons program and the related Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards.

C. Safeguarding naval nuclear propulsion information

The Subcommittee on Security held executive hearings on January 26, 1965, to investigate the possible transfer of naval nuclear propulsion information and technology to foreign nations under commercial agreements with U.S. industrial firms concerning maritime nuclear propulsion technology. As a consequence of these hearings a special procedure for the review by the Atomic Energy Commission and the Departments of State and Defense of each such prospective commercial arrangements was instituted to assure that naval nuclear propulsion information and technology is not transferred under such commercial arrangements.

D. Special nuclear materials production

The production of enriched uranium, plutonium, and other nuclides for use in our Nation's military and civilian nuclear energy program represents a continuing and important national effort. The Joint Committee held three executive hearing sessions on February 3 and 4, in connection with the AEC's authorization bill, on the special nuclear materials production program. In addition to Chairman Seaborg and other AEC witnesses, testimony was received from Mr. W. J. Howard, Assistant to the Secretary of Defense (Atomic Energy) on weapons requirements and their relationships to needs for nuclear materials.

E. SNAP program

During an executive information hearing on August 6, 1965, on the Systems for Nuclear Auxiliary Power (SNAP) program, the committee received an up-to-date assessment of plans of the AEC, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and the Defense Department for utilization of SNAP units in space applications, including the lunar probe. There was discussion of the potential uses of SNAP devices for the performance of DOD classified missions. Applications of isotopic heat, reactor heat (including thermionics), solar heat, and thermoelectric conversion systems were compared from the standpoint of efficiency, cost, and practicality.

F. Review of practices and procedures for protecting classified information by Government contractors

The Joint Committee staff has undertaken a study to review practices and procedures used to protect classified information by Government contractor personnel handling restricted data and formerly restricted data. The results of these studies will be published. This study, upon its completion in the latter part of 1965, will be used as a basis for providing the exceutive department with suggestions for improving security methods used for the protection of restricted data and formerly restricted data.

G. NATO agreement for cooperation regarding atomic information

On March 12, 1965, a NATO agreement for cooperation regarding atomic information, which superseded a 1955 NATO agreement, entered into force. During 1965 the Joint Committee followed progress in implementing this agreement quite closely. Several classified letters involving policy considerations concerning this new NATO agreement were exchanged with the Departments of Defense and State, as well as with the Atomic Energy Commission. Committee members and staff visited NATO installations in connection with this new agreement during April, August, and October 1965. Committee staff also visited NATO Headquarters and SHAPE (Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers Europe) in Paris, France, in connection with NATO matters.

H. NATO multilateral force

The committee has closely followed developments in NATO with particular attention to the multilateral force (MLF) and the allied nuclear force (ANF) concepts. In this connection the chairman of the committee met with newly designated U.S. Ambassador to NATO, Harlan Cleveland, and Gen. Lyman Lemnitzer during a committee visit to NATO Headquarters and SHAPE in October. During this visit committee members and staff received a thorough briefing on the current U.S. position and projected planning regarding the possible creation of a multilateral entity within the NATO complex. Throughout the year the committee staff has held meetings with the State Department, Defense Department, and AEC on this subject.

V. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. International Atomic Energy Agency Ninth General Conference

Four members of the committee, including Chairman HOLIFIELD, participated as official congressional advisers and observers in the Ninth General Conference of the IAEA, which was held in Tokyo, Japan, on September 21–28. This was the first year since the IAEA was founded in 1957 that a general conference was held away from the organization's headquarters in Vienna, Austria. The change in location was especially fitting in light of the increasingly worldwide responsibilities of the organization.

The development of an effective international safeguards system has been a major objective of U.S. policy in the international atomic energy field since the initiation of the atoms for peace program. This country, therefore, has been and continues to be a principal supporter of the International Atomic Energy Agency, one of whose major functions is to administer a system of inspections to guard against the diversion of fissionable materials for nonpeaceful purposes. In February of 1965 the Agency's Board of Governors adopted a resolution whereby it provisionally approved a revision of the IAEA safeguards system. This improved system, which is applicable to power reactors as well as research reactors, was endorsed by the Ninth General Conference.

Desalination is another field in which the IAEA is expected to make a significant contribution. The Ninth General Conference of the organization supported a move to initiate a study of means whereby the Agency might play an increasingly useful role in desalting.

B. International atomic energy conference on plasma physics and controlled nuclear fusion research

A staff member of the committee participated as a member of the U.S. delegation to the IAEA's Conference on Plasma Physics and Controlled Nuclear Fusion Research. This Conference was held at the Culham Laboratory in the United Kingdom during the period September 6–10, 1965. The multinational conference was devoted to the technical aspects of experiments designed to study the behavior of plasma (ionized gases) at temperatures and densities approaching that necessary to achieve controlled and sustainable thermonuclear power. Progress is being made in the understanding of the problems associated with the confinements of very hot plasmas.

C. Disarmament negotiations

On May 10 and September 2, 1965, the Joint Committee held hearings on activities under the jurisdiction of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. The September 2 session dealt principally with negotiations which were in progress at that time at the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference in Geneva.

Committee members and staff attended several of the sessions of the 18-Nation Disarmament Conference held in Geneva during August. For additional information relating to the Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty safeguards program, see section IV B., above.

D. Inspection visits

1. The committee members and staff continued their practice of obtaining firsthand information by visiting various Atomic Energy Commission, Department of Defense, and U.S. Government contractor installations in the United States. During the first session, 89th Congress, visits were made to the following facilities, among others:

Argonne National Laboratory, Lemont, Ill.

Bendix Corp., Washington, D.C.

Brookhaven National Laboratory, Upton (Long Island), N.Y.

Cambridge Electron Accelerator, Cambridge, Mass.

Connecticut Advanced Nuclear Engineering Laboratory, Middletown, Conn.

Hudson Institute, New York, N.Y.

Large Aperture Seismic Array, Billings, Mont.

Lawrence Radiation Laboratory, Berkeley and Livermore, Calif.

Lockheed Space Systems Division, Sunnyvale, Calif.

Nevada Test Site, Nevada.

Pacific Northwest Laboratory, Richland, Wash.

Punta Higuera, Puerto Rico.

Research Analysis Corp., McLean, Va.

Stanford Linear Accelerator Center, Palo Alto, Calif.

Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif.

In addition, committee staff observed reactor licensing hearings conducted by Atomic Safety and Licensing Boards of the Atomic Energy Commission at Los Angeles, Calif. and Oswego, N.Y. in the following proceedings:

In the matter of Department of Water and Power, City of Los Angeles (Malibu Reactor).

In the matter of Niagara Mohawk Power Corp. (Nine Mile Point reactor).

2. Committee members and staff visited the following installations abroad involving atomic energy activities:

Government of India atomic energy establishment facilities, Trombay, India.

National Tsing Hua University, Institute of Nuclear Science, Hsin Chu, Taiwan, Republic of China.

Soreq research establishment, Nahal Soreq, Israel.

Tarapur atomic power project, Tarapur, India.

Tata Institute of Fundamental Research, Bombay, India.

United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority installations at Calder Hall, Windscale, Aldermaston, Culham, Harwell, and Foulness in England. Other United Kingdom research establishments visited were: Daresbury Nuclear Physics Laboratory, Lancashire; Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough; and Rutherford High Energy Laboratory, Berkshire.

Visits to a number of classified sites abroad were also made by committee members and staff, including NATO installations and the Holy Loch nuclear submarine base in Scotland.

Ralph L. Zaun, President of the Independent Bankers Association of America, Appeals to Congress That Application of Antitrust Laws to Bank Mergers Be Retained

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, in an issue of the Independent Banker, official publication of the 6,200-strong Independent Bankers Association of America, there appears a feature article written in the first part of October by the association's president, Ralph L. Zaun, who is also executive vice president of the Grafton State Bank, Grafton, Wis.

Mr. Zaun's strong opposition to removing bank mergers from the antitrust laws should be known and carefully considered by the Congress and the American public. Otherwise, the strong lobbying by a few huge multibillion-dollar banks which dominate the American Bankers Association may succeed in destroying free competition in banking and, ultimately, in all industry as well.

Mr. Zaun directs his appeal to the House Banking and Currency Committee which is currently considering bank merger legislation. His statement follows:

THE BANK MERGER REPEAL BILL AND THE PRESERVATION OF BANKING COMPETITION

(By Ralph L. Zaun)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Ralph L. Zaun is president of the Independent Bankers Association of America and executive vice president of the Grafton State Bank, Grafton, Wis. This article is adapted from his address at the fourth annual convention of the Independent Bankers of Minnesota in St. Paul.)

Perhaps the biggest news story in the banking field this year is the Robertson-Proxmire bill, Senate 1698, to amend the Bank Merger Act of 1960.

In its original form, the Robertson-Proxmire bill would have exempted banking totally and completely from antitrust prosecution. This would be an inexcusable example of special interest privilege that would not only be embarrassing to our banking industry but would invite other groups to crowd into Congress with clamors for legislation favoring their particular interests.

IBAA STANDS ALONE

The movement to win quick approval by Congress of the original S. 1698 and to remove banking once and for all from antitrust was exceedingly well organized, and it had gained great momentum by the time the Independent Bankers Association of America came upon the scene.

Our stand had been clearly defined by our 1965 convention which resolved that the IBAA opposed any bill that would exempt banking mergers from the provisions of existing antitrust statutes.

My own Wisconsin Senator BILL PROXMIRE asked me at this crucial moment whether any other groups were standing in the wings with us, waiting to testify in opposition to the bill. Literally, as we have done many times in other years, we stood alone against the onrushing express.

This time it would have lifted banks out of reach of antitrust. We warned that this exemption would offer a blank check to bank merger negotiation regardless of the fading of competition. A great protection of the people in a democratic society would be withdrawn.

MIND YOUR P'S AND C'S

You know, bankers not only have to mind their P's and Q's. They also watch their P's and C's: they strive to preserve competition and prevent concentration.

Independent bankers and the banking committees of Congress have for many years shared a common concern to keep banking competitive and to bar concentration of banking power. We believe that effective Federal and State controls are required to curb concentration.

We have seen bank mergers reduce banking competition in many communities across the Nation. Mergers have been canceling out an average of 150 banks as separate institutions each year. The total number of commercial banks has gone down steadily in spite of hundreds of new charters, and while demand for banking services has greatly increased. Merger applications are approved at the rate of 22 for every one denied.

MERGERS RUNNING WILD

What do we propose should be done about this?

We recommend a tighter primary screening of merger applications, and retention of the application of antitrust laws to bank mergers as the final deterrent.

We believe the fact that the Department of Justice can and does apply the Clayton and Sherman Acts to outlaw excessive concentration of banking power has been a very real restraint. Without this check, bank mergers might have run wild.

Our association supports S. 1698 in its retaining the application of antitrust laws to bank mergers. And in our testimony upon this bill, which was passed by the Senate and is presently before the House Committee we recommended the principle that a bank merger should not be consummated until a short period of time elapses after agency approval.

If, within this period of a few days, an antitrust action is brought, the merger could not be consummated until after a favorable final decision by the court. And if no such suit challenges the merger within this limited time, the merger can then go forward, secure in the knowledge that it is henceforth immune from antitrust upset.

We believe this is a just and proper procedure, and we hope the House Banking Committee approves. This procedure clearly shows that bank supervisory agencies have primary jurisdiction, and the courts under antitrust laws have secondary jurisdiction.

The principle of primary and secondary screening makes for orderly and responsible government scrutiny of proposed bank mergers, and it stops a proposed merger from being consummated if it is challenged under antitrust.

Further, we recommend that this bill tighten up the administrative screening of proposed mergers. Regulatory agencies which ponder merger proposals need explicit standards for maximum effectiveness.

MERGER ACT A FAILURE

The purpose of the 1960 Bank Merger Act was to measure merger applications more carefully under such standards as maintenance of competition and consideration of the public interest.

Statistics show us this act has failed to regulate mergers uniformly and effectively. A total 675 merger applications were received during the 5-year period ended last year, and of these, all but 31 were approved. And only seven of the mergers were challenged by the Attorney General.

It is the lack of explicit administrative procedures in the screening process that has failed to slow the merger rate. The act here needs strengthening and clarification, and as soon as possible.

As president of your national association, I have appeared before both the Senate and House committees to testify in behalf of the Robertson-Proxmire bill.

And recently, I sent a message to Chairman WRIGHT PATMAN of the House committee, respectfully urging that his Subcommittee on Domestic Finance act on this bill with all possible speed so that the muddled bank merger picture might be cleared of the uncertainty that now fogs it.

RECONCILING THE UNRECONCILABLE

Because our asociation has strength of membership, and has been friendly for many years with the two banking committee chairmen, Representative WRIGHT PATMAN and Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON, we are able to keep them informed of your views, and to follow this up with impact at the one place where major decisions are forged—in Washington, D.C.

We have pointed out to Congress where we believe the Bank Merger Act should be fortified for maximum effectiveness.

First, the three regulatory agencies, the Comptroller, the Federal Reserve Board, and the FDIC, differ on the purpose and application of the Bank Merger Act. They split on most applications, agree on very few, and there is no way to reconcile them. What usually happens: the approving agency simply ignores the recommendations of the others.

BARING THE FACTS

Second, there is no provision for hearings in the Bank Merger Act. We believe that when agency opinions differ on a merger application, a hearing should be held in the county where the resulting bank is to be located. A public hearing would enable objecting banks to become parties to the proceedings and to air their views effectively, thus giving the agency the benefit of information it might not otherwise have.

And the written record would make it necessary, under administrative procedure law, to furnish complete findings of fact, definite conclusions of law, and a specific decision. This would bare the facts and the reasoning on which a decision was based.

At present, proceedings are secret, the fact of the merger often is not publicly known until it has been consummated, and there is no written record on which to base an appeal to the court.

The hearing record would guard against hasty or capricious decision because it would open the door to review by the court. Without hearing and a record, there is nothing for the court to review.

We have recommended that Federal law require a public hearing whenever advising agency opinions differ on a proposed merger. And that when both of the advising supervisory agencies report unfavorably, the merger application be denied automatically.

THE SUMMING UP

To sum up: First, we must concentrate on our first line of defense by tightening agency screening procedure.

Second, we cannot afford to discard the ultimate weapon of antitrust laws against concentration and monopoly.

The Sherman and Clayton Acts protect the interest of the American people, and distinguish our free enterprise system from the

big bank systems of West Europe. Antitrust blocks the road to monopoly.

Now to touch briefly upon two other legislative attitudes of our association:

We believe the Comptroller of the Currency should heed State banking laws and regulations, especially in the area of branching. Several years ago, we had Congressman STEPHENS of Georgia introduce for us a bill that would insure this. And now, in cooperation with the ABA and the NASSB, we are trying to obtain agreement on a bill that would accomplish the same purpose.

Also, we want to plug legislative loopboles by which bank holding companies have managed to expand across State lines.

Observance of the Millennium of Poland as a Christian Nation

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN J. ROONEY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, in our rush and preoccupation to accomplish so much in such a short time, I feel it is highly important for all of us not to lose sight of certain significant events which will transpire in the coming months.

I am particularly concerned that this U.S. House of Representatives assume convincing leadership in stimulating the people of our country to recognize and participate in the worldwide observance of the millennium of Poland as a Christian nation. Therefore, I hope that as we reconvene on January 10, 1966, exactly 1,000 years after the birth of the Polish nation, we will enact appropriate legislation in recognition of this historic event.

The millennium observances have great meaning not only for the more than 8 million loyal Americans who pride themselves in their Polish ancestry, but for all who enjoy independence and liberty today. No American can but recognize the importance of his debt to the many generations of Polish patriots who for a full 1,000 years have kept the torch of freedom burning and the banners of the Christian church flying.

It is important that all of us of every faith and creed—Americans of all racial and ethnic backgrounds, join with the people everywhere throughout the world in commemorating this great event.

It is important for this country to attribute the same significance to this event which His Holiness Pope Paul VI does in planning the building of a new church in Rome and a possible visit next year to Poland as a part of the millennium observance.

It would be my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the members of this body, joined by the members of the other body would take whatever action is necessary to use the millennium to demonstrate our love for the Polish people by supporting fully the efforts of our President, Lyndon B. Johnson, in "building bridges" between ourselves and these people who now observe under restrictive Communist conditions their 1,000th anniversary. As a matter of fact the dedication of the new American Research Hospital for Children in Krakow, Poland, should properly take place during the year of the millennium of Poland, next spring, when it should be fully completed, with as many Members of the Congress present as wish to attend.

As we return to our own homes and abide a short time among old friends and relatives may we prepare ourselves for our return to our duties here to expedite proposals and give support to essential measures which will assure America's full participation in the millennium observances.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following dates he had approved and signed bills and joint resolutions of the House of the following titles:

On November 7, 1965:

H.R. 1778. An act to amend the act entitled "An act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia, and for other purposes," approved May 1, 1906, as amended;

H.R. 3079. An act for the relief of Mrs. Eleni Bocola Ciacco, doctor of medicine;

H.R. 5026. An act to authorize the Burt County Bridge Commission, a public body politic and corporate in the county of Burt and State of Nebraska, to refund the outstanding revenue bonds of said Burt County Bridge Commission heretofore issued to finance the cost of the construction of a bridge, together with the necessary approaches and appurtenances therefor, from a point located in the city of Decatur, Burt County, Nebr., across the Missouri River to a point located in Monona County, Iowa;

H.R. 8353. An act for the relief of Becky Jo and Charles R. Smith;

H.J. Res. 641. Joint resolution authorizing Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia or its environs; and

H.J. Res. 671. Joint resolution to authorize the President to proclaim the month of November as "Water Conservation Month."

On November 8, 1965:

H.R. 227. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to entitle the children of certain veterans who served in the Armed Forces prior to September 16, 1940, to benefit under the war orphans educational assistance program;

H.R. 797. An act to establish the Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area in the State of California, and for other purposes;

H.R. 2303. An act for the relief of Ernest J. Carlin;

H.R. 2571. An act for the relief of Ralph S. DeSocio, Jr.;

H.R. 4421. An act authorizing the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo.;

H.R. 5493. An act to provide that the flag of the United States of America may be flown for 24 hours of each day in Lexington, Mass.;

H.R. 5597. An act to relieve physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia;

H.R. 6666. An act to provide for the free entry of a 90-centimeter split-pole magnetic spectrograph system with orange-peel internal conversion spectrometer attached for the use of the University of Pittsburgh;

H.R. 7475. An act to name the authorized lock and dam No. 6 on the Arkansas River in Arkansas and the lake created thereby for David D. Terry;

H.R. 8310. An act to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes;

H.R. 9567. An act to strengthen the educational resources of our colleges and universities and to provide financial assistance for students in postsecondary and higher education;

H.R. 9830. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Service Act of 1949, as amended, to authorize reimbursement to a State or political subdivision thereof for sidewalk repair and replacement or to make other arrangements therefor;

H.R. 9903. An act to provide for the free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of certain universities;

H.R. 10097. An act for the relief of North Counties Hydroelectric Co.;

H.R. 10878. An act for the relief of Anderson G. Matsler, senior master sergeant, U.S. Air Force, retired;

H.R. 11135. An act to amend and extend the provisions of the Sugar Act of 1948, as amended;

H.R. 11267. An act to amend the joint resolution of March 25, 1953, relating to electrical and mechanical office equipment for the use of Members, officers, and committees of the House of Representatives, to remove certain limitations;

H.R. 11539. An act to provide assistance to the States of Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi for the reconstruction of areas damaged by the recent hurricane; and

H.J. Res. 788. Joint resolution establishing that the 2d regular session of the 89th Congress convene at noon on Monday, January 10, 1966.

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Appendix

On the NATO Parliamentarians Conference

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, last month, on October 4–11, I had the honor and privilege of serving as chairman of the U.S. congressional delegation to the 11th annual NATO Parliamentarians Conference in New York City. It was a busy and memorable week, notable for its coincidence with the visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations, and significant as another milestone in the history of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Indeed, the recent Parliamentarians Conference may be regarded as one of NATO's most significant because of the new light which it shed on new devisive forces within NATO on the one hand, and imaginative new ideas to give the Organization continuity and unity, on the other.

One of the most perceptive commentaries on the meeting was written by Prof. Elliott R. Goodman, associate professor of political science at Brown University, who served as a consultant to the U.S. delegation. Professor Goodman is an exceptionally well qualified NATO scholar and we were most fortunate to have his services. I ask unanimous consent that his excellent article, which appeared on the editorial page of the Providence Evening Bulletin of Thursday, October 21, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY—THE NATO PARLIAMENTARIANS HEAR A PROPOSAL FOR AN OFFICIAL CONSULTATIVE ORGANIZATION

(Mr. Goodman, an associate professor of political science at Brown University, was a consultant attached to the U.S. delegation at the recent conference of NATO parliamentarians in New York. He has attended similar meetings in the past in Europe where he was a research fellow for a year at NATO headquartrers in Paris. Following are his observations on the highlights of this year's meeting.)

(By Elliot R. Goodman)

Sometimes a visual glimpse can speak volumes. I glanced around the crowded ballroom as Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY concluded his October 5 speech to one of the opening sessions of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference in New York. Everyone in the room was rising in warm tribute to the Vice President—it would have been impossible to have remained seated—and everyone, it seemed, was applauding. But then my eyes fell on the prominent Gaullist deputy, Boscher.

A LOGICAL OUTCOME

He could not be overlooked because he stands well over 6 feet tall. He is also prominent since he had become the center of controversy by using his position as rapporteur of the Parliamentarians' Political Committee to write a bitter Gaullist indictment of NATO policies. While everyone was applauding, M. Boscher and several of his Gaullist colleagues stood erect with hands clapsed firmly behind their backs.

This is the logical outcome of De Gaulle's politics. Rudeness and selfishness have been legitimated by the head of state and elevated into national principles. Throughout the political debates, one could hear nationalistic phrases from the Gaullist deputies to the effect that no one is willing to fight except for himself and that France can only be counted upon to defend France.

Aside from the deplorable effect this has upon allied unity, it reflects a basic misconception about modern history. The member states of NATO can hope to prevail in the struggle for the world, not only against the Communists, but also in the contest for the uncommitted and underdeveloped countries, only by aggregating a preponderance of power, and then applying that power in a positive manner against the great problems that face mankind.

No country, not even the United States as the most powerful and prosperous Western state, can adequately provide for its own defense without Europe or formulate successful programs toward the third world without intimate European collaboration. What the Gaullists fail to concede is the basic principle, expressed by all the other delegations, that the best possible way to defend one's own country is by defending the collective strength of the Western community of nations as a whole.

It is one thing for allied diplomats to say this quietly to the French Foreign Office, and it is another matter for elected members of the various NATO Parliaments to arise one after another and say this to the face of the Gaullist deputies. And this is what happened at the New York Conference. The simple fact is that in the political debates the Gaullists were completely isolated. Not that one could count on this having a salutary effect, or indeed any effect, on De Gaulle himself, but it is still a useful warning for those French political figures who will survive De Gaulle and inherit his mantle.

The Conference was comprised of a large number of eminent political figures from all the NATO countries. We fielded a strong 18-member team, half drawn from the Senate, half from the House. By virtue of his membership on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Rhode Island's Senator CLAIBORNE PELL was accorded the considerable honor and heavy responsibility of being the head of the entire U.S. delegation. This turned out to be a demanding job, since throughout the week of deliberations, both House and Senate Members were obliged to shuttle back and forth from New York to Washington to meet quorum calls and rollcall votes on unfinished items of President Johnson's legislative program.

Watching this process at firsthand gives one a deepened sense of respect for the dedication and energy required of a Member of Congress. It should be noted that, in addition to Senator PELL as chairman, the Senate delegation was composed of Senators CLIFFORD CASE and HARRISON WILLIAMS, JR. of New Jersey; Senators JACOB JAVITS and ROBERT KENNEDY, of New York; Senator BIRCH BAYH, of Indiana; Senator KARL MUNDT, of South Dakota; Senator MAURINE NEUBERGER, of Oregon; and Senator LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, of Massachusetts. Among the more articulate Members of the House delegation were WILLIAM BATES, of Massachusetts; PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois; WAYNE HAYS, of Ohio; and CHARLES CHAMBERLAIN, of Michigan.

STARTLING FIGURES

Congressman CHAMBERLAIN used the occasion of a plenary debate to bring to light some rather startling figures about commercial shipping going to North Vietnam. At a time when the United States is heavily engaged in a war with the Vietnamese Communists, unclassified data for 1964 showed that 401 ships flying the flags of non-Communist countries called at North Vietnamese ports. Of these, 284 ships came from NATO countries, primarily of British, Greek, and Norwegian origin. During the first 8 months of 1965, published commercial sources reported 88 such ships, 81 of which were from NATO countries. Congressman CHAMBERLAIN indicated that the classified documents to which he had access showed a considerably larger number of Allied ships making regular runs to North Vietnam. While he told me that the situation had improved somewhat, the forum of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference was certainly an appropriate and useful place to raise a public complaint with the hope of choking off this trade completely.

These annual conferences, of which this was the 11th already have proved their worth in ways too numerous to record. In passing one should note that while the fire of debate is usually centered in the Political Committee, there are other committees of parliamentarians devoted to military, economic, cultural and educational, and scientific and technical problems. In addition, a most useful and promising committee has been in operation under Senator JAVITS to take the sting out of Greek-Turkish relations over Cyprus by creating joint Greek-Turkish development projects that will run into the hundreds of millions of dollars, financed from many sources including private American foundations.

ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

Because of its worth, but also because of its uncertain and unofficial status, proposals have been advanced in the past several years for transforming the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference into some sort of an official Atlantic Parliamentary Assembly.

One of the major difficulties in the past has always turned about the role of those states that are, broadly speaking, members of the Western community of nations, but not members of the Western military alliance of NATO. Austria, Ireland, Sweden, and Switzerland, each for its own historical reasons, are committed to a policy of military neutrality. Several years ago, when it was proposed to create a single Atlantic Consultative Assembly, the problem of the neutrals proved to be insurmountable. The neutrals were not even willing to meet with parliamentarians from the NATO countries to discuss nonmilitary affairs, so long as this same assembly would discuss military matters with the neutrals absent.

At this session of the Conference, the head of the British delegation, Sir Geoffrey de Freitas, formulated a resolution, adopted by

the Conference as a whole, which was designed to solve this difficulty. He acted upon an understanding that the informal contacts established in the past year between a U.S. congressional delegation, led by Senator J. W. FULBRIGHT and Congressman WAYNE HAYS, would continue to be pursued with the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, in which the neutrals are included. Presumably, members of the Canadian Parliament will also be brought into these annual meetings, which will be devoted to nonmilitary topics on an Atlantic scope.

Having cleared the deck of the neutralists, Sir Geoffreys resolution called for "concrete proposals for the constitution of an Atlantic Consultative Assembly, based initially on the membership of NATO, and evolving out of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference." The political committee was specifically instructed to prepare a report "on the possibility of converting the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference into a Consultative Assembly of NATO, in an official relationship to the North Atlantic Council."

Should this come to pass, it would prove to be an enormously useful step. It is important to give NATO an official assembly, since NATO is now so seriously threatened and the addition of a permanent parliamentary body could be a way of reinforcing its structure. If an assembly could be adequately financed, in contrast to the present shoestring operation, this could provide for adequate staffing by a secretariat, which could develop committee documents to make debate more pointed and more productive. With an official status, the various governments would be obliged to pay greater attention to the deliberations, and public opinion in the different countries could be made more sharply aware of the crucial issues that confront the alliance. Finally, if the assembly gained official status, and had the right to enter an official dialog with the NATO Council, this added prestige would assure continued high-level participation by leading parliamentarians on both sides of the Atlantic.

There is very wide support for this move from almost every national delegation. Furthermore, speaking for the administration, Vice President HUMPHREY said in his speech to the conference that he approved of the "intimate and continuing concert of action * * * fostered by parliamentary meetings such as this and your committees and subcommittees. The proposal for an Atlantic Assembly which has been approved by this group looks to the same end. I think it is needed and I hope that it can be fulfilled."

THE FRENCH OBJECT

So far as could be ascertained, the only opposition came from the Gaullists on the French delegation. This is to be expected, since De Gaulle's nationalism makes him positively hostile toward any constructive move that might strengthen the Atlantic Community. The response to this would appear to be simple: If De Gaulle wants to isolate himself from an initiative that had widespread support among the member NATO countries, then let him. Why should one intractable obstructionist be allowed to hold up the forward motion of all the rest? Indeed, if all the other countries decided to move ahead, could De Gaulle afford to stay outside? Would not the force of circumstances compel him to raise his voice inside the newly created assembly chambers?

On matters of this kind one can only afford to tolerate a limited amount of obstructionism that seeks to frustrate the majority will. Here is clearly an opportunity for constructive statesmanship, and the fate of this project lies first and foremost with the parliamentary members of the most powerful NATO country, namely in the hands of the interested Members of the U.S. Congress. Rhode Island should feel fortunate that this undertaking has already received the sympathetic attention of Senator PELL.

Profiles in Wyoming Greatness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RONCALIO. Mr. Speaker, in commemoration of Wyoming's 75th anniversary of statehood, I am happy to present the capstone in my series of profiles of Wyoming citizens.

TRACY S. M'CRAKEN

Wyoming's most successful newspaperman, a classic example of the best of the Horatio Alger tradition, builder of a publishing empire and a dominant figure of the Democratic Party of his State for nearly three decades—such was Tracy Stephenson McCraken. He was the youngest of six children born to a family of modest means. His father was well into the fifties when Tracy was born, March 11, 1894, in Evanston, Ill. He graduated from high school in Belvidere, Ill. Determined to earn a college education, he worked through the summer months to save the fare for a train ride to Laramie, Wyo., where he was met at the railroad station by a few other transplanted Illinois natives including his older brother, Harry.

Many of the stories surrounding McCraken's 30 years at the University of Wyoming are now so apocryphal that to separate fiction from fact must be left to less partial and more leisurely students than I. Suffice to say, he managed to stay in school by working at odd jobs around the campus, including a part-time stint as a reporter for the Laramie Boomerang.

In 1917, he was graduated from the university and then joined the Army as a private in an infantry division. Later he attended officers candidate school and was discharged as a first lieutenant. Returning to Laramie following World War I, he was named manager of the Laramie newspaper, a position he held until he left to join the staff of Wyoming's Gov. William B. Ross as executive secretary. He left Wyoming for Washington and a new job as secretary to the late Senator John B. Kendrick.

In 1919 in Laramie, he married the former Lillian Davis, a native of Ohio, who also had attended the University of Wyoming and then was teaching school in Rawlins. The couple had two sons, Robert and William.

THE "M-O-M"

During these years he also formed the first friendships with a young Boston Irish transplant to Wyoming, Joseph C. O'Mahoney, and with a native Wyomingite, Leslie A. Miller, all of whom were the "young men in a hurry" of their generation. O'Mahoney was later to become one of Wyoming's most distinguished Senators and Miller one of its most able Governors.

McCraken paid a visit to Cheyenne in 1925 at the suggestion of Senator Kendrick in order to look at a sick weekly newspaper in Cheyenne, which was at the time the only newspaper in the State with a Democratic editorial policy. In order to keep it alive, he borrowed $3,000 from the late John D. Clark. This served as his base capital investment in the weekly Eagle. McCraken himself told the story of his first month as a publisher. To meet the overhead, he sold advertising at a furious clip. How pleased he was to gather a handful of statements and go out collecting what promised to be a healthy gross. Instead of money he found most businessmen had in their cash registers "advertising script" which, completely unknown to him, had been passed out by his predecessor. Thus, in place of cash after his first month's operation, Tracy had a pocketful of useless paper.

THE EARLY EAGLE

Located in a small office above what is Roedel's Drugstore in Cheyenne, McCraken and one printer worked feverishly through 18-hour days to nurse the sick publication into the State's dominant weekly. Often the tiny press literally had to be held together with paper clips and bailing wire. With the help of a vital and dedicated assistant, O. D. Koerfer, he turned the weekly into a 5-day-a-week daily during the depression's darkest hours. Five years later, in 1937, he merged the Eagle with the opposition evening paper, the Wyoming State Tribune, which he acquired that year.

His other publishing interests included associations to publish a daily at Rock Springs in 1931, at Worland in 1938, at Laramie in the 1930's, and at Rawlins in 1946. He had also been a partner in various other weeklies throughout Wyoming in the early 1930's. In addition to six daily newspapers and a monthly farm magazine, the Wyoming Stockman Farmer, McCraken pioneered television in Wyoming and was also the owner of several of its early radio stations.

A LEADER IN EDUCATION

McCraken's outstanding contribution to the young people of Wyoming was his lifetime dedication to the University of Wyoming. He served for nearly two decades on the university's board of trustees and was at one time its president. He founded scholarships for worthy students. He received the university alumnus award for outstanding and original achievements in 1956 and was awarded the University of Wyoming's highest honor—an honorary doctor of law degree in 1960.

A WISE AND PRACTICAL POLITICAL LEADER

McCraken succeeded the late Joseph C. O'Mahoney as secretary to Senator Kendrick. He was State Democratic national committeeman from 1942 to 1960. His last year in that post brought him one of his great triumphs. At the Los Angeles Democratic National Convention in July of 1960, as chairman of the Wyoming delegation he cast Wyoming's votes which nominated the late John F. Kennedy for President. During the last days of his life he was offered an appointment to the U.S. Senate which he declined saying:

I would rather be a newspaperman.

Often the object of inevitable backlash to one of his means, power, and talent, he was nevertheless deeply ad-

mired by his associates and most of his adversaries for his acumen, for his dynamic personality, for his delightful sense of humor, and for his dedicated love of the State of Wyoming and its economic well-being.

This latter affair, I believe, he put ahead of all else, for he felt his responsibility to his fellow citizens of Wyoming was a preservation of a healthy climate in which to live, a business community in which to prosper, and a State of which all could be proud.

During the last 30 years he was a close personal acquaintance and a confidant of several Presidents of the United States, of many prominent business and professional leaders, and of nationally prominent politicians from both parties.

MY BOSS AT 14

Tracy was intensely loyal to those who reached positions of importance in his own organization and also proud of the fact that many of his top employees started well down the ladder. He was on a first-name basis with everyone he knew and his door was always open to workers, visitors, salesmen, and to anyone else with the ambition and drive to improve their lot in life. For several decades he wrote a weekly column for the Wyoming Eagle, and I am in hopes a collection of his writings someday will be published.

I was honored and privileged to be an employee in his organization from time to time from my 14th year on earth. This association, which meant so much to me and helped shape my career, lasted until his death on December 26, 1960.

Pvt. Thomas H. Platt Proud of His Draft Card

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in recent weeks, we have been fed a steady diet of the headline-hunting activities of draft-card burners. Naturally the press seizes upon and gives publicity to the unusual. And that is just what these actions are, unusual.

The real American spirit is represented by those who quietly go about the real business of doing the ofttimes distasteful work of making this a better world. A case in point is that of Pvt. Thomas H. Platt, of Maplewood, La., a young man who is no crusader or battler, but who possesses a strong conviction that he has an obligation to defend his country and the democratic way of life, and was determined not to take the easy way out by allowing an administrative error to excuse him from his military service.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article of Private Platt by Kenneth Dixon from the October 13 Dallas Times Herald under the title "Proud of Draft Card," be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CHANGING SCENE—PROUD OF DRAFT CARD
(By Kenneth Dixon)

MAPLEWOOD, LA.—At a time when there is talk across the country of youngsters tearing up their draft cards, and other youngsters rioting, looting, raiding, maiming, and even murdering, it is a pleasure to tell the story of Pvt. Thomas H. Platt.

Tom may well be on his way to the fighting in southeast Asia by the time you read this. He seems to be aimed in that direction.

Tom is not exactly the type they'd pick for a picture of a fighting man to use on a recruiting poster. He's only 5 feet, 5 inches tall, weighs about 145 pounds, has dark hair and quiet brown eyes. He's 21 years old.

FORMER BOY SCOUT

He'd been a Boy Scout and had been a Scout instructor for the past 3 years. He was going to a trade school to learn to be a welder and auto mechanic when he got his greetings from Uncle Sam.

He reported to the local draft board and they sent him up to Shreveport where, among other examinations, he was given physical tests. That was a little more than a year ago.

When his card came back, it was marked the equivalent of the World War II 4–F cards. He was listed as physically unfit for military service. But it didn't say why.

All he had to do at this point was put that card in his wallet and stay home and continue training for his vocation.

WANTED TO KNOW

Instead, he went back to the local draft board and wanted to know why he was physically unfit. They told him that the physical exam had showed he had diabetes.

Again, he could have stopped right there. His own father, Carl W. Platt, admits with a grin that that's what he might have done—and so, undoubtedly, would a few million other people. After all, his conscience certainly could have been perfectly clear.

But Tom wasn't satisfied. He went to the family doctor and asked to be given all the tests for diabetes. They all came out negative.

At Tom's request, the doctor wrote a letter, saying in effect that he was not now, and probably never would be, a diabetic.

Armed with the letter and the reports on the tests, Tom went back to the local draft board. They bucked him up to Shreveport again. This time, extensive physical examinations were made.

FIT FOR DUTY

Sure enough, within a week, another card came through, certifying him as physically OK and fit for active duty.

That would seem to have been the end of it, but it wasn't. Two months went by and nothing happened. Tom, waiting to be called up so he could serve his hitch, got impatient. Finally, he just went downtown and volunteered.

That's for 3 years, and he also volunteered for one of those special outfits which are doing most of the fighting in Vietnam. And since he's an avid hunter—including stalking deer with bow and arrow—they probably could use him in the particular type of war they're fighting over there.

And that's where he'll probably go. Each transfer from fort to fort has taken him farther west and each new training routine has been more specialized in jungle fighting.

Tom is no crusader or battler. He didn't even play football when he went to nearby Sulpher High School. All he wanted to do was become a good welder and auto mechanic.

But the only draft card he discarded was the one which said he was physically unfit for military service—and then only after he was issued a new one saying that he was fit to fight.

Communists Use U.S. Peace Movement in Psychological Warfare Offensive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the Communist plan to defeat the United States in Vietnam has been well documented by Maj. Gen. Song Hao, the political head of Ho Chi Minh's army. In an article in a North Vietnamese journal General Hao says that when the going gets tough U.S. public clamor will force Washington to give up. Hao says:

The movement (in America) to protest the war in Vietnam is growing in size and intensity.

Communist hopes for victory follow a plan in which Judas goats would lead those who are free to defect from freedom. So-called students and Communist stooges here and abroad would lead the lambs in anti-American demonstrations; they would downgrade the United States in the eyes of the world and would shake the confidence and faith of our own citizens in our democratic way of life.

China's Communist overlords make no secret of their aims and strategies. Lin Piao vice chairman of the Communist Party Central Committee and Minister of National Defense in a recent speech, says:

The struggle of the Vietnamese people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation is now the focus of the struggle of the people of the world against U.S. aggression * * *. Like a vicious wolf, it is bullying and enslaving various peoples * * *. At present the main battlefield of the fierce struggle between the people of the world on the one side and the U.S. imperialism and its lackeys is the vast area of Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

These demonstrations are fiendishly clever facets in the Communist technique of launching a campaign of subversion and fear, both mental and physical, hoping to gain by this method a victory unobtainable by their economic or military strength. Fear is being used in South Vietnam where Communists have murdered about half of the village mayors. They also have murdered 14 of the village mayors in Thailand. It is the same in the Congo, where there is a concerted effort to murder all people who have sufficient ability and education to build a free society. These actions are reminiscent of the murder of 5 million Kulaks, the educated and the economic and political leaders, in the Ukraine by Lenin, and of the Katyn Forest massacre of the cream of the Polish Army in World War II.

For the Communist Vietcong to achieve their goals of a complete takeover of

southeast Asia, and particularly Vietnam, it has become necessary for them to defeat the U.S. forces in that area. At the earlier stages of the war, the Vietcong boasted of their victories and of their military successes against both the Vietnamese and the United States. When the United States commenced air attacks on North Vietnam in February 1965, the Communist propaganda began changing from the accounts of military successes to bragging about antiwar protests and marches within the United States.

Just 48 hours after the first air attack on North Vietnam by the United States on February 9, 1965, the great anti-American propaganda riots were launched against the American Embassy in Moscow. In this riot, students under the direction of the Government threw bricks and ink against the Embassy, and destroyed several Embassy cars. It was rather ludicrous, however, that before this spontaneous riot, the Embassy was called and told to keep personnel away from the Embassy windows, so that no one would be hurt.

This is reminiscent of an experience a few years ago in Bucharest, Rumania, where a similar but small scale anti-American riot was staged. Government trucks hauled up stone and bricks and dumped them near the American Embassy and the next day returned, hauling the spontaneous student demonstrators to throw the stones.

After the Moscow anti-American demonstrations, similar riots were staged in other Communist countries and by Communist groups in other countries in Asia and Africa. The United States did not react to these riots as the Communists may have expected, but accelerated its attacks against the Vietcong. Russia and China and other Communist countries made many threats of violence against the United States unless it withdrew, but we kept up our military pressure on the Vietcong.

Then the so-called American student demonstrations began for the same avowed purpose as the Moscow demonstrations; namely, to force the United States to withdraw from Vietnam. To try to accomplish this, some American professors and student groups have publicly expressed their desires that the Vietcong should win over American forces. They have sent money to the Vietcong, and have attempted to stop American troop trains; they have held teach-ins at which our foreign policy and our leaders are held up to scorn and ridicule; they have burned their draft cards, and have held in the past and plan for the future, protest marches on Washington.

These demonstrators apparently fail to realize that their actions indicate a weakness and breakdown in the United States which in reality is not the case, but which may encourage the Communists to believe the United States will capitulate. These demonstrations could lead to a vast expansion of the war which they say they are attempting to stop.

These demonstrators express little interest in or sympathy for the South Vietnamese who have been murdered, tortured, and displaced by the invading Vietcong; nor for those Americans killed in combat at a time when it appeared we were losing the war. Now that we are returning blow for blow, these riots abroad and the demonstrations at home are being waged at an increasing tempo seeking to frighten and deter the United States and to cause us to capitulate to the Communists, giving them a victory which they could never hope to gain by military strength.

We hear the constant refrain, "We should negotiate, not fight" and that we must have a "political instead of a military solution for Vietnam." Both of these suggestions, if they were possible and could be achieved with justice, are infinitely preferable to war. However, even the most naive should realize that such solutions are dependent upon the willingness of the Communist nations backing the Vietcong to negotiate and the degree of dependence we can put in the outcome of any negotiations. The Vietcong absolutely refuses to negotiate, relying on the belief that the United States will capitulate. These so-called peace demonstrators who are demanding U.S. withdrawal and then a second Geneva conference disregard the fact that if the Vietcong would obey the Geneva conference of 1954 and withdraw north of the 17th parallel as they agreed, then the war would be ended.

On my desk are translations from official publications of the Red Chinese and North Vietnamese Communist Parties. These translations clearly indicate that, as the United States increases its forces in Vietnam and moves from the defensive to the offensive, the press in North Vietnam discusses the actual military operation less and less but increases its forebodings of the discontent and breakdown of the war effort within the United States itself.

Two newspapers, Peoples Daily of Peiping, China, and Nhan Dan of North Vietnam, carry the same propaganda line as does the Communist mouthpiece in the United States, the Worker—formerly the Daily Worker. Peoples World—the Communist publication of the Pacific coast; Pravda, the New China News Agency International Service, and the Hanoi radio publicize American teach-ins and antiwar demonstrations almost simultaneous with their happening.

To those who have had little experience with Russia or China and know little of their history and people, these happenings seem frightening and confusing. However, after a close scrutiny of the patterns of aggression of Russia and China, even for centuries before Lenin and Stalin were born, their current actions would cause no surprise.

In the extensive study and research which I did for the writing of "Russian Frontier: From Muscovy to Khrushchev," I traced the pattern of aggression through the centuries as Russia grew from the small principality of Muscovy to the tremendous empire that it is today. Time after time I saw Russia win by threats, broken promises, chicanery, and subversion when their armies could not accomplish the goal. Russia, China, and Japan have made great use of the military strategy set out by Sun Tzu, a Chinese military writer and general of 25 centuries ago. Typical statements of Sun Tzu are:

All warfare is based on deception. Hence, when able to attack we must seem unable. When using our forces we must seem inactive. When near, we must make them believe that we are far away; when far away, we must make them believe that we are near.

As the water avoids the high and seeks the low, so should you avoid the strong and strike the weak.

Deceit and duplicity are considered with pride by the Communists, as suggested in statements from Stalin:

Words must have no relation to action—otherwise what kind of diplomacy is it? Words are one thing, actions another. Good words are a mask of concealment of bad deeds.

Lenin is reputed to have said:

Push out your bayonets. If you strike steel, pull back. If you strike soft flesh, push, push hard.

Truong Chinh, a North Vietnamese leader, wrote "A Primer for Revolt," in 1946, which is probably the best treatise on the theory of guerrilla warfare that has ever been written. It is far superior to the relatively unimaginative works by Mao Tse-tung on the same subject. The teachings of this book clearly were used by Gen. Nguyen Giap, the North Vietnamese general who, in 1954, captured Dienbienphu. Perhaps if the French military leaders had studied "A Primer for Revolt," the results of the fiasco at Dienbienphu would have been different. General Giap, who at one time was a French history professor, is today in overall command of the Vietcong forces and is still following the philosophy so well depicted in "A Primer for Revolt."

Perhaps one of the most constructive things our leaders can do is to study "A Primer for Revolt" and all such works that set out the philosophy, military techniques, and historical background of our enemies and our potential enemies. We do have military teams making such studies, but they need to be done in greater detail and depth. In addition it behooves the American public to acquaint themselves with the philosophies and the methodology of our enemies. Then we would understand the happenings and would not allow a few loud-mouthed students and professors to shake our faith in democracy and the American way of life.

The United States, Britain, and France refused to believe "Mein Kampf," in which Hitler clearly explained his plans, and thereby allowed him to almost destroy the world. Our failure to understand Stalin's designs during and after World War II, of which only a casual study would have alerted us, allowed Russia to take over all of Eastern and much of Central Europe during the conferences at Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam.

We need to keep ever in mind, however, that when we win in Vietnam, the Communists will still cause us trouble in Berlin, in Cuba, in the Dominican Republic, in the Congo, and scores of other places at home and abroad. And we should keep in mind that when communism is gone, the oncoming would-be

tyrants will devise other methods to enslave men. We must realize that we are still engaged in a cold war that will go on. We do not like the cold war; but we can rise above it in strength and courage and fortitude. One of our great daily papers expressed it thus:

Americans must realize that the Soviet method is to confuse, divide, and frighten us into accepting their aims and claims when there is no real reason why we should do so. Step by step, year by year, they try to wear down our nerves until we will finally say wearily, "All right, we have had enough. Go ahead and do with us as you will." The slogan will become, "I'd rather be Red than dead."

Unless the American people can understand the real reasons and the goals of our enemy, they will find it all most confusing and upsetting. The weak-hearted may be willing to yield to Communist demands and surrender the freedom of ourselves and our friends, when such surrender is totally unnecessary.

If the United States were willing to bow to the will of the Communist design, we could at least temporarily stop anti-American demonstrations and fighting. If we were willing to pay the price that such activities would entail, we could surrender freedom to Communist aggression on behalf of ourselves, our friends, and our allies. That is the action that the Kremlin and Peiping are planning for us to take. Surrender has been the escape for countless peoples throughout the ages, but thinking Americans know that no civilization has gained by surrender to the tyrant who would "climb on human hearts to reach thrones" whether Nazi, Fascist, Communist, or the thousands of tyrants or would-be tyrants who lived centuries before such names were invented.

We must keep ever before us the lessons of history. There have been only brief periods in history when tryants, either by force or honeyed promises, were not destroying or attempting to destroy the freedom of man. It also is true that all civilizations that were destroyed were probably lost because of a weakness and decay from within that allowed the tryant to destroy their freedom.

Freedom is the priceless heritage of man, but it can be enjoyed only by the brave and strong of heart who are willing to maintain a constant vigil and who are ready to fight for freedom if the need arises.

Insurance Industry: The States Are Acting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN L. HRUSKA
OF NEBRASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, the continuing erosion of our system of dual-federalism is exemplified by attacks on the ability of the States to regulate insurance. Here is an area which Congress, in 1945, judged to be particularly appropriate for State control.

Nevertheless, failures of some high-risk automobile insurers have served as the platform for those who favor more and more centralized control of our country to raise their voices in that immodest and terribly inaccurate cry that "We can do it better."

The premise must be that a Federal system of control would provide more knowledgeable and more dedicated administrators than can be provided by the States. The premise is a false one. And it is demonstrably false.

It is true that companies have failed. It is true that failures in the insurance industry have far-reaching effects.

It is not true that the number of failures is disproportionately high. It is not true that failures can be attributed to State laxity.

It is simply not true that failures would not continue to occur if regulation were in the hands of a central bureaucracy. What of the banks subject to Federal control? Have none of them failed? Of course, they have. And under our free enterprise system, conducted by people subject to the weaknesses of the flesh, this is to be expected.

The fact is that the States have not been remiss. They have done and are doing their job. There is room for improvement. There is always room for improvement. But the record shows that the States have responded.

My point is that this vital and important industry with the tremendous dollar volume and risk element involved is far from being sick. Its successes and concomitant service to the public are so overwhelming when compared with its failures that the investigators stand in awe. State governments deserve their share of the credit. State insurance commissioners and their departments, sensitive and quick to meet the needs of their areas, are to be applauded.

What is the nature of this urge to tinker with a system proven sound, this tendency to damn the whole because of the few?

The insurance industry is unquestionably one of the most important segments of our national economy. Both its social and economic effects have made it an integral part of the foundation for our free enterprise economy.

The insurance companies, as coordinating institutions engaged in allocation and distribution of capital funds, relieve a part of the burden of numerous risks from the shoulders of those who take advantage of the service. In so spreading the risk, not only are third parties protected, but also private funds are released for productive investment.

Due to the great public concern that each component part of the industry remains fiscally sound, it has been accepted that some form of regulation is required. Originally, such regulatory authority vested in the individual States by virtue of the fact that insurance was not considered commerce and therefore not under Federal jurisdiction.

The Supreme Court, in *United States* v. *South-Eastern Underwriters Association*, 322 U.S. 533 (1944), changed this by holding that insurance is interstate commerce and therefore subject to Federal jurisdiction. In 1945, the McCarran-Ferguson Act was passed by the 79th Congress to restore the power to the States. This act was founded on the sound principle that the States were in a better position to regulate the insurance industry than was the Federal Government. That principle is equally appropriate and applicable today.

State legislatures, State commissioners of insurance, and the industry have joined in devising stringent regulations. Operating within the framework of State regulation, appropriate authorities were able to adopt rules to fit local needs. Under this arrangement utilizing the joint judgment and accumulated wisdom of local authorities and industry leaders, reliable systems of laws and regulations have been established which lend themselves to efficacious solutions of problems which are often inevitable and which vary in different States and districts.

It is true that not all of the failures in the insurance industry have been inevitable. Some were the direct result of fraudulent misrepresentations by predators bent on public bilking and milking. But indictments have been issued in cases where mismanagement has been discovered.

The States are taking swift action where required. Steps are being taken to assure full and accurate disclosure of company finances and realistic levels for expected loss reserves. Proper capitalization for high risk insurers is the object of further State regulatory efforts to protect the public.

Failures have not been covered up or ignored. States are adopting measures to allow for immediate action by State officials to move in for the protection of the public when the failure of a company is imminent. In many States, these provisions have long existed and have been vigorously enforced.

While some States may not have adequately regulated insurance or effectively enforced existing regulations, it is equally obvious that great efforts are being made to strengthen the local laws and to achieve proper enforcement. The testimony of the commissioners of insurance from Illinois, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina, before the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee in May of 1965, attested to the continual efforts of those States to keep up to date and to strengthen insurance codes to reach troubled areas and to obtain more funds for better enforcement.

The National Association of Insurance Commissioners is an effective agency for opening channels of communication between the various States to facilitate coordinated action where necessary. Senator THOMAS J. DODD, of Connecticut, in a speech before a group of insurance agents and executives in October of this year, complimented the insurance commissioners for establishing a special committee "to address the problem of the gaps in communication and cooperation among the insurance commissioners of the several States."

The concerted efforts of such a coordinating body and of the various States themselves demonstrate most profoundly that the regulation of the insurance industry is properly vested in the individual States.

In the course of the hearings conducted by the Senate Antitrust and Monopoly Subcommittee on high-risk automobile insurance, the insurance commission of the State of Illinois stated succinctly:

It is my conviction that the tremendous growth of the insurance industry since 1945 has resulted in large part from the careful decision of the Congress of the United States in 1945 in approving the McCarran Act.

Under this assignment to the States of basic responsibilities for policing an industry which grosses close to $40 billion annually, State regulators have been compelled to live closely with the companies doing business within their jurisdictions.

That is as it should be. The insurance industry reaches so intimately into the economy of every home that its most effective regulation must, perforce, come at a level close to the home—and the State regulator is closest to the problems involved.

It is also interesting to note that in reports of this subcommittee in the past the belief has been affirmed "that the regulation of insurance by the States is in the public interest," and that there is no appeal for Federal regulation arising from "any of the important segments of the industry."

In 1963, at a time when a particular bill, S. 1705, was introduced to amend the McCarran-Ferguson Act, I said in a speech before the National Association of Insurance Commissioners:

Since the McCarran-Ferguson Act is sound law today, a heavy burden rests upon those who now advocate revision. A clear case for such amendment must be made. It must be demonstrated that any resulting advantage which any new law might bring will outweigh the loss suffered by impairment of the system and its principles. Included in such a showing must be substantial evidence that there is no other non-Federal way of accomplishing the desired purpose.

There are grave dangers in adopting any amendment to this law, however, nominal, disarming, limited in character or meritorious it may appear on the surface.

Certainly, that burden must be great indeed when it is remembered that under the present law the industry has flourished for the past 20 years with resulting benefit to the economy and to the public.

The basic principles of our Republic dictate that regulation should come from that political unit more closely associated with local operation. Here, it is the States.

Any amendment to the present law must be extensively debated. The initial amendment, no matter how innocent appearing, can open the gates. Again, allow me to quote from the speech delivered to the National Association of Insurance Commissioners:

No well-established concept of freedom can be destroyed by an open, all-inclusive attack. Rather, it is eroded and eventually lost by a series of movements, no single one of which seems of sufficient size to warrant resistance or to raise any suspicion.

The unwary will be caught by surprise and soon dismayed at the tardiness of their attempts to preserve their liberties.

Certainly an industry which serves our economy so well must not be exposed unthinkingly and unnecessarily to the stifling effect of Federal control.

The States are doing their job. Let them continue to do so.

Report to My Constituents on 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, now that the first session of this Congress is preparing to adjourn, it is time to take a breath and reflect on some of these far-ranging decisions made during the last 9½ months. This session has established a new record for quorum calls and rollcall votes. It has produced many new programs which will have an effect on the lives of every one of us. There are many who feel it has been longer on quantity than on quality.

One of the most disturbing aspects of the session has been the tendency of the administration to pressure measures through without adequate deliberation on the part of the Congress. For example, one of the most important measures in 30 years—the so-called medicare bill, a complex bill containing nearly 300 pages—was rushed through the House in its "three-layer cage" form without public hearings on the part of the Ways and Means Committee. The $1.3 billion Federal aid to education bill was rushed through Congress with one minor amendment in the House and none in the Senate. The Appalachia aid bill was approved by the Senate Public Works Committee after only 2 days of public hearings, shutting off witnesses who wanted to testify. Republican proposals to apply the Appalachian formula to other depressed areas of the country were beaten.

We must remember that we cannot create new Federal programs without considering the impact upon the pocketbook of the already hard-pressed taxpayers. The new domestic programs will require about 33,000 new Federal employees next year. The much publicized $99.7 billion budget submitted by the President last January is likely to exceed $115 billion after passage of supplemental appropriation bills. At the same time substantial requests for more money to meet the costs of the war in Vietnam can be expected in January.

The administration's majority leader in the Senate, Senator MANSFIELD, has predicted that Congress may spend much of its time next session overhauling some of the hastily enacted legislation of this first session. He said:

We have passed a lot of major bills at this session, some of them very hastily, and they stand in extreme need of a going over for loopholes, rough corners, and particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost of the framework of our capacity to meet it.

ESTIMATED COST OF PROGRAMS

To illustrate the scope and depth of the new programs passed in this session, here are some examples by categories of estimated authorizations for appropriations, showing first-year costs and cumulative costs:

Example of legislation	1st year cost	Term of authorization
Education	$3,063,500,000	$15,916,750,000
Housing	935,000,000	7,400,000,000
Health	6,729,200,000	33,850,200,000
Welfare	3,390,300,000	11,625,500,000
Conservation-recreation	3,407,100,000	3,833,600,000
Federal employees-military personnel pay increases	1,763,500,000	12,620,645,000
Space programs	5,190,000,000	26,000,000,000
Transportation	575,900,000	645,900,000
Peace Corps-international programs	275,000,000	825,000,000
Total	25,329,500,000	112,417,595,000

The estimated costs above would certainly seem reason enough why Senator MANSFIELD came to the conclusion that we will spend much time next session going over the recently enacted programs "particularly for an assessment of current and ultimate cost in the framework of our capacity to meet it."

While it is impossible to list all legislation considered in this first session, here are some of the major issues and a summary comment on them.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-4

This is a massive public works program—initial cost $1,092,400,000. While I could not do less than favor governmental efforts to promote the economic well-being of our less fortunate citizens, I believe that those efforts should be consistent with the basic concept that private enterprise and self-help are the keystone of national strength, and that massive Federal intervention should be resorted to only as a last and unavoidable measure. The administration bill is objectionable for three major reasons: it is patently discriminatory in offering special Federal assistance in one region only, despite the known existence of equally depressed areas in other parts of the Nation; it would create a new regional supergovernment with absolute veto authority over State and local decisions and thus establish dictatorial power in the person of a single Federal representative on the Appalachian Regional Commission. An alternative Republican proposal, the Resources Development Act, was offered by Representative CRAMER, ranking Republican member of the House Public Works Committee, which would give asisstance to all areas eligible under the accelerated public works program. I voted for the Cramer substitute but could not support the administration bill for the above reasons.

DRUG ABUSE CONTROL AMENDMENTS OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-74

This bill established greater control over the manufacture and distribution of depressant and stimulant drugs, including barbiturates and amphetamines. Prior to reporting this bill to the House,

the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce held lengthy and complete hearings. Testimony presented at the hearing indicates that over 9 billion barbiturate and amphetamine tablets are produced annually in the United States. Of this amount over 50 percent, or 4½ million tablets, are distributed illegally through illicit channels. This is a shocking situation, reaching not just the large cities, but every community and town in the country.

Bartiturates and amphetamines, like most drugs, when used properly under medical prescription and direction, can be effective in the alleviation of illness and suffering. However, when misused they become a social and legal problem which is of grave public concern. Drug abuse is associated with crime, juvenile delinquency, and highway accidents.

There is clearly an urgent need for more effective control over the manufacture and distribution of barbiturates and amphetamines. I strongly supported this legislation.

FEDERAL AID TO ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION—PUBLIC LAW 89-10

Total first-year cost of this program is $1.3 billion. The expressed purpose of this bill is to meet the needs of educationally and economically deprived children, but in addition, it establishes a far-reaching Federal aid to education program which of necessity will provide more and more Federal control of our educational systems in this country. Title I, the heart of the bill, provides some $1.06 billion in aid to local school districts. An examination of the table showing how the funds will be allocated indicates that whoever devised the formula was not advised that the alleged purpose of the bill was to aid the needy: far more money goes to the wealthier counties with very small percentages of deprived children than to the poorest counties with much higher percentages of children from low-income families. Thus, the inequities that currently exist among the various States in terms of how much they can afford to spend on education is perpetuated by the Johnson administration bill.

Under title I the bill appears to leave approval of local programs for educationally deprived children to the State education agency, where such power belongs. However, almost hidden in the language of the bill is the power of the U.S. Commissioner of Education to require that such approval be consistent with the basic criteria established by him. This centralization of power runs throughout the entire bill. For example, under title II, which authorizes $100 million for purchase of textbooks and library materials, the Federal Government will purchase the textbooks and library materials for the States. While the material is to be selected by the States, there is no language to guard against subsequent Federal controls. Under title III, which authorizes $100 million for supplementary education centers, we have separate Federal-local schools teaching youth, training teachers, and responsible only to the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

Under title IV—$100 million over a 5-year period for cooperative research—the Commissioner will select research areas and be involved with curricula, tests, and course content fed into schools from the laboratories and through the Federal-local schools. And under title V—$24 million to "strengthen" State departments of education—the Commissioner will be authorized to assign employees from his office to the State Department of education and vice versa.

Every effort of the Republican minority to amend the legislation in order to clarify its vague language and make clear that local and State control of education should prevail was beaten back. Indeed, there was every effort to shut off all discussion completely. It was, as one Member put it, a case of: "My mind is made up; don't bother me with the facts."

One of the Republican proposals was to give those bearing the major part of school expenses certain credits toward their Federal income tax—included would be tuition expense for higher education. This type of assistance would be free from Federal control over educational policies. Moreover, there would be no need to expand the Federal bureaucracy to administer such a program. It would provide a new and powerful incentive for educational development at the local level where it belongs.

The Federal Government can obtain money to subsidize education only by borrowing, thus adding to the national debt, or by taking it away from taxpayers in the States. Would not the people be much better off to keep their money at home, for programs which local taxpayers themselves approve? The administration bill actually sets up a formidable Federal education system. I doubt very much if that is what the American people want.

SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE—PUBLIC LAW 89-97

There were nearly 300 pages in this complex measure which makes numerous changes in the social security program. Briefly, the major provisions are as follows: For the first time, effective July 1, 1966, there would be established a medicare program for those over 65. This would consist of:

First. A compulsory plan providing for hospital and nursing home care through increased social security payroll taxes on both employee and employer. The patient must pay the first $40 of the hospital bill for the first 60 days, and $10 per day from the 60th to the 90th day.

Second. A voluntary supplementary plan providing payments for physicians and other medical and health services financed through monthly premiums of approximately $3 per person and matched by the Government through general revenues. This is similar to the general voluntary plan offered by Republican members of the Ways and Means Committee.

Third. A greatly expanded medical assistance program through Kerr-Mills Act for needy persons financed through Federal-State matching funds.

In addition to the medical program, the bill makes the following revisions and improvements in the benefit and coverage provisions of the Social Security Act:

First. A 7-percent increase in cash benefits with a minimum of at least $4 per month.

Second. Those persons over 72 with at least 3 quarters coverage—instead of 6 as under present law—to be made eligible for minimum benefits of $35 per month.

Third. Age for dependent children receiving benefits extended from 18 to 22 so long as they remain in school. This is the subject matter of a bill I introduced this year—H.R. 417—as well as in previous years.

Fourth. Widows would be permitted to receive benefits at age 60 with reduced annuity.

Fifth. The Amish and other religious sects which conscientiously object to social security would be exempt from payment of social security taxes.

Sixth. Earnings limitation would be slightly liberalized. A person would be permitted to earn up to $1,200 a year without loss of benefits, from $1,200 to $2,400 there would be $1 lost for every $2 earned and after $2,400 there would be loss of $1 for each $1 earned. My bill, H.R. 415, would permit unlimited earnings.

This legislation came to us under a closed rule, which meant that no amendments could be offered during the course of the debate, and there could be only one motion to recommit in order to substitute provisions. This meant there could be no separate vote on the various alternative medicare plans. A recommittal motion to substitute a Republican voluntary medicare program—which would have offered more benefits—failed.

By including medicare under social security, the whole social security program may be jeopardized because of the high payroll tax which must come from workers and employers. The earnings base for taxes goes from $4,800 to $6,600. An employee earning $6,600 will pay $277.20 in 1966; in 1967 he will pay $290.40. The employer must pay a like amount. This hits hardest those in the lower income levels—especially the young people—some of whom will be paying for many years before they become entitled to any benefits at age 65. Initially the social security-medicare bill carries a price tag of between $6 billion and $7 billion. This will soon escalate to $11 billion or $12 billion. Without a doubt there will have to be even greater social security taxes in the future.

There is a possibility that such a program could lead to a lower quality of medical care for all concerned. We simply do not have enough doctors, nurses, and other personnel to meet the needs. One of the benefits under the bill—post-hospital care in skilled nursing homes—will be very difficult to obtain because very few of such facilities are now in existence. I am afraid the law will be a disappointment to many who look upon it as the solution to their difficulties. In some cases the limits of care imposed will result in inadequate relief for catastrophic illnesses. It will be necessary to

undertake large hospital and nursing home construction projects before the program can really meet the needs expected as well as training of personnel to staff such facilities.

While I generally supported most sections of the social security bill, I preferred the voluntary medicare proposal and its method of financing rather than the compulsory approach financed through increased social security taxes. Therefore, regretfully I could not support the bill on final passage.

WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

No more important single issue faces our country today than the problem of good water. The steadily increasing pollution of the once-clean waters of the United States has been a problem of immediate concern to all citizens. The magnitude of this problem is so great that a solution must be found in short order, and such a solution will require the concentrated action of all levels of government. We Clevelanders are, perhaps, more aware of this than others because of the condition of our own Lake Erie and Cuyahoga River. In a rare show of unanimity the House passed by a vote of 396-0 a bill—S. 4—aimed at reducing the pollution of our waterways. Under the new program a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration will be established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. An increase in Federal assistance—on a matching basis—will make possible an acceleration in the construction of municipal waste treatment plants. A new 4-year program of Federal research grants is also authorized to demonstrate ways of controlling wastes from storm and sanitary sewers.

With the continuing increase in our pollution and the growing demands of our industries, Ohio needs more water, and water of high quality. Increased participation by the Federal Government along with State and local cooperation—made possible under this bill—should facilitate further progress in this area, in a partnership in which responsibility is shared. I strongly supported this legislation.

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-171

The Foreign Assistance Act of 1965, caused a great furor of debate but, as predicted, it emerged with few changes as reported from the committee.

As I pointed out in my speech on the floor, those of us who over the years have been in the battle for foreign aid are suffering from combat fatigue—not because we weary of a long fight but because the program has grown confused and disordered. First things seem to come first except in foreign aid, where first things come second or third—or not at all. For example, through the sale of our surplus commodities we help the underdeveloped feed their ever-growing populations today, but little has been done to help them establish their own agricultural economy to cope with tomorrow's needs.

Instead we disperse our manpower and money in fields of industry, transportation, and multiudes of very costly projects. The result is that we contribute to the growing gap between the agricultural sector and the urban sector of those countries.

After participating in the hearings and studying the testimony before the committee, I was disappointed that the reductions made were so small—just $12.7 million out of the request for $2,004,195,000 of new money. Only two items were cut—one for administrative expenses, which could well be cut, and the other for programs in the field of international organization. In the latter instance, the administration reported that it could not use the money it had originally requested.

In view of these circumstances I voted for the motion to recommit designed to reduce the Development Loan Fund authorization by $131 million. Unfortunately, this failed by a vote of 178 yeas to 219 nays. On final passage—249 to 148—I voted for H.R. 7750 but with more than usual reluctance. Our country has undertaken grave responsibilities and I felt compelled to support our commitments to carry them out. My concern for the program and my vote to reduce it is not an attack on the principles behind it but a protest over the manner in which it is being carried out. It is my hope that the critcisms pointed out during committee hearings and debate will be taken by the executive branch in the constructive manner they were intended, and that we will see an improvement in the administration of programs as a result.

PEACE CORPS—PUBLIC LAW 89-134

The Congress approved a bill authorizing $115 million to finance the operation of the Peace Corps during the next fiscal year. A little more than 4 years ago when the Peace Corps was set up a pilot basis, many of us were quite honestly skeptical that it would fulfill its stated purpose, "to help foreign countries meet their urgent needs for skilled manpower." I was one of those who was skeptical. Today, I consider the Peace Corps one of our better efforts. In these few years, our volunteers have made a real impact. Each of the 45 countries in which the Peace Corps now operates has asked for more volunteers, and there are two dozen additional countries which have asked for the Corps. Since the Peace Corps began, 13,725 volunteers have been sent overseas. Our State of Ohio has produced the fourth largest number of volunteers of any State—654 in all.

The Peace Corps is a wonderful outlet for the earnest, honest spirit of American youth and its deep need to serve others. It appeals to all races and creeds. It provides our young people, and some of our senior citizens as well—70 people over 60 years of age are serving with the Corps—with their enthusiasm and their selflessness, a unique opportunity to do what needs to be done if America—the real America—is going to be understood across the world. It provides an opportunity for dedicated citizens to demonstrate the American dream to million of people in other lands who will never have the opportunity to visit us here.

Our Committee on Foreign Affairs has explored the costs, ratio of staff members to volunteers, and so forth, very carefully. The study indicates the Peace Corps has made a good record in handling its money. The average annual cost per volunteer has gone down consistently, from $9,074 in fiscal 1963 to $7,927 for fiscal 1966. Unlike some Government agencies, the Peace Corps has never shown any tendency to put on a last minute drive to make sure that all of its funds are obligated before the end of the fiscal year. The Peace Corps, it seems, is the least expensive of our foreign assistance projects, and I was happy to add my support to its continuation.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89-174

The Congress passed H.R. 6927, to establish a Department of Housing and Urban Development. This is not a new idea—you will recall that it was a little more than 3 years ago that the House decisively rejected a similar bill.

Both Democrats and Republicans agreed that urban programs, scattered through many departments and agencies, need a coordinating hand, but there was disagreement on how to achieve this objective. Certainly the administration bill to expand the Federal bureaucracy through establishment of a new Cabinet-level department is not the answer. H.R. 6927 will not include all housing programs nor will it encompass all those programs dealing with our urban areas. However, it will create a new Cabinet member, a new Under Secretary, four Assistant Secretaries, a General Counsel, and an Administrative Assistant Secretary plus more redtape for the municipal governments in cities across the country.

Minority members of the House Government Operations Committee, who considered this legislation, wisely included in their report:

> Bureaucracies once established have a way of growing not only in size but in power. This is especially true with bureaucracies which handle vast sums of public funds.

Although the present programs of the Housing and Home Finance Agency will be included in the proposed Department of Housing, these represent less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities. The Veterans' Administration has guaranteed over 5 million home loans and the Federal Home Loan Bank Board as of January 1, 1964, had advanced members $27.1 billion and been repaid $22.3 billion. These two agencies, not included in the new Department, account for two-thirds of the housing financing activities of the Federal Government. Other activities of interest to our urban areas will remain outside the jurisdiction of the new Department. For example, welfare and poverty programs, water pollution, sewage disposal, vocational education, public health activities, the Federal highway program—all would remain under their present jurisdictions in other departments and agencies.

While I could not support the administration bill, I did vote for the motion to recommit, designed to substitute a Republican proposal to establish an Office of Community Development in the Exec-

utive Office of the President. This plan would have provided the coordination and assistance needed by our local and State governments in their relationship with the Federal Government. However, it would avoid the creation of a huge, new Government bureau. Unfortunately, the recommittal motion was defeated 149 to 259.

HOUSING ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-117

The Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965 was passed by a vote of 245 to 169. Prior to this the very controversial section providing rent subsidies won its place in the bill by a narrow margin of 6 votes—208 to 202. Although there are some good points in the housing program, I voted against the rent supplements and could not support the bill on final passage with such a provision in it. On June 20 I spoke on the floor:

Mr. Chairman, I feel that this bill, instead of just dealing with superficial things, serious as they may be—the housing of our people—deals with something infinitely deeper and more serious.

I finished with these words:

I am wondering if you are at all aware of the dangers of this new doctrine? Are you quite certain that when you make it possible for a man to feel little if any responsibility for his home, you are not endangering the very foundation stones of our free land? I am wondering also whether such an attitude can hold a real woman's love and earn the respect of children.

Other speakers emphasized the duplications with public housing and the fact that whereas public housing is financed through bond issues carrying an interest rate of 3¼ percent, the rent supplement housing must be constructed under FHA rates of 5¾ percent. Thus it reflects a surrender to high mortgage interest rates.

It is claimed that this Federal rent subsidy program is designed to help low-income families meet their monthly rent payments. But it will do far more than that. The power given the Housing Administrator to determine income limits, and so forth, is supreme. Eligibility income limits could run over $11,000 a year in some localities. Is this low income? Let me point out a few of its obvious results. Basically the family is the keystone of the arch of the nation. It has been our dream that each family would own its own home. But H.R. 7984 shoves that dream out the window. All incentives for homeownership are abandoned.

Even the most ardent supporters of the rent supplement proposal admit that it is definitely an experiment. But can we afford a $6 billion experiment which could well undermine the moral fiber of our people? How long will it take to change us from a nation of homeowners to a nation of subsidized renters? At a time when we need to renew our moral strength and spiritual fiber, is it not tragic for us to take from even a part of our people the consuming need to be responsible? What a way we have come from the time our forefathers carved their homes out of the wilderness with little more than an ax.

ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT AMENDMENTS—PUBLIC LAW 89-253

A total of $785.4 million was appropriated last year for the poverty program and as of the end of May 1965, about $650 million had to be obligated. Most of the funds were hurriedly committed during the closing month of the fiscal year.

Although it was admitted by administration spokesmen that it was not possible to judge some of the programs as they were only in the initial stages of operation, this year's bill more than doubles last year's authorization. It is interesting to note that the Office of Economic Opportunity had asked for $1.5 billion for fiscal 1966, but it was increased by the majority of the committee to $1.895 billion. This is broken down as follows: Title I, Job Corps, work training and work-study programs, $825 million; title II, urban and rural community action programs, $680 million; title III, special programs for rural areas, migrant workers, $70 million; title V, work experience and training—adults—$300 million; title VI, VISTA volunteers—volunteers in service to American or Domestic Peace Corps—$20 million.

This year's legislation follows closely the bill passed last year with the exception of asking for more money and with the seriously objected to major change removing the only effective State control over Federal poverty programs, to wit: the veto power of the Governor. It gives authority to the Poverty Director to veto the veto of a Governor. This action has been strongly opposed by Governors of both parties inasmuch as it takes away from them their only check on the Federal Government and its determination as to what is good for a State.

The brief hearings by the Committee on Education and Labor on the community action program were shut off abruptly over the protests of committee Republicans. The Republicans then set up a task force, holding hearings in various parts of the country, in an attempt to get a true evaluation of the various programs.

As a result, a number of constructive proposals were made—all of which were turned down by the administration. A recommittal motion was offered to restore the veto power of the Governors and reduce the authorization of funds to the current level. I supported this motion but it was defeated 178 to 227. Therefore, I voted against final passage. It does not seem wise nor businesslike to double our country's financial commitment in a venture that has been initiated so recently and its usefulness has not yet been proven and which is little more than 50 percent operational—a venture that is entirely novel and which from its very inception raises very many practical questions. As was predicted in the debate last year, great administrative and substantive problems have arisen in the program—as worthy as its goals may be. It was my hope that these problems would receive close attention in this session by the committee, and I am sorry to say that they have not.

THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT PUBLIC LAW 89-110

Debate on this important voting rights measure was spirited for 4 days. While there was general agreement that some Federal measure should be enacted, there was a sharp division between backers of the administration bill, introduced by Representative EMANUEL CELLER, of New York, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, and the Republican substitute, by Congressman WILLIAM MCCULLOCH, of Ohio. Incidentally, the Republican task force on voting rights, under the leadership of Mr. MCCULLOCH, called for voting rights legislation long before any proposal was advanced by the administration.

The most outstanding difference between the approaches of the two bills was in the triggering provisions which bring the Federal law into play. The automatic trigger in the Celler bill provides that Federal examiners shall be sent into States in which less than 50 percent of the voting-age population was registered or voted in the 1964 general election and in which certain literacy tests and devices were used to determine qualifications for voting. At present, this applies only to seven States and a few counties in other States even though hard-core discrimination exists in many other areas of the country. On the other hand, the McCulloch bill called for action whenever the Attorney General certified to the Civil Service Commission that he had received valid complaints from 25 or more persons who allege they could meet the voting requirements but had been denied the vote on account of race or color. An examiner would be appointed and if he determined that in fact 25 or more of the complaints were valid, those found qualified would be placed on the voting rolls as eligible voters. Thus, the Republican substitute would have applied equitably throughout our Nation.

The McCulloch bill also attempted to set Federal penalties for election fraud aside from racial discrimination, to insure not only the voting rights of all Americans, but to wipe out the practice of illegal voting, such as votes cast by those who have already voted in other precincts or voters who are no longer even alive. Fortunately, an amendment, sponsored by Representative CRAMER, Republican, of Florida, which attempts to get at such practices, was adopted.

I voted for H.R. 6400 on final passage after the McCulloch bill failed on the recommittal motion. The 15th amendment provides that the right of citizens to vote shall not be denied or abridged by any State on account of race or color and authorizes the Congress to enforce this amendment by appropriate legislation. The right to cast a meaningful vote lies at the very heart of our republican form of government.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89-136

This legislation is basically a pump-priming measure, which means that it should be used when the status of our economy shows clear evidence that this kind of approach is necessary. It au-

thorizes $3.3 billion to be spent over the next 5 years in grants and loans for various public works projects and to aid establishment of industries in areas of substantial unemployment. The definition of eligible areas is vague, leaving much discretion to the Secretary of Commerce.

The administration repeatedly in the last few months, through statements and news releases, has called attention to the fact that it expects this year will set many new records from the standpoint of the height of our economy. In this case, should we be passing a $3.3 billion pump-priming bill at this time?

We have a deficit that we incurred in the fiscal year just completed, ending June 30, 1965, of approximately $3.5 billion. The Treasury Department has estimated the deficit for the next fiscal year will be $5.3 billion. Under such circumstances, it does not seem logical to saddle the taxpayers with this additional spending program.

The General Accounting Office has submitted 17 adverse reports on the administration of the Area Redevelopment Act as it has existed to the present time. In each of these reports, the Comptroller General has stated he feels this program should be tightened up. Yet the recommendations of the administration as incorporated in this bill loosens the program even further. In recent years we have had a whole series of programs brought to the floor of the House and in each case the argument has been made that if that particular program was passed, we would be able to solve the problems of unemployment. Among the programs passed in this Congress alone are: the $1.9 billion antipoverty bill, the $1 billion Appalachian Development bill, and a $7.5 billion housing bill. Now we add a $3.3 billion public works bill.

With our actual national debt over $318 billion and the debt limit set at $328 billion with the President calling for ever-increasing expenditures on the Vietnam conflict, this did not seem the appropriate time to pass a $3.3 billion loosely drawn, pump-priming measure. Therefore, I voted against this bill.

OMNIBUS FARM BILL—PUBLIC LAW 89–321

I opposed the omnibus farm bill which is largely an extension of existing subsidy programs which have failed in the past, and the establishment of several new programs—cotton subsidy and increased wheat subsidy—that will necessarily result in the spending of billions of dollars in the next 4 years. An amendment was adopted, largely through Republican efforts, to eliminate the bread tax by financing the wheat subsidy through general revenues rather than increasing the price of bread and other wheat products. Nevertheless, the programs have not proven to be good for either farmers, consumers, or taxpayers. Ten years ago the farmer received 42 cents from each consumer food dollar. Today he receives only 37 cents, less than in the depression days of 1935. Retail food prices have increased 29 percent in the last 16 years, while the net income of agriculture has gone down 29 percent.

Even though the cost-price squeeze has forced more and more farmers off the land, the cost of running the Department of Agriculture has increased. In 1933 there was 1 USDA employee for every 203 farms. In 1961 the ratio was 1 to 37, and today there is 1 USDA employee for every 32 farms. In spite of substantial increases in Government payments to farmers—estimated at $2.4 billion in 1965—net farm income has not been materially improved. Government investment in surplus farm crops still stands at $7 billion. H.R. 9811 only perpetuates this unfortunate record. It will make more difficult constructive efforts to establish a sound and workable farm program that serves the best interests of farmers, consumers, and taxpayers. Just as the problems of our urban areas cannot be solved by transferring them to Washington, the farm problem will not be solved by making a "czar" of the Secretary of Agriculture.

A NEW IMMIGRATION ACT—PUBLIC LAW 89–236

Effective July 1, 1968, the bill repeals the national origins quota system, which has regulated only one-third of our total immigration in the last 10 years but has been harmful in the conduct of our diplomatic affairs. From December 1, 1965, until July 1, 1968, unused quota numbers will be pooled and reallocated among the countries with heavily oversubscribed registration lists. Under this procedure those intending immigrants who have already satisfied the qualitative tests for admission but whose admission has been delayed by reason of present quotas, may be admitted. Overall immigration is limited to 170,000 annually, exclusive of the Western Hemisphere, but this number includes provision for 10,200 refugees so that the net figure represents a very slight increase over the present quota of 158,561.

The system of preferences has been revised so that hereafter primary emphasis will be upon the reuniting of families. A program for conditional admission of refugees from communism and totalitarianism will be incorporated into our immigration law and the fair share law repealed. This means that hereafter selection of refugees and control of the number to be admitted will no longer be subject to an international organization. The new bill provides for a far more restrictive policy with respect to the admission of persons to enter our labor market. Under its terms, petitions must be filed by those coming for employment and, more particularly, by all immigrants from the Western Hemisphere, and the Secretary of Labor must make an affirmative determination in each individual case that the immigrant does not preempt a resident of the United States from a job opportunity or upset competitive wage scales. There are a number of other tightening-up provisions in the bill, including a requirement for a report from the President to the Congress if immigration from the Western Hemisphere should increase substantially.

In my judgment this bill, providing for a selective immigration program which places first emphasis upon the reuniting of families, the need of our country and the protection of our economy, is constructive legislation. I voted for it and supported it.

EXCISE TAX RELIEF—PUBLIC LAW 89–44

One of the more constructive actions of this session was passage of legislation to repeal or reduce most excise taxes. For years I have sought to repeal these taxes because they have been discriminatory and unfair. Most of them were enacted as special temporary wartime measures, but they lingered on for all these years. As a sponsor of bills calling for repeal, I strongly supported this legislation.

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION AND INABILITY—SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION 1

The recent, and happily successful, removal of President Johnson's gall bladder underlined the wisdom of the approval by this Congress of an amendment to our Constitution which will insure continuity should the Chief Executive be incapacitated. Before the amendment can take effect it must be ratified by 38 States. It will permit the President to nominate a Vice President, should that office become vacant, who would take office if the President's choice is approved by a majority of both Houses of Congress. In case of Presidential incapacity, the Vice President and a majority of the Cabinet could make a determination of inability. In the event of a disagreement with the President on this point, the Congress would render the final judgment. I supported this amendment.

HIGHER EDUCATION ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89–329

This bill, which I supported when it initially passed the House, as well as the final action on the House-Senate conference report authorizes a $2.6 billion program to aid State support of community service programs of colleges, grants to their libraries for training and research, acquisition of materials, and teaching fellowships and scholarships. Unfortunately, the Senate attached a Federal Teacher Corps program to this bill. Under this program, the U.S. Commissioner of Education would recruit, train, and assign teachers to teach in local school districts. The Federal Government would pay the full cost of training and salaries. I opposed this provision as it would seem there is nothing which would better promote Federal control of education than Federal subsidization of teachers' salaries. Also there was no real opportunity for House debate and consideration. The operation of the Federal Teacher Corps has been temporarily delayed because funds were denied by a joint House-Senate conference committee on appropriations. However, the administration certainly will be back requesting money for the Corps next January.

MY OWN BILLS

Among my bills I have sponsored this session have been the following: H.R. 415, to amend the Social Security Act so as to remove the amount of outside income which an individual may earn while receiving benefits; H.R. 416, to make educational benefits available to peacetime veterans; H.R. 417, to amend the Social

Security Act to make it possible for a dependent child to continue receiving benefits to age 22—included in Public Law 89–97; H.R. 420, to authorize the commissioning of male persons in the Regular Army in the Army Nurse Corps and the Army Medical Specialist Corps, and the Regular Air Force; H.R. 421, to make the fraudulent use of credit cards in interstate commerce a Federal offense; H.R. 4226, to repeal excise taxes—similar bill passed, Public Law 89–44; H.R. 7204, to guarantee the right to vote under the 15th amendment to the Constitution; H.R. 11320, to allow a credit against income tax for college tuition expense; H.R. 11320, to allow a credit against income tax to employers for the expense of providing training programs for employees and prospective employers.

CONCLUSION

These are exciting times and it is a very great privilege to serve the 22d Ohio District in the many areas of national life that grow increasingly important all the time. May I express my appreciation to each of you for the support given me during this present session of the Congress.

Peace Corps Report From Nigeria

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLAIBORNE PELL
OF RHODE ISLAND
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, all of us I know are proud and pleased with the good work being done in the far-off corners of the world by our fine young men and women in the Peace Corps. They are the true frontiersmen of our time, translating the restless zeal of their generation into positive and constructive action, at no great material gain to themselves.

As a Senator, I find that one of the most rewarding features of the Peace Corps program is the fact that we occasionally receive firsthand reports from these energetic young people. Their observations, coming as they do through fresh and idealistic eyes, are often most cogent and stimulating.

A recent letter I received from Nigeria is a good case in point. It was written by David C. Woolman, of Providence, R.I., who has been serving as a Peace Corps volunteer in a teacher-training college in northern Nigeria. His letter was most interesting, both for its details about Nigeria and for his views on the role of the Peace Corps in Africa. Under unanimous consent I place Mr. Woolman's letter in the RECORD at this point:

TEACHER TRAINING COLLEGE,
Mubi, Sardauna Province,
Nigeria, West Africa.

The HONORABLE CLAIBORNE PELL,
Senator from Rhode Island,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR PELL: I am teaching 30 hours a week in a teacher training college in northern Nigeria. This institution is chiefly concerned with preparing teachers to instruct school children at the primary level. The curriculum most nearly approximates that encountered in the fifth and sixth grades and junior high school in the United States. In teaching we emphasize instructional methods through classroom demonstration and varied presentation of content. In their final year the students do mostly observed practice teaching in local primary schools. Graduates of the training college are required to teach for 2 years in the primary schools of their particular region. It is the hope of the Government that they will continue primary school teaching as a career, for this is the most neglected area of Nigerian education. Unfortunately the monetary incentives are too meager and the urge for personal advancement too pressing to justify such a career for most Nigerians who have tasted advanced education. Nevertheless these training colleges are working directly to fill a trained-manpower shortage; as such, the concrete nature of this work is most satisfying to me.

The training college has a student body of about 200 and a staff of 10. The students come from as far away as 600 miles and reside in compounds of two-man circular thatched huts (the traditional West African architectural unit). The great distances these students have to travel are a result of the limited educational facilities of Sardauna Province which was formerly the area of German Kameroons and which, after World War I, was mandated to Britain by the League of Nations. After Nigeria's independence in 1960, the area's fate was decided by a United Nations supervised plebiscite in which the population elected to join Nigeria. This region is now Nigeria's most underdeveloped area, and, because of its lateness in appending itself to Nigeria, it has not been included in the nation's first 10-year development plan. The staff of the college consists of five Nigerians, three British expatriates and two U.S. Peace Corps volunteers.

I am teaching English, English literature, history, and physical education. There are times when the teacher learns more English than the students, and, when it comes to African history which is a totally new field for a European history major, I am keeping one lesson ahead of the class, but on the whole the work is so new and fast-breaking that it can't help but be stimulating. Upon my arrival the principal for some strange reason decided that I looked like a physical education specialist. Shrugging aside my own lacklustre efforts in track, I decided to undertake coaching the track team which faced a zonal meet in 3 weeks and was in miserable shape even to my untrained eyes. I soon rationalized that any victory would be one of spirit and not preparation, for two-thirds of the team were Moslems who were in the midst of their month of fasting or Ramadan. Allah was with us, and we took third in a field of six by edging out two Christian missionary schools. Following this my appetite for coaching was whetted; in searching for new potential I developed a junior team from the lower grades which overwhelmed strong opposition in its first dual meet. We are now busy building for next year's zonal competition. I am finding coaching to be a creative and self-sustaining activity, for in athletics the person-to-person communication and the sense of working toward and attaining concrete goals brings satisfaction which is not often possible in the classroom where the labors of teaching seem at times to take place in a vacuum.

I have always suspected and am beginning to be convinced that much of the success of an idea such as Peace Corps depends more upon the extent of relationships which the volunteer can enter into with people than upon the actual job to which he is assigned. Ideally the work should and often does lead to meaningful friendships, but often a job is pursued to the exclusion of equally vital personal circulation.

It would be naive to assume that Peace Corps is not met with mixed emotions. Part of these negative reactions may stem from the British system of expatriate settlement which still seems to govern relations between African and European in northern Nigeria. The segregating nature of this setup results in barriers which can complicate free movement in society for the non-African. These barriers are not created by the African but exist more as a feeling of estrangement, a type of conditioned separation, which has become traditional. The person who elects to go between the two societies if often met by surprise, misunderstanding, and even suspicion; this is a natural reaction of a traditional system to actions that are not within its logic. Feelings of being ill at ease or out of place are normal and must be seen as a result of one's strangeness to the situation rather than of any African inhospitality. Indeed, hospitality is probably far more deeply indigenous to African society than to our own, but the mannerisms are so different that one is not immediately aware of it. The present social caste was not an African but a European concept which was happily married to the rigid conservatism of an Islamic political state in northern Nigeria; as such any judgments about society must be made with extreme caution, for so much of the true African personality has been altered or distorted by long years of colonialism and the rapid onset of modernity.

In working side by side with expatriates, who are on contract which includes normal salary and annual leaves and who live insulated from the African community in government residential areas, the volunteer is naturally identified as just another European. Some Nigerians find the position of the volunteer difficult to understand and even suspicious by contrast to the salaried European teacher. I have talked with university educated and intellectually inclined Nigerians who resent the charity implications of Peace Corps and distrust the presence of people who, they feel, come with an avowed goal or mission. The key to these problems lies in the issues of volunteerism. These negative interpretations of Peace Corps may partially result from a misassociation of volunteers with the philosophy and practice of missionary activity which is in growing disrepute among certain classes of Nigerians; in a broader context this problem is illustrative of the dilemma of foreign aid whereby any act of giving offends the will to be self-sufficient. This noxious aspect of foreign aid is a reality which has long plagued our foreign policy, but it is disappointing to learn that it can be applied to human as well as to financial aid. Suspicion of the possible ulterior motivation of the volunteer, a logical deduction from his lack of monetary incentives, is a problem peculiar to the Peace Corps approach.

In view of our position in the world today, existence without ulterior motivation is an impossibility, for that is the essence of taking a stand as opposed to being neutral. I feel we should look to the Peace Corps to sidetrack the traditional weaknesses of our foreign aid program through the vehicle of personal friendships contracted for their own sake. The volunteer must project himself into the society within which he is working; it is a task which demands involvement rather than aloofness and puts a greater priority upon personality than upon job competence. There is nothing herculean about this task, for usually if you just go about your normal pattern of living you come upon acquaintances naturally. I can say of my own experiences thus far that there has never been a dull moment, and I find the whole thing is going by too quickly for my liking.

Sincerely,

DAVID WOOLMAN.

The Record the Administration Doesn't Talk About

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal about the accomplishments of this administration and the 89th Congress. There were many accomplishments and I was happy to do my part in writing a record which could be classified as great in the field of conservation, air and water pollution, and other areas. Yet, an honest look at the 89th Congress and the Johnson administration gives some cause for thought. I am reminded of a statement Mark Twain made at one time. He said that the Bible gave him some concern and doubts. He added that his real problem came from the fact that these doubts came from the part he understood and not from those he did not understand. When you understand what this administration is trying to accomplish with the virtual "yes, sir" approval of a rubberstamp suppliant Congress, you can well have cause for concern and doubt.

There was little real effort to get to the root of our many problems but instead this Democrat administration and Congress persist in their traditional approach of setting up bureaucratic agencies, delegating broad authority, and furnishing billions of the taxpayers' dollars. Poverty, unemployment, agriculture, and metropolitan areas are but a few of the areas of legislative concern where we see the same patchwork quilt approach which did little but add to the problem. In the case of the poverty program, for example, no area in recent years has been shown to be so poorly administered, so politically inspired, and so top heavy with bureaucracy and yet the Congress continued this travesty on commonsense and doubled the appropriation to almost $2 billion. In the area of farm legislation, no real effort was made to correct the many problems facing the farm family. Instead, the same bureaucractic approach of forcing programs on the backs of the farmers and taxpayers—programs that the farmers had rejected in their referendum—was continued. Controls have been extended in sugar and coffee legislation and the consumer and taxpayer must pay for it.

One of the prime areas where we see this administration and rubberstamp Congress turning a deaf ear is in the vital area of trade balances, foreign imports, and dumping of foreign products in the United States of America. Our distressing trade policy is a hodge-podge of inconsistencies, fumbling, and generosity which again must be paid for by the businessman, the worker, the farmer, and the taxpayer. President Johnson and his Congress act as if this is no problem and increase the quotas for the dumping of residual oil into the country, thus depriving thousands of coal miners of their jobs and bestowing an economic bonanza on foreign nations who often desert us when we fight the Communists in Vietnam or the United Nations.

All in all, the approach of this administration and Congress has been one which should cause grave concern and doubts. In the face of economic difficulties they voted to increase the national debt ceiling, spent at unprecedented levels, stretched the arm of bureaucratic control over more and more of the private and free sector of our economy, started us on the road to devaluing our currency, added tens of thousands to the Federal payroll and forwarded the concept of a socialistic federal government to answer all of mankind's ills.

A LOOK AT THE RECORDS

It is usual for the administration spokesmen to point out the record prosperity that we have with figures citing the gross national product, profits, employment, and so forth. No one would argue with the fact that many of these records do indicate unprecedented prosperity. However, there is the expedient standard utilized which points out only the good side and minimizes the other factors which should be taken into consideration. Basic to all of these considerations is the fact that this administration is hopelessly embarked on an uncharted course into fiscal irresponsibility with mounting deficits and an increased inability to constitutionally balance the Federal budget. Appropriations this year passed the $119 billion mark and in many cases multibillion dollar programs have gotten only meager appropriations now which will explode like a time bomb in mushrooming the budget in the future. Let us look at a few of the records which the Johnson administration does not care to talk about:

The national debt reached a record high, standing at $317.6 billion at the end of fiscal year 1965.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress has appropriated more money than any earlier Congress, except in time of world war. Appropriations this year total $119.3 billion, $36 billion more than the last Eisenhower Congress in 1960.

The gold holdings of the Federal Government reached a record low in August 1965 when they amounted to $13.9 billion, down $1.5 billion since the end of 1964.

The cost of living reached a record high in July 1965, when the Consumers' Price Index was 110.2—1957–59=100.

During the second quarter of 1965 total spending by the Federal Government reached a record high except in time of world war, rising to $120.8 billion at an annual rate.

The wholesale price index hit a record high in September 1965, rising to 103.7—1957–59=100—3 percent above the level of December 1964.

Consumer debt reached a record high in July of 1965 at a level of almost $81 billion.

Nonfarm mortgage debt stands at a record high, in excess of $200 billion.

Nonfarm mortgage foreclosures at more than 108,000 homes in 1964 were at a record high since 1938. Nineteen hundred and sixty-five foreclosures are higher. The second quarter of 1965 was 6 percent above the second quarter of 1964.

Strikes in August 1965 idled 220,000 workers who lost 2.3 million man-days of employment, the highest record since 1959.

Crime keeps setting new records, rising 5 percent above the 1964 rate for the first half of 1965. In 1964 serious crimes were 13 percent higher than 1963. Since 1958 serious crime has increased 6 times as fast as the growth of population.

Farm debt, up nearly 50 percent since 1961, stands at a record high. Expenditures of the Department of Agriculture are at a record high. The number of employees of the Department is at a record high.

Public assistance payments by Government reached an all-time high of $5.1 billion in 1964.

Columnist David Lawrence hit the nail on the head in his recent column when he wrote:

> It's natural for an administration which has behind it a rubberstamp Congress to try to brainwash the public by boasting about the quantity of bills passed. But it's not the quantity of laws enacted or the vast amounts of taxpayers' money spent that counts—it's the quality of the legislation and what the American people will get in return. The principal fault of the Congress which has just completed its first session was the indifference shown to waste and to the need for safeguarding the people's interest against political corruption.

Mr. Lawrence went on to point out that one of the persistent mistakes of the 89th Congres was to hastily enact programs in the field of welfare—medicare, poverty, education—and choose the wrong way rather than the right way to solve the problem. As he put it:

> Haste is too often rationalized as at least getting a start on reforms which, it is argued, have too long been neglected.

This is the usual liberal argument that the ends justify the means and pork barrel tactics pour so much money out that the shortcomings of the program are not seen right away. Take medicare for example. A course was chosen which will bring compulsory medical control and will foster dependency rather than encourage self-reliance. I was one of those who advocated programs which would be far more successful and comprehensive while at the same time avoiding big government and the socialistic concept of dependency. By simply spending billions of dollars, however, some good will result and the flaws will not be seen until we are well down the road that the Federal bureaucrats are taking us.

A DO-NOTHING CONGRESS?

Mr. Lawrence went on to sum up this Congress by saying it might just as aptly be called a do-nothing Congress as those generous descriptions affixed by the advocates of big government and deficit spending. Some of the areas where the Congress failed are:

Congress did nothing to curb or stop the rise of serious crime in America.

Congress did nothing to stop the irresponsible spending of billions of dollars of taxpayers' money as the purchasing power of the dollar steadily weakened.

Congress did nothing to halt the reckless misuse of union power in the industrial field.

Congress did nothing to stop the use of the strike weapon as a means of demoralizing an industry, forcing higher prices and causing the shutdown of factories and plants because of artificially imposed costs by labor organizations.

Congress did nothing to protect the rights of companies in the free-enterprise system to carry out management functions. It permitted instead the use of boycotts and picket lines to paralyze many a business which did not conform to union demands.

Congress did nothing to curtail the abuses that are going on abroad in the foreign aid program.

Congress did nothing about trading with the enemy. Although Congress has the power to make war in Vietnam, it did not insist that all countries aiding the Communists in southeast Asia should not be given the benefits of world trade.

Congress did nothing to prevent injustices against public school systems which are punished because they do not obey arbitrarily phrased edicts of the Federal Government.

Congress did nothing to straighten out the long-overdue overlapping in tax systems between the Federal and local governments.

Congress, although it investigated the Ku Klux Klan, did nothing about investigating the activities on the campuses of many colleges and universities where Communist subversion has appeared in incipient stages.

Congress did nothing about a code of ethics that should govern all Federal employees.

Congress did nothing to curb the power of labor unions to stop American ships from going to foreign countries, to halt railroad trains and to paralyze the operations of our major industries.

I might add that the Congress did nothing to aid wheat farmers in Ohio who are still unjustly treated by lumping our Soft Red Winter wheat in with the quotas of Western wheat. Our wheat is not and has not been in surplus, but the Department of Agriculture continues the arbitrary controls which adversely affect our farmers.

Congress did nothing about Communist Cuba which is a threat to the Western Hemisphere. Despite all evidence to the contrary, this administration insists that Cuba is not a base for subversion.

Congress and the administration did nothing about establishing a freedom academy to direct our efforts toward developing effective world leadership to challenge Communist political and ideological advances throughout the world.

The Congress did not take action on an issue which evinced tremendous public interest this year; namely, apportionment. As of early November of this year 30 State legislatures had requested a constitutional amendment to reverse the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision requiring both houses of a State legislature to be apportioned by population only. In contrast, not one entire legislature of any State approved the Supreme Court's ruling, with one house only in both the Illinois and New York Legislatures in agreement with the Supreme Court. In the face of such public interest in this issue, pressure maneuvers from the White House were curiously missing.

States such as my own State of Ohio have been forced to reapportion because of a failure to act on Republican proposals such as the Dirksen amendment. I sponsored such a proposal. The Democrat platforms at the national level and in Ohio expressed their support of the Supreme Court decision, and thus many counties in my State will lose their own representative because of this failure to act and restore to States their constitutional right to determine the composition of their own legislative bodies.

Congress failed to act on legislation which would have removed the cloud which currently hangs over the entire matter of prayer in public schools. It can readily be seen that we failed to act in about as many areas as we acted. This was due in large part to reverse arm twisting. Not only is this accomplished to achieve the passage of desired legislation, it is also used to block reforms which are badly needed but are not desired by the White House.

This administration has not satisfied school officials that national legislation affecting primary and secondary schools will not increase Federal jurisdiction over local schools. Dr. William Elena, associate secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, who has talked to at least 5,000 school superintendents in the past 4 months, described their reaction to the new law as "troubled and uncertain." According to Dr. Elena some school administrators seeking information at the U.S. Office of Education here in Washington "have been treated very shabbily," and the new people at USOE delegated to write the new rules and regulations are "people who have never had a day's experience in school administration." In addition, Dr. Elena stated the school administrators are concerned lest Federal funds for textbooks and library materials, provided in the new law, lead to federally dictated content.

ATTITUDE IS EXAMINED

Yes, you can readily see that there is another side to the story. As much as anything else, the attitude of our leaders is one which should cause concern. Constitutional checks and balances are scoffed at and this administration believes that it has a mandate to rewrite any of our basic concepts that it chooses. U.S. Commissioner of Education Francis Keppel has embarked on a massive Federal control of education and has asserted that education is too important to leave to the educators or local boards of education. Probably the best indication of this attitude was the announcement by President Johnson at the end of the session that he didn't like a law passed by the Congress and although he signed it he would not observe it. We passed a bill authorizing $2 billion for public works projects but stipulated that no money should be used to construct, operate, or maintain future water-resource projects costing under $10 million without specific approval of the Public Works Committees in the House and the Senate. Most leaders would have said they wanted it changed by the next Congress or request a court test. Mr. Johnson simply said he would pay no attention to it.

If this was the attitude of the Executive, the attitude of the Congress was one of subservience to the President. From the first major issue in January when the Congress retreated from its position of cutting off aid to Nasser after Presidential arm twisting to one of the last measures in the session when we junked comparability for Federal employee compensation after White House pressure, the story was the same. What Lyndon wanted, Lyndon got. Public opinion was against the repeal of 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley law but it was rammed through the House of Representatives anyway. Only the unlimited debate rules in the Senate have staved off this payoff to the labor bosses who played such an important part in the election of the rubberstamp Congress in 1964. A Representative is supposed to have as his first interest, the public interest and that of his own constituency in particular. This is an outmoded concept in the Great Society where the first interest is to "Amen" every Presidential request.

This attitude which has developed is a serious one. Politics is treated not as a vehicle for public service or statesmanship but as a mechanism to gain power. When power is achieved, the public interest counts for naught. Cronyism is the first rule—reward your own. We saw this attitude very clearly in the appointment of Abe Fortas to the Supreme Court. Mr. Fortas was known in Washington not for his legal ability but as the President's fixer. Francis X. Morrissey was nominated for one of the most important positions which can be bestowed on a citizen, that of Federal district judge. The judiciary committee of the American Bar Association described Morrissey's fitness for the office as the "worst qualified judicial candidate" it had ever encountered. He had little to offer except the devotion of a political hack to his sponsors. This was one of the most brazen efforts to cram a political appointee down the throats of the American people that has ever been witnessed.

INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS SCOFFED

The attitude of big, benevolent government has its other side, too. The people's individual rights count for less all of the time. We see the Post Office Department using mail cover to open first-class mail and inspect its contents; wiretapping and even eavesdropping on the privileged conversations between a lawyer and his client; polygraph tests administered to applicants for Federal positions; brainpicking tests which are given without parental consent to our schoolchildren under Federal directive. All of these encroachments are the inevitable consequence of power hungry bureaucrats and a Federal Government which now believes it is the master and not the servant of the people. Congress did little to challenge these intrusions into individual privacy and right.

Secretary McNamara continued his heavyhanded treatment of National Guard and Reserve units. His policies brought the resignation of two of our most outstanding admirals, William A. Brockett and Charles A. Curtze, who opposed his arbitrary policies. The morale in the services has come to the worst stage that military men can remember in the history of the 20th century. Rubberstamp Congressmen are easier to find than rubberstamp admirals and generals, and we see a struggle in the Defense Department which jeopardizes our national preparedness.

Yes, this Congress had some noteworthy accomplishments. We should be thankful for these. At the same time it embarked on the uncharted course of increased reliance on deficit spending, cheapened currency and more bureaucracy. As usual the liberal Democrats place an overreliance on Federal controls and overspending. It should be our goal to think more about the future of our Nation than the next election. Spending and giveaway programs have wide public appeal and there is little glamor in working to preserve our constitutional system and achieve fiscal sanity. Again, David Lawrence puts the question well. He noted:

Congress must go before the people again in just a year. Will the American people be sufficiently informed by that time to repudiate those Members of the National Legislature who have been profligate with the people's money? That's the billion-dollar question.

The outcome of this election, Mr. Speaker, is far more than a billion-dollar question. The outcome is the future of this country and whether we will have checks and balances, our free enterprise system and a limited government responsive to the needs of the people. Clearly, we need to examine what we are doing and where we are heading.

Job Corps Graduates Are Offered Opportunity for Executive Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of Cosme Arriola, of San Antonio, Tex., and Lawrence Harkless, of Port Arthur, Tex.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the Management and Engineering Services Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source."

It should be remembered that the Job Corps is under the Office of Economic Opportunity and is part of the war on poverty of President Lyndon B. Johnson.

It is a success story. We see some stories in the newspapers about problems at Job Corps camps, but it should be remembered that these are the exception rather than the rule. The real story of the Job Corps is a success story.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place the article from the September 26, 1965, Washington, D.C., Sunday Star at this point in the RECORD:

[From the Sunday Star]

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neil Leroy Costley, 18, of Baltimore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21 of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talent, self-confidence and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EXECUTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the Management and Engineering Service Division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand, and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plush Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years, but we're in no hurry."

The trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour during a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the district, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He is general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball then I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quit school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph. D. from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and 8 who are attending college on scholarship, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior drafstman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Ala., where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bullheaded. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the 9th grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Treatment Afforded Edward Partin by Justice Department

SPEECH
OF
HON. FRANK T. BOW
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, I have read with interest and concern the statement

of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY] concerning the treatment afforded Edward Grady Partin by the Justice Department in connection with Partin's testimony against James Hoffa.

The statements are shocking and I agree that the Congress should investigate the matter thoroughly. Public confidence in the administration of justice in this country will be seriously undermined if we fail to do so.

The Great Aluminum Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JACK R. MILLER
OF IOWA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, a recent lead editorial in the Wall Street Journal makes some perceptive and timely comments on the current proposed increase in prices of some aluminum products. I believe it merits the attention of the readers of the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that it be printed.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GREAT ALUMINUM CRISIS

If President Johnson was, as reported, "sputtering mad" when he learned of the aluminum price increases, he had every right to feel that way and say so. It is another matter, however, for the Government to use one of its heaviest bludgeons in an attempt to compel a rollback.

The club in this case is the Government's stockpile of strategic materials, including aluminum; by dumping large quantities of the commodity the officials can glut the market and hope to bring about price reductions. After a Washington meeting yesterday, attended by three Cabinet officers and others, a spokesman said the session was concerned with attempts to reduce stockpiled aluminum as an alternative to bigger imports. While he declined to disclose whether price increases were discussed, the Government has nonetheless shown the aluminum industry, like others before it, that it has powerful weapons for getting recision of price rises.

There are several things wrong, we suggest, with the administration's approach to the aluminum "crisis."

It may be asked in the first place whether the increases justify all the commotion. A few companies announced boosts of half a cent a pound on primary or fabricated products or both. Yet the new ingot price would still be a full cent below that prevailing in 1961, which doesn't make the companies' current action sound especially extreme.

Moreover, the industry's condition has been described as one of profitless prosperity because of overcapacity and pricecutting over the years. Besides competition within the industry, aluminum most compete with other products like steel and copper; incidentally or not, copper prices have recently been edging up. One aluminum executive says increases are needed to improve the return of the heavy investment required in the industry.

In any event, the next question concerns the appropriateness of using the stockpile for punishing private business. Certainly it was not intended for that purpose but rather to provide a store of strategic materials the Nation might need in time of war.

Inevitably the stockpile (there are actually more than one, governed by differing and confusing sets of rules) has become something of a political plaything over the years; additions and disposals become matters of intense concern not only to industry but to politicians from affected States. But the fact that original purposes have been to some degree lost sight of hardly justifies going further and considering turning the stockpile into an instrument of coercion.

Equally disquieting, it seems to us, is that the aluminum confrontation hints again of the Government's penchant for fixing prices one way or another. For industry in general it has set up the so-called noninflationary wage and price guideposts which, effective or not, are symptomatic of a control mentality. More and more it also puts the heat on specific industries; one day steel, another day autos, now perhaps aluminum.

The question, then, is where the meddling is to stop. Is the Nation heading step by step to outright controls? It ought to be manifest by now that an economy subject to direct or indirect price-setting by the authorities is not only less than entirely free but prone to rigidity—unable to respond as it should to changing market forces.

The Government does indeed have a legitimate interest in a trend of rising prices, and enough increases are taking place to cause plenty of worry in Washington. Unfortunately the officials refuse to acknowledge that the trend is in part a consequence of their own years-long inflationary policies. Worse, at a time when evidence of shortages of efficient plant and skilled labor is accumulating, they persist in pursuing policies of expansion, which too often in Federal parlance is just a euphemism for inflation.

For our part we don't like rising prices any better than the Government or the housewife does; still less do we like the underlying inflation of the money supply with its potential for economic trouble. It would be a healthy change if the Government ever conceded the connection between the two instead of spending so much thought on ways to chastise private industry.

Veterans' Day in Gary, Ind.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RAY J. MADDEN
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the following Veterans' Day speech to be delivered by Mr. Harold Moody, principal of the Hobart Senior High School in Hobart, Ind., at a dinner sponsored by the Gary Exchange Club to be held in the Gary Hotel on Veterans' Day.

I expect to be in attendance and participate in the ceremonies honoring our war dead on this national holiday.

The speech follows:

ADDRESS BY MR. HAROLD MOODY

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, gentlemen of the Gary Exchange Club, thank you for your applause. It reminds me of the three meaningful words: faith, hope, and charity. Many speakers consider applause at the outset to be an expression of faith, applause during the course of a speech to be an expression of hope, and applause at the conclusion of a speech to be purely an act of charity.

But regardless, I am glad to be here. I will talk for just a few moments on the subject of Americanism, about which Gary has expressed itself so wonderfully this morning with its parade and ceremonies.

It would have been better, I know, had you selected Hon. Judge Richard Kaplan, a tremendous speaker and worker for Americanism, to have been your speaker. Mr. Kaplan, in my opinion, is one of Gary's finest citizens and your choice of him for the Americanism Award several years ago was a perfect choice.

Unfortunately the expression "ism" connotes something unpleasant in this day and time. Communism, extremism, nazism, fascism, socialism—all are words which usually mean something anti-American, something repugnant to our standards and our beliefs and our traditions. Regrettably this connotation has wrongfully extended itself in the minds of some people to include such words as capitalism, patriotism, and Americanism. Some people, hearing the term "ism" attached to a word, automatically and thoughtlessly brand some fine American traditions and beliefs as wrong, outdated, or insignificant. That is why, I am sure, that many outward manifestations of patriotism are stymied or ignored in the era in which we now live.

Capitalism, to me, means the economic system of freedom of enterprise, the system responsible for all the greatness of our wealth and economic blessings. We need not be ashamed of this, especially when we realize that since World War II we have shared over $100 billion of goods, money, and supplies with other nations throughout the world. No country in the whole history of mankind has even approached the enormous economic growth and prosperity possessed by the United States of America.

Capitalism gives, simply, the right of free men to buy and sell and to realize a reasonable profit therefrom. Capitalism gives, furthermore, the right to choose one's job if he feels capable. Capitalism gives the liberty to quit a job if one feels so inclined. Capitalism embraces the teamwork of employer and employee in the production and distribution of goods. Capitalism gives the right to expand, to invest, to grow, to develop without interference or harassment unjustifiably. Capitalism feeds the mouths of the hungry throughout the world. Capitalism means America, as she has been and as she is: the world's most free country. Not perfect, mind you, but the best yet on this globe, past or present.

Patriotism and Americanism are words which, to me, means the same: love and respect for one's own country. I love America. I love her for many reasons. I love America because I may speak freely. I love America because I may write freely. I love America because I may seek whatever job I wish. I love this country because I may choose my companions, my neighbors, my friends, my associates. I love this land because I may drive whatever I can afford. I love America because I may sleep as late as I choose on Saturday morning. I love America because I may purchase a color television set if I can pay for it, and if I cannot pay for it, I have the right to work until I can. I love this wonderful Nation because I may shop in any store anywhere. I love her because I may move about without harassment. I may leave Indiana and go into Illinois or Kentucky, or Ohio or Michigan—or into any other of the States—and no one will stop me and ask questions. I love America because I may march in a parade, or I may not march in a parade. I love America because I have no fear of officials entering my home without my permission. I love America because I may go to church, any church, on Sunday

morning, or I may remain away if I choose. I love our Nation because I may criticize or praise my neighbor, my employer, my mayor, my minister, my club president, my Governor, my Congressman, my President without fear.

These are but a tiny part of the many freedoms which I have because I was blessed by being born an American.

Not all Americans have these freedoms to the same degree. That is not good. But America is moving ahead to the time when everyone will have equal liberties and equal opportunities. But even so, more freedoms exist in the United States of America for more people than in any land elsewhere in the knowledge of mankind. Let us never forget that. Let us not take that lightly.

For the wonderful opportunities and blessings America gives to me, I owe her certain responsibilities and loyalties.

I feel I should say the Pledge of Allegiance, not because I have to, but because I want to. I would feel myself to be an ingrate otherwise.

I feel I should be willing to express my loyalty, not because I have to, but because it would be a pleasure and an expression of my love for my America.

I feel I should support my country in South Vietnam because to do otherwise would give solace and comfort to an enemy who has long avowed that it is really you and me whom he seeks to dominate or destroy.

I feel I should support my Government's foreign policy because it is fighting for the cause of freedom, and if any country falls to slavery, we ourselves become a bit less free than before.

I feel I should salute the flag because I am in truth saying a prayer for and a word of gratitude to the hundreds of thousands who have died for that flag, from Yorktown to Saigon, in order that it could yet unfurl over this wonderful land of liberty.

I feel I should speak out freely and without restraint in defense of our Nation and our heritages because if all citizens remain mute, our Nation might succumb in silent apathy.

I feel I should obey the laws of our land—laws of our cities, our States, and our Nation—because to do less is to invite the seeds of anarchy, disaster, and eventual destruction.

America the beautiful, so she is. Let us remember that, always. Let us never sell her short. Let us never degrade her. Let us never hishonor her. She may not be perfect, but she is mighty fine, and no one in his right mind can truthfully deny that fact. Certainly the thousands who seek to flee from Cuba to America will testify to the wonders of this great land which is ours. Certainly the thousands who flee via Hong Kong from Red China can testify to that fact. Certainly the thousands who have escaped or attempted to escape via the ugly wall in Berlin can give proof to what we say.

The last line of the National Anthem says:

"Oh say does that Star Spangled Banner yet wave,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?"

As I have often noted to audiences, that line is in the form of a question. Does the flag still wave over a land of free and brave people?

I believe it does. I believe it will for a long, long time. This is in spite of pacifists, card burners, beatniks, fellow travelers, yellow travelers, and demented persons who fail to see the goodness and beauty of America and who fail to understand that freedom is the greatest gift which civilized man can inherit.

We who love America are in the vast majority, and we will see to it.

Address by Senator Hartke

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, when the Congress enacts broad legislation for the benefit of the country as a whole, the laws often bear heavily on individuals and small segments of society.

One of the most important tasks of a legislator, therefore, is to foresee the impact of proposed legislation on all groups of society—and guard against inequities and severe disruptions.

One of the leading Members of Congress in this respect has long been the distinguished Senator from Indiana [Mr. HARTKE]. The Senator recently gave another indication of his concern in this area in a speech to the Associated Third Class Mail Users, dealing with the impact of mandatory adoption of ZIP code numbers at an early date. Because I feel that the issues he raised are worthy of careful consideration, I ask unanimous consent that his speech be reprinted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR VANCE HARTKE, INDIANA ASSOCIATED THIRD CLASS MAIL USERS

Ladies and gentlemen, I come to you as a member of the Senate Committee on Commerce, the Senate Finance Committee, and a relative newcomer to the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

It would be easier for me to talk with you about the International Monetary Fund, the balance-of-payments question, or free trade and the Kennedy round.

Among my major concerns today is the runaway importation of foreign steel which threatens American jobs and corporate profitability. Another is a special agreement negotiated by the State Department with Canada which could undermine U.S. employment with a part of the auto industry moving to Canada.

But I don't suppose this would interest you, except in the very real possibility that a segment of the population would lose purchasing power. We are now in the 56th consecutive month of an unprecedented economic upturn. The continued growth of business generated by direct mail and specifically by third class mail users depends upon consumer disposable income.

Your business growth also depends upon a cooperative postal system, and I intend to address myself to postal matters today.

First, I would like to add my greetings to those of mailers everywhere in welcoming my great and good friend, Lawrence F. O'Brien to the Office of Postmaster General. I know that he will receive your cooperation as he will mine in the very difficult and demanding management job facing him. He succeeds two very able and dedicated Postmaster Generals, each of whom contributed much in bringing the postal establishment into position where it can cope with today's astronomical mail volume and still remain within cost guidelines.

Nevertheless, there are some questions I should like to introduce today in our discussion of the relationship of a cooperative mail service with business mailers.

I believe that the business mail industry is an essential cog in the economic machinery of our Nation. Your industry has played a significant role in stimulating the flow of consumer capital throughout the bloodstream of our economy.

I am convinced that an industry generating a quarter of all U.S. mail is a vital part of this monetary transfusion process.

It is estimated by the Department of Commerce that this industry generates more than $30 billion a year in the sale of goods and services. That's a noteworthy contribution to a rising gross national product.

Back in 1959 and 1960, I twice addressed the Brookings Institution on the proposition that a general tax cut would stimulate business and jobs, and results in greater rather than less Federal tax revenues. The favorable results of the 1964 tax cut proved me correct in this hypothesis.

When I introduced no fewer than three bills to end excise taxes, this also was on the assumption that new money would enter the economic bloodstream. It has.

This is why I cannot now believe in the broad-brush approach to postage rates expressed in the special panel report. Should business users of the mails be charged with rate increases to absorb the many nonmail functions of the post office? I think not, unless we are deliberately attempting to slow down business generated by mail.

Should special rates for nonprofit organizations be abolished?

Why? As an attorney, I'm pretty good at asking why. My colleagues know me as probusiness. Mail users will find me consistently in favor of removing rather than creating obstacles to business expansion.

I believe that the policy making authority for the postal service should remain where the Constitution places it—in the the Congress of the United States.

I believe that the Congress is interested in improving and extending mail services so that it shall produce the maximum benefits for the maximum number of our citizens, at prices they can afford to pay.

I believe absolutely in the congressional philosophy. I feel the benefits of the postal service should be physical and financially available to the most humble and the most distant of our citizens.

I also believe that the so-called postal deficit establishes misleading guidelines when it is used as a means of service curtailment. I feel the Postal Policy Act of 1958 should be broadened in scope and brought up to date. I also feel that the so-called income gap—the difference between revenues and expenditures—which the Post Office Department sustains each year is an investment in the prosperity of the Nation, in the social well-being of the populace, in the education and cultural development of the people, and it pays enormous dividends in human happiness, human welfare, human security.

I believe that reasonably low rates for books and similar materials have been a major factor in the creation of the tremendous culture explosion that has swept the Nation in recent years.

I go further than this. Now that the phonograph recording companies have developed the long-playing, unbreakable, high-fidelity records—phonograph records are just as important, in their way, to the cultural well_being of the Nation as are books. They should receive the same intelligent treatment by the Post Office Department.

You may not realize it, but my State of Indiana is one of the major centers in the world for the production of phonograph records. There are some 6,000 Hoosiers permanently employed in this industry. One Indiana firm mails some 2 million a month. I am not only proud of that fact, but I intend to do everything in my power to protect the jobs of these people.

From a cultural point of view, let's consider this for a moment: what would a serious student of the drama or of English literature give to hear David Garrick, let us say, playing Hamlet? Or to hear Mozart playing his own compositions on the harpsichord? Or to hear Shakespeare read his own sonnets? Or to hear Charles Dickens read from his novels? The boom would be beyond all price.

Unfortunately, we shall never be able, this side of eternity, to hear such marvels. But all future generations from now until the crack of doom will be able to hear the greatest writers of our own time read from their writings—and they will also be able to listen to the greatest actors and actresses of our age interpret the world's greatest dramatic works, and hear the greatest musicians of our day perform, and be able to compare the standards of our day with the standards of their day. The phonograph recording industry is not only contributing mightily to the cultural explosion of today—it is making an enormous contribution to the cultural life of countless generations to come.

And now I would like to question Post Office Department wisdom in another area—that of mandatory compliance with ZIP code requirements by January 1, 1967.

Again, I shall ask "why?"

There are some 300,000 third_class permit holders in this country. As people move and addresses change, some 20 to 25 percent of their lists have to be updated annually in any event. It seems to me that it would be a much more orderly process—and considerably less expensive to business mailers in all classifications—to accomplish the transfer to ZIP code in the 4 or 5 years of normal list updating.

I question the wisdom of the postal administration in setting the January 1, 1967, from another standpoint. Computerized major mailers have already incurred substantial costs in coding their lists. Thousands of smaller mailers are striving to catch up. And the post office is still tinkering with and rearranging the numbers in multicoded cities.

Again, why? If it has become necessary to announce that extensions will be granted, why the haste of the original order?

I shall be asking a lot of such questions in my service on the Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

Perhaps the Third Class Mailers can help us find the right answers. Your comments will always be welcome to me. Thank you.

The Edward Partin Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, on the eve of adjournment of the 1st session of the 89th Congress, one of my esteemed colleagues, the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. GRAY], brought a very serious matter to the attention of the House.

This pertained to the protective cloak in which the Department of Justice has wrapped Edward Grady Partin, a self-confessed informer who was faced with three lifetime jail sentences at the time he volunteered to help the Department of Justice "get" the president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The information we have been given leaves little doubt that the Justice Department, in its drive to nail Mr. Hoffa, is sacrificing the public interest by supporting and defending its anti-Hoffa witness, Edward Partin. In return for the extensive testimony furnished by Partin, it appears the Department is shielding him and absolving him of his wrongdoings. Are we to infer from this that a criminal can avoid prosecution by turning himself in as a Government witness?

Mr. Speaker, the questions raised in connection with the handling of the Partin matter are very serious indeed, and immediate action should be taken by the responsible congressional committee to investigate the charges of favoritism and privileged treatment by the Justice Department in cases of criminal offenders who are under indictment.

The guilt or innocence of Mr. Hoffa, on the various charges of wrongdoing, is not for me to judge. But if he is found guilty of wrongdoing, he should not be exonerated. Why, then, should a witness who has been under indictment on 26 counts of violation of the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act, be exonerated? Why should the taxpayers foot the bill for the expense of U.S. marshals who must constantly attend Edward Partin while he is free to carry on his private and perhaps questionable pursuits in Alabama? Does Partin's role as an informant and anti-Hoffa witness absolve his crimes? Apparently, the Justice Department thinks so, and it is time the Congress probed into the policies and procedures of the Department in these matters.

Thanksgiving Day Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, each Thanksgiving Day seems to me to bring a more acute awareness of the great gifts bestowed upon us as Americans.

This year, as we express our gratitude and devotion to the Lord for His special blessing on this bountiful land, we rededicate the strength of our bodies, hearts, and souls to the fulfillment of the purpose of America, and we seek His great wisdom and continued guidance in pursuing this course in the future.

As this very important day approaches, I ask unanimous consent to include the words of the Governor of Connecticut, the Honorable John Dempsey, formally proclaiming November 25, 1965, as a day of public thanksgiving.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION BY HIS EXCELLENCY JOHN DEMPSEY, GOVERNOR, STATE OF CONNECTICUT

"Gratitude" has been appropriately defined as the homage of the heart rendered to God for His goodness. An attribute of men of good will, it has inspired the tradition of observing in our land an annual day of thanksgiving.

The autumn season invariably brings to mind thoughts of the initial observance of a formal thanksgiving by the Pilgrim fathers who, as we know, reverently acknowledged their dependence upon the Creator, sought His guidance for the future and humbly offered prayers in gratitude for a harvest barely sufficient to sustain them in a new and strange country.

We, too, must be mindful of the [illegible] source of our many blessings and voice our thanks to almighty God who has seen us through another year.

In accordance, therefore, with the statutes of Connecticut, and with longstanding custom in our State, I designate Thursday, November 25, 1965, as a day of public thanksgiving.

Let us, on this day, in private meditation, and in gatherings in our homes and places of worship, render due homage to our Creator. Let us thank Him for the abundance that is ours and for the privilege of living in a free, and strong, and prosperous nation.

Let us also, as we offer our prayers of thanksgiving, give thought to the needs of others in lands overseas and resolve to do our part to support the charitable efforts of the Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, and Orthodox denominations who seek to relieve this great want and suffering.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By His Excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

Pittsfield (Mass.) to Pittsfield (Ohio)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, too often we hear of man's inhumanity to man, too often we hear of man's selfishness, too often we hear of man's lack of concern for others. I am proud today to tell this great body of a man who cares for more than just himself, but who worked many hours so that others might be able to return to normalcy after a catastrophe.

The incident began early on the morning of Palm Sunday when a tornado cut through Lorain County in Ohio leaving 18 persons dead and 141 injured. In the small town of Pittsfield, Ohio, the twister caused the death of 8 persons and injured 82 while it was leveling the town.

Settlers of this small town originally came from Pittsfield, Mass., my hometown, Mr. Speaker. After discovering this fact through some research, Edward L. Dobbins, a counselor at law, and also a member of the Pittsfield (Mass.) City Council, decided on a Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield fundraising drive to assist the rural Ohio town in rebuilding.

With the assistance of the Berkshire (Mass.) Eagle which worked with the Chronicle-Telegram in Elyria, Ohio, Mr. Dobbins raised a substantial sum to aid in the rebuilding. In addition, the Pittsfield Council of Churches gave additional funds to help in the rebuilding of a church in Pittsfield, Ohio, which will serve the congregations formerly served

by two churches—a Methodist and a Congregational.

Mr. Dobbins is to be commended, as is his wife, for originating this worthwhile project and for contributing the time and energy necessary to make it a success. The people of the city of Pittsfield and the Berkshire Eagle are to be commended for supporting this project.

I now insert an article which appeared in the Berkshire Eagle telling of the Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield project:

(By Thomas O. Morton)

A suggestion that Pittsfield, Mass., come to the aid of the residents of the town of Pittsfield, Ohio, was advanced today by Edward L. Dobbins.

The small Ohio community was leveled by a tornado early Palm Sunday morning. All 12 homes and the 2 churches in the town were destroyed, and 9 of the town's 50 residents were killed.

Mr. Dobbins, a member of the Pittsfield City Council, made the suggestion for a Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield aid project after he learned that the Ohio community was founded by Milton Whitney, who was born here and migrated to Ohio in the early 1800's. The first settlers were all New Englanders.

HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY

"I think a lot of people will agree that we present residents of Pittsfield, Mass., have a historical responsibility to these people who have ties to us through the years," Mr. Dobbins said.

Mr. Dobbins plans no formal fund drive. To enable people to contribute he has arranged for the Pittsfield National Bank to serve as a depository for contributions.

He said checks should be made out to "Pittsfield, Ohio, Fund." They should be sent to Warren Clark, trust officer, Pittsfield National Bank.

The first contribution already has been pledged and will come from Mrs. Linwood E. Gregory of Glens Falls, N.Y. Mrs. Gregory, the former Virginia Whitney, is a distant relative of the founder of Pittsfield, Ohio. She is the daughter of Mrs. Laurence H. Whitney of 30 East Housatonic Street.

NEWSPAPERS TO HELP

The Chronicle-Telegram of Elyria, Ohio, which is 10 miles north of Pittsfield, will accept the funds and hold them for use in a community project in the rebuilding of the town.

Everett C. Whitham of the Elyria newspaper staff said construction of a united church may be the most important community project in the rebuilding.

Before the tornado there were two churches in the town. The Methodist and Congregational churches were situated on opposite sides of the crossroads around which the 12 houses are clustered.

The first community event after the Palm Sunday tornado was a combined Easter service in a "borrowed" church in a nearby community. According to the township history, the Methodist Church was formed in 1824 and the Congregational Church in 1836.

The Ohio town was settled in 1812. Although Milton Whitney is listed as the founder, he did not move there permanently until 1830, according to a family history kept by Mrs. Gregory.

One of the Pittsfield, Ohio, residents who escaped injury in the tornado was Harold T. Brandt, who, according to the Elyria paper, says he is a great-great grandson of Whitney.

Mr. Brandt expressed confidence that each of the 12 families who lost their homes in the tornado will rebuild in Pittsfield. Some already have started. Others are still recovering from injuries they suffered in the storm.

Among those killed in the tornado was the Reverend R. J. Gay, pastor of the Congregational Church.

The lay pastor of the Methodist Church, Frank N. Everard, lives in nearby Sheffield Lake, was not injured in the tornado. It was he who preached at the combined service.

A FAMILY IDEA

Mr. Dobbins said the idea of the Pittsfield-to-Pittsfield aid project came out of a discussion he and his wife were having after they first heard of the plight of the Ohio community. Mrs. Dobbins, a native of England, was a Red Cross staff worker in World War II and presently is a volunteer leader in the Berkshire County chapter.

"We just felt that here is a chance for us and anyone else who feels this way to have a personal reason for giving," Mr. Dobbins said. "We don't know these people personally, but we have common roots in history."

The family history kept by Mrs. Gregory shows that Milton Whitney was born in Pittsfield, Mass., April 7, 1786, and died in Pittsfield, Ohio, Sept. 4, 1839.

That was the year, according to Mrs. Gregory's sources, that the Ohio, town was formally named Pittsfield. Her family records show that one Col. Asa Watrous Whitney, oldest of Milton's eight children, officiated at the naming.

Mr. Brandt says, according to the Elyria paper, his records indicate that the early citizens of the Ohio hamlet for some time couldn't decide whether to call their town Pittsfield or Whitneyville. The question was decided by vote.

Mr. Brandt expressed confidence that all of the families who lived in Pittsfield before the tornado will return and rebuild.

"It's the spirit of Pittsfield that will keep them from being defeated," Mr. Brandt declared.

"Such spirit should be helped," Mr. Dobbins said.

He asked that Pittsfield churches, civic, and social organizations, as well as individuals, consider giving to the Pittsfield, Ohio, fund.

Bombs as Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many Americans have been disturbed by some of our military tactics in Vietnam. They feel that bombing Vietnamese villages, with the attendant loss of civilian lives, not only has grave moral implications, but is also detrimental to our simple objective of winning the war.

Dr. Maurice Visscher, of the University of Minnesota, has expressed his concern about the Vietnam situation in the May–June, 1965, issue of the Humanist. He has written a thoughtful article, and I wish to place an excerpt from it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

BOMBS AS POLICY

(Excerpt from article written by Dr. Maurice Visscher, University of Minnesota)

As I write this, our Government is bombing cities and killing civilians. We claim that we are doing it to impress North Vietnam and China with the need for them to stop aiding and abetting the Vietcong's attempt to control South Vietnam. What level of understanding of human nature exists in the councils of the U.S. Government which are responsible for these policies? The Western Powers and Russia used conventional TNT bombs through 4 years of World War II and never broke the morale of the Italian or German people. We had to invade and conquer. The London blitz not only did not weaken British morale but to the contrary it undoubedtly strengthened it, because the British could see that their adversaries were willing to use the most brutal methods to achieve their ends. Until atom bombs were used on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the Japanese did not sue for peace although with conventional bombs we had killed hundreds of thousands of their civilians and disrupted their civilian economy. As to their military situation, our blockade, which shut off oil and other necessities, apparently did more to weaken them than did our bombs.

Conventional bombing influenced the outcome of World War II, to be sure, but did not by itself determine it. One thing it surely did on both sides was to stir up hatred for the enemy. The Dutch and the British will never forget or forgive the gutting of their cities. What reason do we have to think that U.S. bombing of cities in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, or Laos will not simply strengthen the belief of those people and hundreds of millions more in China, Malaysia, Indonesia, and even in India, that we do actually consider them as cheap, expendable pawns in the chess game of world power?

The orientals have not forgotten the ruthlessness of Western Powers in subjugating Indochina, India, and the whole of southeast Asia in the 19th century, the imposition by force of extraterritorial rights, so-called, in China, and the forcible entry into Japan. Their experience with Western morality in international affairs is not such as to give them any confidence that we are there today primarily to protect their interests.

And indeed if we are candid we should have to admit that we are not. We are there because our current leaders think that our interests are at stake. When President Eisenhower explained to the Congress why we should move into South Vietnam after the French debacle and abandonment he was quite candid in mentioning the vital stake we have in tungsten and other strategic goods for which we must depend upon southeast Asia. It may make sense to some Westerners to kill men, women, and children with fire bombs and high explosives in order to protect our interests in those metals that we think we need, or even to prevent southeast Asia from falling to communist politics and economics, but one can be absolutely sure that such actions do not endear us to a billion or so oriental people, nor does it convince them that we are actuated by the highest motives. It is our interests and our preferences that motivate us. We have never asked the South Vietnamese what they would prefer. Perhaps even worse we brutalize ourselves.

Roy Bennett has recently written: "In any international crises the first casualties are morality and legality. Power and its uses—which some call diplomacy—move on to center stage. This is where we are today in southeast Asia." The U.S. Department of State issues a white paper on southeast Asia at the very moment that it unleashes the military to spill more red blood there. Of course, most of the blood, it presumably hopes, will be that of yellow races, but blood it remains, and it is blood not simply of Vietcong rebels and North Vietnamese or Chinese soldiers, but of South Vietnamese soldiers, and of women, children and men who are largely if not entirely bystanders in the fight. A white paper explaining our high motives does not excuse the United

States from becoming a signatory to the Geneva Agreement on southeast Asia, for not carrying out a plebescite in South Vietnam.

One need not believe that President Johnson, his Secretaries of State and Defense, and their advisers are either fools or knaves in order to disagree with them sharply. Actually, I personally believe that they are not vicious, not stupid, and not totally insensitive to the terrible harm they are doing to innocent human beings. I also think that they are convinced that they are acting in the best interests of the United States, and that they probably believe—like Charlie Wilson, who said "what is good for General Motors is good for the country"—that what is good for the United States is good for the world.

However, the evidence indicates that these gentlemen are at this turn of history sadly, tragically, and dangerously neglecting history itself and some characteristics of human nature.

I am not a political scientist, and I am not about to apologize for it. I am speaking, however, as a person accustomed to using the scientific method, and as a medical scientist. I furthermore believe that just as war is too important to leave to the generals, peace is too important to every citizen to leave to the Department of State.

SCIENTIFIC REASON

The first requirement in utilizing the scientific method is to assemble all of the facts relative to a situation. One must evaluate the reliability of observations reported to be facts. This is a most difficult matter in any case, but it presents perhaps the greatest problems when one deals with human behavior. It is difficult enough in any area of biology, medicine not excepted. Once facts are at hand one can formulate a reasonable hypothesis to account for the facts and check predictions from the hypothesis with other facts at hand or obtained in the future. When future action is to be based upon a scientific hypothesis, as when a physician prescribes a potentially dangerous drug or advises a surgical procedure which is hazardous, disfiguring, or disabling, one must either have a high degree of assurance that the hypothesis is correct, or one must in all candor present the patient with the facts, tell him that he is the subject of an experiment and let him decide in full knowledge of the facts whether he wants to take the risks. In medicine, we call any other procedure criminal malpractice.

Political science is not a field in which verifiable hypotheses on which practical policy can be based are easy to establish. This does not exempt its practitioners from the necessity for rigorous attempts to establish such hypotheses. Nor does it exempt them from the moral imperative comparable to the physician's moral necessity to avoid criminal malpractice. In these dangerous days of medical miracles it has become especially important for a physician to inform his patients of all the hazards as well as the possible benefits of a new procedure. In these dangerous days of political and military innovations it is equally important that politicians let the people decide what risks they are willing to take.

Administrators must have some latitude in decisions implementing policy, but basic policy itself must rightfully be decided at the ballot box—not in the White House, the Pentagon, and the Department of State. The U.S. Constitution reserves to the Congress the right to declare war. The Congress is presumably sensitive to public opinion. The Congress has in effect abdicated the right, which in reality is also a duty, to reserve to itself decisions regarding initiating a war, by several actions which have delegated to the President, powers to deploy our Armed Forces so that a war is actually underway today without it ever having been declared.

To subject patients to hazardous medical procedures without their full knowledge and consent is medical malpractice. To subject citizens to hazardous political procedures without their full knowledge and consent through their legislative representatives is comparable political malpractice. War and military actions are instruments of political practice, just as drugs and surgery are instruments of medical practice. In dealing with infants or imbeciles, physicians cannot obtain informed consent for their actions, but in political situations one would hope that our elected leaders would not act as though they were dealing with infants and imbeciles.

One reason for the dazed and uninformed condition of the general public in the United States today is the fact that much supposedly relevant information is shrouded in secrecy. How much of this information really needs to be kept secret for any good reason? And more especially, is this shroud of secrecy being maintained to a large extent by a jealous military and diplomatic clique in order to prevent the voting public from feeling that it could and should have a greater voice in the making of policy?

Assuredly there are technical data which for national security reasons, should be kept secret. For example, during the time that the United States had a monopoly on the production of atomic bombs, it made sense to keep the technical details of manufacture secret, especially so long as there was hope that an international control program could be set up before any other nation perfected the technology.

Actually, there is a great deal of humbug connected with secret information, especially as to the competence of persons who are and are not privy to such information to make judgments about most policy matters. One does not need to know exactly how many megatons of nuclear bombs we or the Soviets have to know roughly what sort of damage each of us could do. One does not need to know the CIA reports on the psychological effects of our bombing raids on the Vietnamese in order to know that those raids will not make Orientals love us. In fact, unless the CIA is somewhat more reliable in this case than it has been earlier in Vietnam or in Cuba, we might only be misled.

Record of Committee on Public Works in the 89th Congress, 1st Session

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE H. FALLON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the following summary of public works legislation reported by the Committee on Public Works during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

GENERAL STATEMENT

First, I wish to express my appreciation for the efforts of the Committee on Public Works for the first year that I have been chairman. I particularly want to say that the members of the minority, as well as those of the majority, have been helpful in the passage of legislation which has been of great value to the country as a whole.

The committee had 488 bills referred to it during the first session. These dealt with such subjects as authorization for additional appropriations for prosecution of projects in certain comprehensive river basin plans for flood control, navigation, and other purposes; navigation improvements, flood control, and beach erosion; extension of authority to construct facilities for the enforcement of customs and immigration laws to Guam and the Virgin Islands; amended the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 to increase the amount authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967, and authorized the apportionment of such amount, as well as studies of future highway needs and highway safety programs; the cooperative development of the physical resources of 360 counties in the 11 State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation—Appalachian Regional Development Act; the establishment of a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works, and to require establishment of water quality criteria—Water Quality Act of 1965; a program of Federal financial and technical assistance for citizens of depressed areas in the Nation to carry out effective programs for economic betterment of citizens—Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965; civil works authorizations for 150 flood control, navigation, water conservation and other water resources projects, having an estimated Federal cost of $1,985,785,000—omnibus rivers and harbors and flood control bill for 1965; highway beautification legislation, which provides for an all-out attack on the forces of ugliness which threaten to deprive present and future generations of Americans from knowing and appreciating the finery of nature with which we have been abundantly endowed—Highway Beautification Act of 1965.

The committee adopted 50 navigation, flood control, and beach erosion resolutions proposed by individual Members of Congress, which require only committee action. The civil works resolutions authorized review survey studies by the Corps of Engineers, Department of the Army, that will ultimately result in the submission of project reports to Congress if the projects are found feasible and are approved by the Board of Engineers for Rivers and Harbors and the Chief of Engineers. The committee adopted 37 watershed resolutions, approved pursuant to the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act—Public Law 566, 83d Congress, as amended—which requires major watershed projects having not more than 12,500 acre-feet of flood control capacity to be approved by the Committee on Public Works.

The committee approved 81 public building projects under the Public Buildings Act of 1959. These included Federal office buildings, courthouses, post offices, customhouses, immigration quarters, and warehouses throughout the Nation. Five lease construction projects proposed under the Independent Offices Appropriation Act of 1965 were also approved by the committee. While most of these were for new construction, some of them represent repair and remodeling of existing structures.

In addition, subcommittees made special inspection trips to areas affected by floods in California, Oregon, and adjacent States in the Northwest, as well as the upper Mississippi River area, following the devastation which occurred from unprecedented floods in that area.

Subcommittees were also appointed to inspect the floods in San Antonio, Tex., the disastrous floods in the South Platte River Basin in Colorado and Kansas, and the tremendous devastation which occurred from Hurricane Betsy in Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi. As a result of such inspection trips, the committee held extensive hearings on legislation to provide assistance to the States of California, Oregon, Washington, Nevada, and Idaho for the reconstruction of areas damaged by floods and high waters during December 1964, and January and February 1965, after which a bill was reported to the House, was passed by both Houses, and was signed into law by the President—Public Law 89–41. Also, extensive hearings were held on legislation authorizing Federal aid to Florida, Louisiana, and Mississippi to repair public facilities damaged by Hurricane Betsy in October 1965. A bill which authorized $70 million in Federal aid to the three States named above, as well as Federal loan adjustment assistance and a study of alternative Federal relief programs, was reported out and approved by both Houses and signed by the President—Public Law 89–339.

The committee also acted on legislation which would authorize the construction of the third Library of Congress building in the District of Columbia to be named the James Madison Memorial Building and to contain a Madison Memorial Hall, and for other purposes. This was acted on by both Houses and signed into law by the President—Public Law 89–260.

The committee has held hearings and executive sessions almost continuously since the beginning of the session, in addition to the inspection trips of special subcommittees, and every member has contributed in great part to the accomplishments of this past year.

SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY PROGRAM

The Special Subcommittee on the Federal-Aid Highway Program conducted public hearings on March 30, 31, April 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, May 24, 25, and June 1 and 2, 1965, on highway construction practices in the State of Louisiana and related matters. The hearings followed many months of intensive investigation by the subcommittee staff. Printed transcripts of the testimony are available under the designation of "Committee Document No. 89–10."

Although construction practices in Louisiana was the main topic of the hearing, the scope was broadened to include such related aspects as the record sampling program, unrealistic construction specifications and the manner in which the Federal-aid secondary road program has been administered.

At the hearings, witnesses disclosed how unrealistic construction specifications coupled with inadequate external and internal controls helped bring about irregularities including substandard construction, counterfeited samples of material, fraudulent haul tickets, "faked" test reports and other abuses. These revelations followed the subcommittee's previous disclosures of inadequacy of construction controls in Oklahoma, House Report No. 364, 87th Congress, 1st session; New Mexico, House Report No. 1819, 87th Congress, 2d session; and Arizona, House Report No. 1494, 88th Congress, 2d session. Although the conditions found in Louisiana followed the same general pattern of operational deficiencies which had been revealed in the other three States, certain inadequacies of internal controls had been corrected by the State by the time the subcommittee held the hearing.

Despite the picture of woefully inadequate controls over construction painted by the Louisiana witnesses, an encouraging note was offered in testimony by officials of the Arizona and New Mexico Highway Departments. It was particularly gratifying to the subcommittee to learn of the general upgrading of techniques and internal controls over construction practices that followed its hearings on practices in those States.

Testimony by Bureau of Public Roads officials, as well as that by State highway officials, indicated that the lessons learned from the Louisiana investigation will result in positive improvements in both State and Bureau controls, even as previous hearings before the subcommittee helped bring about such upgraded techniques as the record sampling program and the Bureau's intensified system of inspections in depth.

The subcommittee's ninth interim report, based on the Louisiana hearings, is currently being prepared.

In addition to the public hearing on Louisiana, the subcommittee took testimony in executive session on July 12, 13, and 14, 1965, on Federal-State highway management practices and procedures. Staff inquiry into this area is continuing.

The effectiveness of the audit function is currently under review, with particular reference to the application of audit procedures to Federal-aid projects at both the Federal and State levels.

The staff is also continuing to review and study other matters, with emphasis on the particular areas described below, in expectation that public hearings may subsequently be held.

The impact of toll roads upon the interstate program is one of the matters currently under study by the staff. The incorporation of toll roads, bridges, and tunnels into the Interstate System, and the location of toll facilities between free sections of Federal-aid highways are among the problems under consideration.

Policies, practices, and procedures in a number of States with reference to right-of-way acquisition is the subject of another staff study which is continuing. This involves the question of the effectiveness of controls over State practices and procedures in the general acquisition of land for Federal-aid highway purposes. A companion study in the right-of-way field involves the advisability of broadening the existing provisions of title 23, United States Code, relative to the advance acquisition of right-of-way.

Following is a more detailed listing of the specific major bills and items which the committee has considered or approved:

BASIN AUTHORIZATION FOR 1966 AND 1967—PUBLIC LAW 89–42

The bill authorizing additional appropriations for the prosecution of comprehensive plans for certain river basins, now Public Law 89–42, provided funds for the fiscal years 1966 and 1967 for 11 river basins, totaling $908 million, as follows: Alabama-Coosa, $38 million; Arkansas River, $290 million; Brazos River, $14 million; Central and Southern Florida, $30 million; Columbia River, $223 million; Lower Mississippi, $53 million; Missouri River, $116 million; Ohio River, $89 million; Ouachita River, $11 million; Upper Mississippi River, $27 million, and West Branch Susquehanna River, $17 million. This act also authorizes the completion of the Great Lakes to Hudson River Waterway, New York, project, approved in the River and Harbor Act of August 30, 1935, as amended, at an estimated cost of $5 million. It also authorizes the completion of the comprehensive plan for flood control and other purposes in the Los Angeles River Basin, approved by the Flood Control Act of August 18, 1941, as amended and supplemented, at an estimated cost of $31 million.

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT OF 1956, AMENDMENT—PUBLIC LAW 89–139

This amendment to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 provides an increase in the amount of funds authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967 from $2.9 billion to $3 billion, and authorizes the apportionment of these funds for fiscal year 1967, using the apportionment factors contained in the 1965 Interstate System Cost Estimate—House Document No. 42, 89th Congress—but reserves the right of Congress to disapprove the cost estimate for completion of such national system by the Secretary of Commerce.

This act also authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to make a comprehensive study of certain future highway needs. It also creates a new section 135 of title 23 of the United States Code, to provide for highway safety programs within the several States.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89–4

The Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965 provides public works and economic development programs and the planning and coordination needed to assist in development of the 11-State Appalachian Mountain region of our Nation.

It was found that the Appalachian region of the United States, while abundant in natural resources and rich in potential, lags behind the rest of the Nation in its economic growth and that its people have not shared properly in the Nation's prosperity. The region's uneven past development, with its historical reliance on a few basic industries and a marginal agriculture, has failed to provide the economic base that is a vital

prerequisite for vigorous, self-sustaining growth. The State and local governments and the people of the region understand their problems and have been working and will continue to work purposefully toward their solution. Congress recognized the comprehensive report of the President's Appalachian Regional Commission documenting these findings and concluded that regionwide development is feasible, desirable, and urgently needed.

The purpose of this act is to assist the region in meeting its special problems, to promote its economic development, and to establish a framework for joint Federal and State efforts toward providing the basic facilities essential to its growth and attacking its common problems and meeting its common needs on a coordinated and concerted regional basis. The public investments made in the region under this act shall be concentrated in areas where there is a significant potential for future growth, and where the expected return on public dollars invested will be the greatest. The States will be responsible for recommending local and State projects within their borders which will receive assistance under this act.

As the region obtains the needed physical and transportation facilities and develops its human resources, the Congress expects that the region will generate a diversified industry and that the region will then be able to support itself, through the workings of a strengthened, free enterprise economy.

Following is a section-by-section highlight analysis of the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965:

Highlights of Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965

Section	Description	Authorization (millions)	Duration of authorization
101	Creates an Appalachian Regional Commission to plan the expenditure of the funds authorized by the bill. The Commission is composed of representatives of the 11 States and 1 Federal member who speaks for the entire Federal Government. To take action a majority of the States and the Federal member must vote in the affirmative.	$2.4	27 months.
201	Provides for the construction of 2,350 miles of major arterial roads and 1,000 miles of access roads. (Department of Commerce.) [1]	840.0	6 years.
202(b)	Provides for the construction of comprehensive health centers to serve multicounty areas. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	41.0	6 years.
202(c)	Provides grants to local organizations to administer and operate the hospitals constructed under sec. 202(b). (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	28.0	27 months.
203	Provides a series of grants for land treatment to prevent erosion and to promote soil conservation. These grants may finance 80 percent of the cost of such treatment for 50 acres of land. (Department of Agriculture.)	17.0	27 months.
204	Provides, 1st, a series of grants for technical assistance to small landowners to improve their timber stands. Provides, 2d, loans to assist in the formation of timber development organizations for better management of small timber holdings. (Department of Agriculture.)	5.0	27 months.
205	Expands present programs to fill in underground mines, to extinguish fires, and to remove burning and nonburning refuse piles. Also permits the reclamation of strip-mined public land. Establishes a study to recommend long-range programs for strip-mine reclamation. (Department of the Interior.)	36.5	27 months.
206	Establishes a comprehensive water resource survey for the entire Appalachian region. The study will be coordinated by the Secretary of the Army assisted by all interested agencies. (Department of the Army.)	5.0	27 months.
211	Enables the acceleration of vocational education facilities construction. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	16.0	27 months.
212	Enables the acceleration of sewage treatment facilities under the Water Pollution Control Act. (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.)	6.0	27 months.
214	Provides a series of grants to ease the burden on local communities in matching existing Federal grant-in-aid construction and equipment programs. These grants are to be used to provide the difference between the normal Federal contribution to such a Federal project and 80 percent of the total cost of the project. Examples of programs eligible for supplementation: Airport construction, college and junior college construction, hospital construction, and others. (Department of Commerce.)	90.0	27 months.
302(a)	Establishes a program to finance 75 percent of the administrative costs of State or local development organizations for the 1st 3 years of their existence. (Department of Commerce.)	5.5	27 months.
302(b)	Provides grants for research and demonstration projects, leading to better economic development of the Appalachian region. (Department of Commerce.)		
	Total	1,092.4	

[1] Following the description of each section of the bill is the name of the agency which will allocate the funds under each program.

WATER QUALITY ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-234

This act amends the Federal Water Pollution Control Act to establish a Federal Water Pollution Control Administration, to provide grants for research and development, to increase grants for construction of sewage treatment works, to require establishment of water quality criteria, and for other purposes.

The purpose of this act is to enhance the quality and value of our water resources and to establish a national policy for the prevention, control, and abatement of water pollution.

In this legislation, in connection with the exercise of jurisdiction over the waterways of the Nation and in consequence of the benefits resulting to the public health and welfare by the prevention and control of water pollution, it is the intention of Congress to recognize, preserve, and protect the primary responsibilities and rights of the States in preventing and controlling water pollution, to support and aid technical research relating to the prevention and control of water pollution, and to provide Federal technical services and financial aid to State and interstate agencies and to municipalities in connection with the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare shall administer this act through the Federal Water Pollution Control Administration created by this act, and with the assistance of an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare designated by him, shall supervise and direct, first, the head of such Administration in administering this act; and second, the administration of all other functions of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare related to water pollution, and such other additional functions as the Secretary may prescribe.

The Secretary shall, after careful investigation, and in cooperation with other Federal agencies, with State water pollution control agencies and interstate agencies, and with the municipalities and industries involved, prepare or develop comprehensive programs for eliminating or reducing the pollution of interstate waters and tributaries thereof and improving the sanitary condition of surface and underground waters. In the development of such comprehensive programs due regard shall be given to the improvements which are necessary to conserve such waters for public water supplies, propagation of fish and aquatic life and wildlife, recreational purposes, and agricultural, industrial, and other legitimate uses. The Secretary is authorized to make joint investigations with any such agencies of the condition of any waters in any State or States, and of the discharges of any sewage, industrial wastes, or substance which may adversely affect such waters.

The Secretary shall encourage cooperative activities by the States for the prevention and control of water pollution; encourage the enactment of improved and, so far as practicable, uniform State laws relating to the prevention and control of water pollution; and encourage compacts between States for the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary shall conduct in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and encourage, cooperate with, and render assistance to other appropriate public—whether Federal, State, interstate, or local—authorities, agencies, and institutions, private agencies and institutions, and individuals in the conduct of, and promote the coordination of, research, investigations, experiments, demonstrations, and studies relating to the causes, control, and prevention of water pollution.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or intermunicipal or interstate agency for the purpose of assisting in the development of any project which will demonstrate a new or improved method of controlling the discharge into any waters of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste from sewers which carry storm water or both storm water and sewage or other wastes, and for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications

in connection therewith. The Secretary is authorized to provide for the conduct of research and demonstrations relating to new or improved methods of controlling the discharge into any waters of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste from sewers which carry storm water or both storm water and sewage or other wastes, by contract with public or private agencies and institutions and with individuals without regard to sections 3648 and 3709 of the Revised Statutes, except that not to exceed 25 percent of the total amount appropriated under authority of this section for any fiscal year may be expended under authority of this sentence during such fiscal year.

The act authorizes to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, and for each succeeding fiscal year to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1961, $3 million, and for each succeeding fiscal year to and including the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968, $5 million for grants to States and to interstate agencies to assist them in meeting the costs of establishing and maintaining adequate measures for the prevention and control of water pollution.

The Secretary is authorized to make grants to any State, municipality, or intermunicipal or interstate agency for the construction of necessary treatment works to prevent the discharge of untreated or inadequately treated sewage or other waste into any waters and for the purpose of reports, plans, and specifications in connection therewith.

There is established by this act in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, a Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, composed of the Secretary or his designee, who shall be chairman, and nine members appointed by the President, none of whom shall be Federal officers or employees. The appointed members, having due regard for the purposes of this act, shall be selected from among representatives of various State, interstate, and local governmental agencies, of public or private interests contributing to, affected by, or concerned with water pollution, and of other public and private agencies, organizations, or groups demonstrating an active interest in the field of water pollution prevention and control, as well as other individuals who are expert in this field.

The pollution of interstate or navigable waters in or adjacent to any State or States—whether the matter causing or contributing to such pollution is discharged directly into such waters or reaches such waters after discharge into a tributary of such waters—which endangers the health or welfare of any persons, shall be subject to abatement as provided in this act.

Consistent with the policy declaration of this act, State and interstate action to abate pollution of interstate or navigable waters shall be encouraged and shall not, except as otherwise provided by or pursuant to court order under provisions of this act, be displaced by Federal enforcement action.

PUBLIC WORKS AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-136

The Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 is designed to provide new industry and permanent jobs in areas where they are most needed. Its main emphasis is on long-range economic development and programing for areas or communities that are burdened with persistent unemployment and low family incomes. The new act is based upon a combination of proven ingredients—the area redevelopment and accelerated public works programs—and incorporates the regional planning concepts of the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

The act recognizes that economic development of distressed areas, districts, and regions is an enormously complex process, requiring the full cooperation of both public officials and private enterprise. It also requires partnership among officials at every level of government—local, county, State, and Federal.

The new act has a single primary objective: to create a climate conducive to the development of private enterprise in America's economically distressed communities. It does this by insisting upon local initiative to design and implement community redevelopment in partnership with Government, in order to harness the economic potential of areas that have too long been outside the mainstream of the Nation's prosperity.

The Economic Development Act provides some of the tools necessary to alleviate the conditions of our depressed areas. These tools include needed public works, industrial and commercial loans, and a wide variety of technical assistance to remove obstacles to sound and sustained economic progress.

The act does not automatically provide funds for the program. Projects may not be approved until funds are appropriated by the Congress.

KEY PROVISIONS OF THE ACT

First, public works: More than two-thirds of the funds authorized by Congress for the new program—$500 million annually for 4 years—will be used for public works and development facility grants. Loans of up to 100 percent are also authorized for these projects in areas where funds are not otherwise available. Public works provide such facilities as water and sewage systems, access roads, and the like, to encourage industrial development that will result in long-term employment. These development facilities will be constructed by providing direct grants of up to 50 percent of the cost of eligible projects and supplementary grants which can bring the Federal share as high as 80 percent in the neediest areas.

Second, business loans: To encourage private investment, the Economic Development Act provides low-interest, long-term loans to businesses expanding or establishing plants in designated redevelopment areas. Loans of up to 65 percent of the total project cost—including land, buildings, machinery, and equipment—may be made for up to 25 years at a rate of interest based on Federal borrowing costs. These loans will be made for projects which cannot be accomplished by financing solely through banks or other lending institutions. Federal guarantees for working capital loans made by private institutions in connection with these projects are also available.

Third, technical assistance: To help distressed areas understand the scope of their problems as well as their economic potential, the Economic Development Act provides an extensive program of technical assistance. This assistance may be in the form of studies to identify area needs or to find solutions to industrial and economic development problems. It also takes the form of grants-in-aid of 75 percent of the cost of planning and administering local economic development programs. It may also include management and operational assistance to private firms.

Fourth, research and information: Funds are provided under the act to develop a continuing program of study, training, and research into the causes of unemployment, underemployment, and chronic depression, and to devise programs and projects to help raise income levels. The act also authorizes the providing of information to areas whenever such information would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment or underemployment.

Following is a section-by-section highlight analysis of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965:

Highlights of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965

TITLE I—GRANTS FOR PUBLIC WORKS AND DEVELOPMENT FACILITIES

Section	Description	Annual authorization (millions)
101	Provides direct grants (up to 50 percent) and supplementary grants (up to a Federal maximum of 80 percent) for public works and development facilities	
102	Authorizes the designation of areas as eligible for grants under title I if the Secretary of Labor finds that they have been areas of substantial unemployment for the preceding calendar year	
103	Establishes a 15-percent limitation on the amount of total authorization that may be expended in any 1 State	
104	Prohibits the duplication of assistance for projects which have been approved under the Appalachian Regional Development Act	
105	Authorizes the appropriation of $500,000,000 annually until June 30, 1969, for grants under this title	$500
106	Requires the Secretary to obtain a certification from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare that proposed waste disposal facilities meet applicable standards	

Highlights of the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965—Continued

TITLE II—OTHER FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

Section	Description	Annual authorization (millions)
201	Authorizes loans (up to 100 percent) to assist in financing public works or development facilities	
202(a)(1)	Authorizes loans (up to 65 percent) for the purchase or development of land and facilities for industrial or commercial usage	
202(a)(2)	Provides for guarantees (up to 90 percent) of private working capital loans made in connection with direct loan projects	
202(b)	Sets forth standard loan provisions	
201(c)	Authorizes $170,000,000 annually for secs. 201 and 202 loans and guarantees until June 30, 1970	$170
203	Establishes an economic development revolving fund in the U.S. Treasury to receive collections and repayments and to extend financial assistance under secs. 201, 202, and 403	
	TITLE III—TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, RESEARCH, AND INFORMATION	
301(a)	Provides for technical assistance studies in designated areas or other areas that have a substantial need for assistance	
301(b)	Provides grants (up to 75 percent) to defray the planning and administrative expenses of qualified organizations	
301(c)	Provides for a continuing program of study and research	
301(d)	Authorizes the Secretary to provide redevelopment and other areas with information or advice which would be useful in alleviating or preventing conditions of excessive unemployment	
301(e)	Provides for the establishment of an independent study board to investigate effects of Government procurement and other programs on economic development	
302	Provides an appropriation authorization of $25,000,000 annually until June 30, 1970, for this title	25
	TITLE IV—AREA AND DISTRICT ELIGIBILITY	
401	Establishes standards for the designation of redevelopment areas on the basis of unemployment and low family income. Authorizes the continued designation for a period of approximately 1 year of areas which were eligible under the Area Redevelopment Act as of Mar. 1, 1965. Insures that every State will have at least 1 redevelopment area	
402	Provides for an annual review of area eligibility	
403	Provides for the designation of multicounty economic development districts containing 2 or more redevelopment areas and at least 1 development center. Provides for 10 percent bonuses on grants to redevelopment areas within designated districts and for loan and grant assistance to centers for district projects. Provides an appropriation authorization of $50,000,000 annually after June 30, 1966, until June 30, 1970	50
	TITLE V—REGIONAL ACTION PLANNING COMMISSION	
501	Provides for the designation of appropriate economic development regions	
502	Provides for the establishment of regional commissions	
503	Sets forth the functions of the regional commissions	
504	Establishes program development criteria for the guidance of the regional commissions	
505	Provides Federal technical and planning assistance (100 percent for first 2 years, 50 percent thereafter) to the regional commissions in the development of regional programs. Authorizes an annual appropriation of $15,000,000 for such purposes until June 30, 1970	15
506	Establishes the administrative powers of the commission	
507	Authorizes the commissions to obtain information necessary to carry out their responsibilities	
508	Prohibits conflicts of interest in connection with commission activities	
509	Provides for comprehensive and detailed annual reports with respect to the commission's activities and recommendations for programs	
	TITLE VI—ADMINISTRATION	
601	Affixes responsibility for administering the act with the Secretary of Commerce and provides for the appointment of an Assistant Secretary in addition to the Administrator	
602	Authorizes the appointment of a National Public Advisory Committee on Regional Economic Development composed of 25 members	
603	Provides for the Secretary to consult with other persons and agencies which can assist in meeting the problems of area and regional unemployment	
	TITLE VII—TECHNICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS	
701	Sets forth the powers of the Secretary necessary to the administration of a loan program	
702	Prohibits assistance to projects in industries which have excess efficient capacity	
703	Sets forth "savings provisions" relating ARA program to new program	
704	Provides for transfer of functions for Area Redevelopment Administration to the Secretary of Commerce	
705	Declaration of "separability" as to provisions of the act	
706	Defines the term "State" for the purposes of the act	
707	Provides for an annual report to be made to Congress for each fiscal year beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966	
708	Authorizes the use of the facilities and services of other agencies in carrying out the provisions of the act	
709	Authorizes appropriations to carry out those provisions of the act for which no specific authorization is provided	
710	Provides penalties for falsifying applications	
711	Establishes restrictions on use of expediters and administrative employees under the act	
712	Requires the payment of prevailing wages in the construction of projects receiving assistance under the act	
713	Requires the maintenance of a permanent record of all approved applications for financial assistance which shall be kept available for public inspection	
714	Requires the keeping of sufficient records for the purpose of audit	
715	Provides that benefits extended under other programs to redevelopment areas designated under the Area Redevelopment Act will also be made available to areas designated under this act	
716	Requires all financial and technical assistance under this act to be in addition to Federal assistance authorized under other legislation, so that there is no reduction in funds allocated under other programs to areas designated under this act	
	Total	760

OMNIBUS RIVERS AND HARBORS AND FLOOD CONTROL ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-298

The Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act of 1965—Public Law 89-298—which authorizes the Army Corps of Engineers to construct, modify, or otherwise participate in the provision of 150 flood control, navigation, water conservation and other water resources projects, has an estimated Federal cost of $1,985,785,000. This includes 91 flood control—including multiple purpose—projects at a cost of $1,635,766,000; 50 navigation projects at an estimated Federal cost of $343,338,000; and 9 beach erosion projects at an estimated Federal cost of $6,681,000. This act also authorizes 33 surveys for flood control and allied purposes and 18 surveys in the interest of navigation and beach erosion control.

The new law also—

First, authorizes the Secretary of Commerce to purchase evidence of indebtedness and make loans to enable local interests to meet the requirements of local cooperation in connection with Corps of Engineers projects in areas eligible for financial assistance under the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.

Second, raises the yearly limit of $1 million authorized by the Flood Control Act of 1960 for flood plain information studies to $2,500,000.

Third, raises the cost limits of small navigation and beach erosion projects as follows:

Navigation: From the $200,000 present limit per project to $500,000; and the present overall yearly amount from $2 to $10 million.

Beach erosion: From the $400,000 present limit per project to $500,000; and the present overall yearly amount from $3 to $10 million.

Fourth, authorizes the Secretary of the Army to transmit to the Committees on Public Works suggested legislation revising and codifying the laws relating to Corps of Engineers civil works projects.

Fifth, authorizes a study by the Corps of Engineers of the need for and feasibility of reimbursing States and other local interests for expenditures incurred by them in connection with Corps of Engineers authorized projects.

The bill contains a number of other minor provisions aimed at dealing with local situations or details of previous acts.

HIGHWAY BEAUTIFICATION ACT OF 1965—PUBLIC LAW 89-285

The Highway Beautification Act of 1965 provides for scenic development and road beautification of the Federal-aid highway systems.

Following is a section-by-section summary of the Highway Beautification Act of 1965:

TITLE I

Section 101 amends section 131 of title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) is a declaration of policy with respect to the erection and maintenance of outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices in areas adjacent to the interstate and primary systems.

Subsection (b) provides for a 10-percent reduction in all Federal-aid highway apportionments to any State that has not made provision for "effective control" of outdoor advertising within 660 feet of the right-of-way of a highway on the Interstate and Federal-aid primary systems on or after January 1, 1968, until such time as the State shall provide for "effective control." The Secretary may, when deemed in the public interest, suspend the application of this subsection to a State. Any amount withheld shall be reapportioned to the other States.

Subsection (c) defines "effective control" and states that outdoor signs, displays, and devices shall be limited to directional and other official signs, including signs and notices pertaining to natural wonders and scenic and historical attractions. These signs shall conform to national standards which the Secretary is authorized to promulgate. Signs advertising the sale or lease of property upon which they are located and signs advertising activities upon the property on which they are located would be permitted.

Subsection (d) provides that signs, displays, and devices may be erected and maintained in areas which are zoned industrial or commercial under State law, or in unzoned industrial or commercial areas as may be determined by agreement between the several States and the Secretary. Size, lighting, and spacing of such signs, consistent with customary use, is to be determined by agreement between the several States and the Secretary. The States retain authority to zone areas for commercial or industrial purposes under their own zoning laws and their action in this regard will be accepted for the purposes of this act. Signs advertising on-premise activities are exempt from this subsection.

Subsection (e) provides that signs, displays, and devices, lawfully in existence on September 1, 1965, that do not conform to this section shall not be required to be removed until July 1, 1970. Any other sign, display, or device lawfully erected which does not conform shall not be required to be removed until the end of the fifth year after it becomes nonconforming.

Subsection (f) provides for the erection of signs, displays, and devices, in consultation with the States, within the right-of-way on the Interstate System, at appropriate distances from interchanges, giving specific information in the interest of the traveling public. These signs, displays, and devices shall conform to national standards promulgated by the Secretary.

Subsection (g) provides for the payment of just compensation upon removal of outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices which were lawfully in existence on the date of enactment of this subsection; those lawfully on any highway made a part of the Interstate or primary system on or after the enactment of this subsection and before January 1, 1968; and those lawfully erected after January 1, 1968. The Federal share of just compensation is 75 percent. Compensation is to be paid to the owner of the sign, display, or device, and to the owner of the real property on which the sign, display, or device is located.

Subsection (h) provides for the control, by national standards, of all public lands or reservations of the United States which are adjacent to any portion of the interstate or primary system.

Subsection (i) authorizes the State highway departments to maintain maps and to permit informational directories and advertising pamphlets to be made available at safety rest areas for the traveling public. Subject to the approval of the Secretary, the States may also establish information centers at these safety rest areas.

Subsection (j) provides for the continuation of bonus payments to States which entered into agreements to control outdoor advertising signs, displays, and devices in areas adjacent to the Interstate System provided they continue to control under the terms of their agreement or this section, whichever is stricter. This subsection also states that the continuance of these agreements shall not be construed as exempting any State from controlling outdoor advertising as provided in this section.

Subsection (k) provides that a State may impose stricter limitations with respect to signs, displays and devices on the Federal-aid highway systems than those established under this section.

Subsection (l) provides for written notice, a statement of reasons, and an opportunity for a hearing whenever the Secretary determines to withhold funds from a State under the provisions of this Act. After the hearing, the Secretary shall issue a written order and the State may appeal such order to any United States district court for such State. The judgment of the district court is made subject to review by the U.S. appellate courts.

Subsection (m) authorizes to be appropriated out of the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $20 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Section 102 amends the heading of section 131 in the title of sections of chapter 1 of title 23.

TITLE II

Section 201 adds a new section 136 to title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) is a declaration of policy with respect to the establishment, use and maintenance of junkyards in areas adjacent to the Interstate and primary systems.

Subsection (b) provides for a 10-percent reduction in all Federal-aid highway apportionments to any State that has not made provision for "effective control" of junkyards within 1,000 feet of the right-of-way and visible from the main traveled way of such systems on or after January 1, 1968. The Secretary may, when deemed in the public interest, suspend the application of this subsection to a State. Any amount withheld shall be reapportioned to the other States.

Subsection (c) defines "effective control" as screening junkyards so as not to be visible from the main traveled way of the highway or removal from sight.

Subsection (d) defines the term "junk."

Subsection (e) defines the term "automobile graveyard."

Subsection (f) defines the term "junkyard."

Subsection (g) provides that notwithstanding the provisions of this section, junkyards, auto graveyards, and scrap metal processing facilities may be operated in areas zoned industrial by State law or in areas which are not zoned by State law but which are used for industrial activities, as determined by the States subject to approval by the Secretary.

Subsection (h) provides that any junkyard in existence on the enactment date of this section which does not conform to the requirements of this section and which the Secretary finds cannot be screened is not required to be removed until July 1, 1970.

Subsection (i) provides that the Federal share of landscaping and screening costs is 75 percent.

Subsection (j) provides that just compensation be paid the owner for the relocation, removal, or disposal of those junkyards lawfully in existence on the enactment date of this subsection, those junkyards lawfully along any highway made a part of the interstate or primary system on or after the enactment of this subsection and before January 1, 1968, and those lawfully established on or after January 1, 1968. The Federal share of such compensation is 75 percent.

Subsection (k) provides that all public lands or reservation of the United States, adjacent to the interstate and primary systems shall also be controlled in accordance with this section.

Subsection (l) permits a State to impose stricter limitations with respect to junkyards than those provided under this section.

Subsection (m) authorizes to be appropriated out of the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $20 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Section 202 amends the table of section of chapter 1, title 23, United States Code, by adding section 136.

TITLE III

Section 301(a) amends section 319 of title 23, United States Code, as follows:

Subsection (a) of section 319 provides the Secretary may approve the costs of landscape and roadside development as part of the construction costs of Federal-aid highways.

Subsection (b) of section 319 provides for an allocation out of funds appropriated under authority of this subsection equivalent to 3 percent of Federal-aid highway funds apportioned to a State, for landscape and roadside development within the highway right-of-way and for the acquisition of interests in and improvement of strips of land necessary for the restoration, preservation, and enhancement of scenic beauty adjacent to such highways and for the acquisition and development of publicly owned rest and recreation areas and sanitary and other facilities within or adjacent to the highway right-of-way. These funds are not to be matched by the States. The Secretary is authorized to make exceptions to this requirement where a State shown the amount is in excess of its

needs for these purposes. Any funds not so used shall lapse. This subsection authorizes an appropriation out of the general fund of the Treasury of $120 million for each of the fiscal years ending June 30, 1966, and June 30, 1967. The use of the highway trust fund is prohibited.

Subsection (b) redesignates the heading of section 319 in the table of sections of chapter 3 of title 23, United States Code.

Section 302 provides for a detailed estimate to be made of the cost of carrying out the provision of this act including the economic impact of these programs, their effectiveness, and the public and private benefits derived therefrom. This detailed estimate, to be made by the Secretary in cooperation with the States, must be submitted to the Congress not later than January 10, 1967.

Section 303(a) provides for public hearings in each State before the promulgation of standards, criteria, and rules and regulations by the Secretary of Commerce.

Subsection (b) requires the Secretary of Commerce to report to the Congress not later than January 10, 1967, the standards, criteria, and rules and regulations to be applied in carrying out the provisions of sections 131 and 136 of title 23, United States Code.

Section 304 authorizes an appropriation of $500,000 to enable the Secretary of Commerce to carry out his functions under section 135 of title 23, United States Code (highway safety programs).

Section 305 provides that the act shall not be construed to authorize the use of eminent domain to acquire any dwelling.

TITLE IV

Section 401 provides that the act shall not be construed to authorize the taking of private property or restricting its existing use without compensation as provided in the act.

Section 402 authorizes an appropriation from the general fund of the Treasury not to exceed $5 million for administrative expenses in carrying out this act.

DEATH OF COMMITTEE MEMBER

One of the most sorrowful events the committee experienced was the loss of one of its ablest members, Congressman T. A. Thompson, of Louisiana, chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee. His death was a tragic thing for one so vital and active. He contributed over the many years he served on the committee a great deal to the work of the committee, and all of us, as well as our colleagues in the House and his many friends, mourn his passing. We shall miss him.

SUBCOMMITTEE AND STAFF WORK

I want here to express my sincere appreciation for the splendid cooperation of the committee members, particularly the subcommittee chairmen, Congressman JOHN A. BLATNIK, chairman of the Rivers and Harbors Subcommittee as well as the Federal-Aid Highway Program Subcommittee; Congressman ROBERT E. JONES, chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee; Congressman JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI, chairman of the Roads Subcommittee; Congressman KENNETH J. GRAY, chairman of the Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee who succeeded T. A. Thompson; and Congressman JIM WRIGHT, chairman of the Watershed Development Subcommittee.

My deep and sincere appreciation also goes to Congressman WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida, the ranking minority member of the committee, as well as the other able members of the minority side who have done so much to further the work of the committee.

Again, Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation for the work which the members of the committee have done, and this includes work of the staff of the committee, in carrying forward one of the most tremendous public works programs in the history of the country.

SUMMARY

Following is a summary of the bills and resolutions acted upon by the committee in the first session:

Bills and resolutions enacted into law

Public Law No.	Bill No.	Date approved	Title
4	S. 3	Mar. 9, 1965	Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965.
41	S. 2089	June 17, 1965	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act of 1965.
42	H.R. 6755	June 18, 1965	Additional monetary authorizations for certain river basin plans (1966–67).
87	S. 956	July 24, 1965	Extend authority to construct facilities for enforcement of customs and immigration laws to Guam and the Virgin Islands.
136	S. 1648	Aug. 26, 1965	Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965.
139	S.J. Res. 81	Aug. 28, 1965	Amend Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 to increase amount authorized for the Interstate System for fiscal year 1967; apportionment of such amount; future highway needs study; highway safety programs.
177	H.R. 496	Sept. 10, 1065	Designate lock and dam No. 3, Cape Fear River, N.C., as the William O. Huske lock and dam.
234	S. 4	Oct. 2, 1965	Water Quality Act of 1965.
260	H.J. Res. 642 (S.J. Res. 69).	Oct. 19, 1965	3d Library of Congress building, to be named James Madison Memorial Building.
285	S. 2084	Oct. 22, 1965	Highway Beautification Act of 1965.
298	S. 2300	Oct. 27, 1965	River and harbor and flood control omnibus bill, 1965.
328	H.R. 5026	Nov. 7, 1965	Authorize Burt County Bridge Commission to refinance toll bridge across Missouri River, from Decatur, Nebr., to a point in Monona County, Iowa.
338	H.R. 7475	Nov. 8, 1965	Designate lock and dam No. 6, Arkansas River, Ark., as the David D. Terry lock and dam.
339	H.R. 11539	do	Southeast Hurricane Disaster Relief Act of 1965.

Bill vetoed by the President

Bill No.	Date vetoed	Title
H.R. 7303 (S. 327)	June 5, 1965	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act of 1965.

Bills passed by the House and pending in Senate committee

Bill No.	Passed House	Title
H.R. 790	Aug. 2, 1965	Rename Silver Springs lock of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal as the R. N. Bert Dosh lock.
H.R. 2208 [1]	Mar. 1, 1965	Modify flood control project for the Scioto River, Ohio.
H.R. 3788	July 19, 1965	City of Clinton Bridge Commission, revive and extend time for construction of a bridge or bridges across Mississippi River, vicinity of Clinton, Iowa, and Fulton, Ill.
H.R. 3976	May 17, 1965	Muscatine Bridge Commission, extend time for construction of a bridge across Mississippi River, vicinity of Muscatine, Iowa, and Drury Ill.
H.R. 4606	Mar. 1, 1965	Modify flood control project for Four River Basins, Fla.
H.R. 6790 [2]	July 19, 1965	Emergency relief for repair or reconstruction of highways under sec. 125 of title 23, United States Code.

[1] Included in Public Law 89-298. [2] See Public Law 89-41.

Bill reported by the committee and pending on the House Union Calendar

Bill No.	Date reported	Title
H.R. 9963	Oct. 21, 1965	U.S. participation in the 1967 statewide celebration of the centennial of the Alaska Purchase.

Water and the West

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MAURINE B. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, policies for full and comprehensive use of Western States' water resources have involved Members of the Senate for decades. Critical water shortages will accelerate that involvement in future years, I am sure. It will require statesmanship of high order to balance the available supply against the growing demand and protect various regional, State and local interests at the same time.

Some guidelines for formulation of future policy have been laid down by the junior Senator from Washington [Mr. JACKSON]. As chairman of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, he speaks with the authority of extensive knowledge concerning water uses. In an address to water leaders of California and the Nation on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the first delivery of water from the Central Valley project, he also spoke as a water statesman. Senator JACKSON'S views warrant the attention of everyone concerned with proper use of water resources in the West. I ask consent to include in the Appendix of the RECORD, with my remarks, the text of the address by Senator HENRY M. JACKSON, of Washington entitled, "Water and the West."

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WATER AND THE WEST

(By Senator HENRY M. JACKSON)

I am with you today as a friend and neighbor. I share your pride at this anniversary celebration as one who has supported your efforts in behalf of the Central Valley project during 25 years in the Congress of the United States.

The year you first received delivery of water from the Central Valley project—1940—is the year I was first elected to the House of Representatives. Since then I have had the privilege of working with the many fine people who have represented your area and California in the Congress.

We have fought many battles together on behalf of the Central Valley project. I can recall, particularly, the struggle to secure appropriations during the period 1948 to 1952, when I was a member of the Interior Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee. Close to $190 million was appropriated for the CVP during that period. I was convinced that the project would prove to be a worthwhile investment, and indeed it has.

Since 1953 I have been a Member of the Senate and its Interior Committee. We have authorized the Trinity River division and the San Luis unit. This year, after some struggle, we finally authorized the Auburn-Folsom South unit. Just 2 weeks ago, I brought before my committee a bill authorizing the Whiskeytown-Shasta national recreation area, which will mean so much to this area. We reported this bill from committee, and the next day passed it on the floor of the Senate and sent it to the President for signature.

I am glad to have had these and other opportunities to work with the California congressional delegation on legislation of importance to California. Let me hasten to add that I have been pleased—at least equally—to have them work with me on matters of importance to the State of Washington.

In 1940 the economy of this area was based largely on irrigated agriculture; now deliveries of water from the Contra Costa County Water District facilities are primarily for industrial and municipal purposes. This transformation is a dramatic example of the change taking place in American life.

The Southwest has experienced more of this change than any other part of the country—the growth of population, the shift from rural to urban living, and the transformation of the landscape. As you well know, this can be a burden as well as a boon. What you have done in California to meet the inevitable problems presented by this transition is an almost unbelievable record of accomplishment. The success of your efforts is demonstrated by the excellence of your educational system, the strength of your great arteries of transportation and commerce, and the richness of your economy.

What you have done in water resource development is a landmark achievement. The great Central Valley project itself is only a part of the vast program you have undertaken to meet the water needs of your State—a program which enlists the best efforts of State, local, and private agencies along with the Federal Government.

The people of California and the other States of the Southwest are very water conscious. In many parts of the Southwest, people have always had to live with and deal with the problems of a limited water supply.

In this year 1965, more than ever before, Americans all over the country have personally experienced the water crisis that faces the Nation. In the Northeast air conditioning was limited, salt water moved perilously close to municipal water intakes, and industries had to curtail production in a formerly water-rich area. In the Midwest people looked with despair at the lowering level and rising pollution of the Great Lakes.

This year we saw the spectacle of our Nation's largest city perilously close to running out of water. New York had to impose regulations prohibiting watering lawns, filling of pools, and carwashing. They stopped serving water in restaurants unless it was demanded, and restricted the use of water for cleaning streets and public buildings.

All of this in a city which delivers unmetered water to most of its consumers and loses large quantities of water from an archaic, leaky distribution system. Furthermore, New York must bring its water from reservoirs high in the upland area of the Delaware and Hudson River Basins because the Hudson River, with plenty of water flowing past its front door, is polluted.

All over the country we are learning, through bitter experience, the problems of water supply. We try, sometimes, to explain the problem by pointing to our growing population and tremendous increase in per capita water consumption. But this is not getting at the root of the problem. In most cases, water problems are really of our own making. They are not the inevitable result of population growth or technological change. They are created by pollution, waste, and mismanagement of water resources. This is a matter of very great concern to me as chairman of the Senate committee which serves a major responsibility for dealing with these problems.

The water problems I particularly wish to discuss with you are those of the West—though we must, of course, always remember that our problems are only one aspect of a great national problem. My purpose is to talk candidly and openly with you about a subject which threatens to divide the West—the proposals for importing water into the Colorado River.

It is important that there be no misunderstanding on this matter—and understanding may not come easily. Already there has been a considerable escalation in the war of words. I will speak frankly in the best tradition of one westerner talking to another. Our text for today might well come from a remark of the late President John F. Kennedy, who said, "Anybody who can solve the problem of water will be worthy of two Nobel prizes—one for peace and one for science."

The Southwest is concerned that there is not enough water in the Colorado River to satisfy all the demands predicted for that river. For some years, the fact that there is a limited supply of water in the Colorado has caused dispute and discord among the States concerned. A number of attempts have been made to come up with a plan for providing the water everyone wants at reasonable cost and without exciting objections within the Southwest itself. Most of the efforts have failed on the last point.

You may recall the united western investigation of the Bureau of Reclamation which studied what was called the northern California diversion. This study, in 1950, contemplated making the Klamath River a major source of supply for central and southern California and, by discontinuing the Colorado River aqueduct diversion, make more water available in the Colorado Basin by displacement. This report, which was called an interim reconnaissance report, also suggested a great many other sources for future investigation, including the Columbia River.

More recently, you may recall, the Southwest water plan was put together under the auspices of Secretary of the Interior Udall. It also contemplated developing northern California rivers as a source of water for the Southwest.

The Southwest water plan did not enjoy the support of all concerned in the Southwest, so this year a new plan was conceived and introduced in the Congress as the Lower Colorado River Basin project. Bills to authorize this project were the subject of hearings before the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. A key provision of these bills is a guarantee to California of 4.4 million acre-feet of water from the Colorado River. This guarantee is to endure until such time as the President has proclaimed that works have been completed and are in operation capable, in his judgment, of delivering annually not less than 2.5 million acre-feet of water into the Colorado River from sources outside the Colorado River Basin.

Even this latest plan has not been universally accepted in the Southwest, and I understand a new one will be proposed next year which will identify a considerably larger volume of water to be imported. The claim has been made that speedy action must be taken to get water importation works underway so they will be in existence when needed.

I want to tell you why, as one who is concerned with the welfare of his State and his country, I am disturbed by the demands for hasty commitment to a massive program for transporting vast quantities of water over long distances at great expense.

Let me talk first about the reaction in the Northwest to proposals for diverting water from the Columbia River—this being the most apparent goal of any studies or plans to import water into the Colorado.

It should come as no shock to anyone here that the immediate reaction of the Northwest is considerably less than enthusiastic.

It occurs to me that some of you may have experienced similar emotions when confronted with a proposal for taking water from an area in which you reside and shipping it to another area. Some people in the Northwest have charged that the diversion proposals amount to an attempted raid or steal of Northwest resources. Some people in the Southwest have responded that the attitude of the Northwest is selfish or an example of regional chauvinism.

It is natural for you to ask: What is the Northwest really concerned about? After all—it has been suggested—what is wanted is only a small quantity of water, which the Northwest obviously does not need, taken from a point where it could not possibly hurt any existing or future uses; and the Northwest can have the water back at any time it needs it. What could be more reasonable than that?

Let me take these points one by one and tell you why they have not been entirely persuasive to Northwesterners.

Point No. 1: Only a small amount of water is wanted. I believe that illusion is somewhat shattered. When the Lower Colorado River project bills were introduced, people talked about 2.5 million acre-feet of water. The actual language in the bill said a minimum of 2.5 million and this raised a suspicion that, perhaps, more was intended. The latest proposal, I understand, suggests an additional 2 million acre-feet for the wants of the Upper Colorado River Basin, 2 million more for the lower basin, and another 2 million for areas along the course of the new riverbed which would have to be constructed between the Columbia and the Colorado. This makes a grand total of 8.5 million acre-feet per year, plus whatever allowances must be made for evaporation and other losses en route. Eight and a half million acre-feet is more than half of the average amount of water that annually flows through Hell's Canyon of the Snake River.

Point No. 2: Only water that the Northwest does not need will be taken. This requires definition of the word "need." If consuming uses are meant—domestic, agricultural, and industrial—then the Northwest is a long way from using up the Columbia River and I hope we always will be. But considerable volumes of water are required on the Columbia for such nonconsuming uses as power, recreation, navigation, dilution, and fish. Studies are now underway by States in the Northwest with the objective of predicting water requirements.

Life on the Columbia, as we know it, cannot go forward if the river is committed to consumptive uses in the same way the Colorado is. Studies by the Bonneville Power Administration have already indicated that by 1990, 99.6 percent of the entire average annual streamflow at the Dalles Dam will be usable for power production. The same will be true at Bonneville Dam with the addition of a second powerhouse.

The Columbia is a mighty river which discharges a large volume of water into the sea. But that water is not necessarily "wasted," and the loss of the amount of water being discussed could not possibly go unnoticed.

Point No. 3: The water will be taken where its loss will not hurt uses in the Northwest. The place usually suggested is below Bonneville Dam. I think I should point out parenthetically that Bonneville Dam is more than 100 miles upstream from the mouth of the Columbia, because a few people seem to have the impression that one place is about the same as the other. On the Columbia River, below Bonneville Dam, are the largest city in Oregon, several of the principal cities of Washington, and many industrial plants.

It is true that if water were taken below Bonneville Dam, there would be no interference with power generation. However, this premise arouses some skepticism. In order to deliver water from the Columbia River to the Colorado, a lift of 4,000 to 6,000 feet would be required, even if extensive tunneling were undertaken along the route. Would it make sense to take the water at the lowest elevation in order to achieve the maximum generation of electricity, and then have to use a good deal more electric power, and construct expensive works, to pump it back up again? Would not a study reveal that it would be far more economical to Southwest water users to take the water out at a higher elevation even if that does do damage to downstream uses? In any event, if the principle of a diversion were once accepted by the Northwest, would not the water users of the Southwest, who would pay for at least part of the cost of pumping, naturally make such an argument?

Point No. 4: Finally, it is said, iron-clad guarantees can be written so that the Northwest can cut off water deliveries to the Southwest at any time in the future when we need the water. Quite frankly, current history must discount the value of such a guarantee. People in my area expenses the fear that long before the Southwest's water would be cut off, it might use its great power and influence in an effort to make certain that the Northwest develops no need for the water. The diversion of Colorado waters to southern California is the case they cite. The Supreme Court of the United States, after a decade of litigation, held that Arizona is entitled to a larger share of the Colorado water than it now gets. But Arizona cannot use this larger share unless it first secures from Congress the authorization of what was formerly called the central Arizona project to build the necessary diversion works and canals from the Colorado River to central Arizona. I need not remind you how long Arizona has been trying to secure authorization of the central Arizona project. This is a project needed to maintain an agricultural economy in Arizona presently sustained by large overdrafts of ground water. But California fears the central Arizona project could threaten its supply of water from the Colorado. It is unwilling to share with Arizona the risk of loss in a short water year. People in the Northwest can understand that point of view, but it is of no comfort to them when they contemplate a diversion of water from the Columbia.

Parenthetically, the solution of the problem of regional protection of hydroelectric resources, as provided in the Northwest-Southwest intertie legislation, does not reassure northwesterners in this matter of diverting the waters of the Columbia. The intertie program, which I sponsored at a time when the proposal was not altogether popular in the Northwest, is different from a program to divert the Columbia. Electric energy flows in two directions, and with the cooperation of many members of your congressional delegations, and carefully drawn legislative safeguards, we were able to prove that a high voltage intertie will benefit both the Northwest and the Southwest. Because of seasonal load diversities, it will increase the power resources of both regions. But a diversion of the Columbia, unlike a power intertie, would always be a one-way street. We have no plans to bring Central Valley project water northward, and I am sure you would not want us to make any such plans.

Does all of this mean that the Northwest wants to hoard its water while other areas of the country are thirsty? I do not think so. What it means is that the Northwest is not going to be lulled into a false sense of security about a proposal which casts such a long and dark shadow on its future.

Why, you ask, does the Northwest object even to studies of diversion? Such studies, from the point of view of people in the Northwest, would not put first things first. The people of the Northwest deeply believe that before any other region asks for a study of the diversion of the Columbia River, such region first must establish that it actually needs additional water and that it cannot obtain additional water by any reasonable means except diverting the Columbia.

To confuse the question of water need with that of water diversion inevitably will make it difficult to reach an objective decision on the question of need. The temptation will be great for those conducting the study to sidestep, or least postpone, hard decisions of water management and conservation by recommending the importation of water from another region. If the study is being conducted by an agency with a large staff of engineers eager to build the biggest ditch in the world, the temptation may be irresistible. To ask an agency whose business is to construct water projects whether it is necessary to divert the Columbia is something like asking an automobile salesman's advice on whether you should purchase a new car.

The people of the Northwest are generous and goodhearted, but not profligate. Perhaps you have heard about a tribe of Northwest Indians who observed a quaint custom called the potlatch. The objective of the potlatch was to give away all of one's worldly possessions. He who gave away the most enjoyed the highest status. This tribe and its custom no longer flourish in the Northwest.

So much for the concerns of the Northwest.

I hope you will give these comments thoughtful and friendly consideration just as the people of the Northwest will give the same consideration to your needs and desires. The fates of our regions are bound together. The Northwest will not prosper unless you do. You will not flourish if the Northwest's economy withers. It is absolutely essential that a problem which involves the vital interests of both regions be solved by mutual agreement. To solve it, we must assemble the facts that are relevant to the problem.

The country as well as the West must seek answers to many questions: Does the Southwest need more water? What does it need it for? How is it using existing supplies? Can sufficient water be secured through conservation and reuse to satisfy its needs? To what exent and under what criteria should the Federal Government assist local water conservation measures? What are the prospects for improving water supplies within the Southwest by desalinization, weather modifications, or other means? Are present irrigation practices wasteful? Does it make sense to transport water 800 to 1,000 miles for irrigation?

Many question must be asked about the Northwest, for example: What are the needs of the Northwest? Is there water to spare? How will the economy of the Northwest be affected if large quantities of water are taken away? What are potential benefits and liabilities?

These are all questions which, I believe, have not been fully and carefully explored, but must be answered before a decision is reached as to whether or not water must be imported into the Colorado River. To answer these questions requires study. A study for this purpose will have my full and immediate support. It should get underway as soon as possible. It must be authorized by the Congress.

I have reached no final conclusions in my own mind as to how this study should be performed, except that it must be under auspices of maximum independence and objectivity. The findings of this study, to be useful, must command the respect of all.

The Bureau of the Budget, in reporting to the Congress on the lower Colorado River project bills, recommended the establishment of a National Water Commission to be composed of distinguished citizens outside of Government. In testifying before my committee in hearings on the Northeast

water crisis, Elmer Staats, Deputy Director of the Bureau of the Budget, said, "Establishment of a National Water Commission has strong administration support. * * *"

He said that "a national commission, drawing on the expertise available outside the Federal Government, would complement and enhance the effectiveness of existing sources of information and advice available within the executive branch, including the Water Resources Council. A national commission would take full advantage of work accomplished by the Kerr committee, updating projections and exploiting data not available to the committee. Thus, the specific reason for a commission is that, in view of the urgent timing for a definitive study, all the intellectual resources of the country—in and out of Government—must be marshaled and brought to bear on our water resources development problems. The future of this country will be determined in large measure upon the soundness of the decisions we make today in this area."

He went on to say: "In addition to developing projections of water supply and requirements and identifying alternative ways of meeting future water demand—including conservation and more efficient use of existing supplies, steps to encourage the highest economic use of water, and the impact of such techniques as water importation and large-scale desalting—the National Water Commission would advise the President and the Water Resources Council on such specific water resources matters as may be referred to it. The Commission, as envisioned by the administration, would consist of about five to seven members, be adequately staffed and financed, and terminate not later than 5 years from the date of its establishment."

This is a proposal which, in my opinion, has considerable merit. However, I realize that distinguished representatives of the Southwest have expressed reservations about it. Whatever is done should have the blessings of all concerned. Therefore, I am not pressing for this as the only way to approach the problem.

The task outlined by the administration is one which must be performed. I am open to any alternative suggestions as to how best we can do the job.

Whatever we do, we must do it together. With reason and good will we can find answers that will serve the best interests of us all.

Tribute to Sam Romer, Authority on Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a eulogy to the late Sam Romer. Mr. Romer had a long career of service to the labor movement and the cause of democracy.

In 1937 he enlisted as a private in the Spanish Republican Army to fight against the Fascist forces of General Franco. After being captured and imprisoned, he was released in exchange for a Franco partisan in 1938. He then joined the staff of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

From 1942 to 1945, he served in the U.S. Army. Following the war, he was appointed copy editor of the Minneapolis Tribune. In 1948 he took time out to serve as Chief of Labor Relations for the Labor Division of the Supreme Commander, Allied Powers, Tokyo.

In 1949 Sam Romer was named assistant news editor of the Minneapolis Tribune, and in 1951 he was assigned to labor news. In addition to his work for the Tribune, he gave many lectures, and wrote numerous pamphlets and articles. In 1962 he published a book "The International Brotherhood of Teamsters." He died in April of this year, survived by his wife and daughter.

These are the facts of his life. But these facts do not tell of the real contributions of the man, of his character, of his courage, of his personality. As one indication of the respect in which he was held, at the memorial service on May 21, sponsored by a committee of his friends, over 400 people were in attendance. Sam Romer was held in high regard not only in Minnesota but throughout the Nation.

The eulogy to Mr. Romer, given by John Herling, Washington correspondent for the National Newspaper Syndicate, at the memorial service is an outstanding one, and enables one to gain some understanding for the esteem which Sam Romer commanded.

In tribute to the late Sam Romer, the eulogy follows:

EULOGY TO THE LATE SAM ROMER

When a friend dies, as has often been said, we ourselves die a little. When death comes so suddenly, so almost without preparation, as it came to Sam Romer, we must proceed as we can, with a heightened appreciation for the life he lived.

Sam Romer was a newspaperman and terribly proud of being one. For him it was not only a way of making a living, but it was also an art form. He was, in fact, a one-man labor international, with friendships and acquaintances and interests that crossed the continent and spanned both oceans. He was an instinctive cosmopolite with his home base Minnesota and more particularly Minneapolis whose civic virtue he would loyally defend sometimes even before it was attacked. He could make his own wry criticism of his adopted hometown but that was a strictly intramural exercise in which those beyond the walls had no license to participate.

He was concerned with the standards of competence and technique and with the organization of our newspapers and their people. Beyond that he cared deeply about the substance of the labor assignment. His purpose was nothing less than to cover the labor movement in all its ramifications. He dedicated himself to the understanding of workers problems and of labor management relations and he viewed them both as a job for a reporter and for a social critic. But while he always strove for accuracy and candor, he was seldom a harsh critic.

You can't understand what struggle and suffering mean unless you have felt the wet and cold through the holes in your own shoes. With his mind and his heart Sam understood the meanning of suffering. He was no poet so that he could never recollect such emotions in tranquility, although he had in recent years acquired a sort of mellow way of telling stories about people he knew and things he had seen, and a considerable part of which he was in New York or Detroit or Tokyo, or Mena, Ark.

He had a casual way about him, but not trivial. I don't think he ever consciously tried to pronounce a hierarchy of values. But he lived by them and implemented them. He certainly didn't care about clothes and never undertook to cultivate external appearances. His eyes were warm, and sometimes hot, reflectors of a deeply earnest soul. He seemed sometimes to display a sense of amazement and surprise and a shock of reluctant recognition about things in life that many took for granted. He had a keen, sometimes a self-deprecating pride, with having been a child and then a man of the city streets. I learned that he was made somewhat uncomfortable by nature in its larger, impersonal aspects, as if he saw danger of being overwhelmed by it. But by the forces of humanity he was not panicked. He could grasp them and grapple with them. But nature as distinct from people was a little too much. I remember once when we participated in a seminar of the Political Science Association out at Grand Teton National Park. He said he would much rather sit around, drink a little and talk a lot with fellow newspapermen there, and not bother to go out to look at the mountains. "Naw," said Sam in mock disdain, "when you've seen one mountain, you've seen them all." He didn't mean to say exactly that, of course, but rather what interested him and stimulated him most was the variety in people, the differences among human beings, and, if you please, the separateness of individuals.

We can't talk about Sam without talking about Edna. When they were kids—nearly 30 years ago—they were caught up with each other and in this adventure and the fierce fun of remaking America, of making America the beautiful society. Almost children still, they proceeded hand in hand, having dedicated themselves to nothing less than the achievement of the brotherhood of man at home and abroad. So they sailed away to help the Spanish Loyalists—she as a nurse, he as a soldier. I imagine there was never a less military looking man than Sam. But he was persistent and alert and determined and, in that context became politically wise quite early. He never really thought much of his soldering—then, or even later on, when the United States itself went directly and officially to war and he resumed the hand-to-hand encounter against Fascist and Nazi forces. Out of his Spanish experience he had come with the almost unnerving clarity that the fight for a better world was not a simple one. It could break your heart if you didn't watch out. A child of the depression, he came easily to political and economic sophistication. He became wise and wary. He learned the difference—the basic difference—between democratic socialism and totalitarian communism. He had personally confronted the brutal fact of Communist betrayal. Instead of this frustrating him it heightened his determination to push on. This was no abstract, quasi-intellectual exercise. What Communist imperialism had perpetrated on the Spanish Republicans he found also in its counterpart activity inside the American labor movement. He sought and fought to establish clear ideas in other people's minds—or at least ideas that he had found clear. But it's a tough job to transmit one's experience, in any sector, to the next generation. Tom Paine once said, "When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember that virtue is not hereditary." But Sam was also concerned that the political sins of one generation should not be visited upon the next. So Sam never desisted from benevolent intervention to lessen the burden of transference.

Because, as I said, what he cared about was people. This is what made a reporter of competence and a man of consequence. This is what made friendship with him easy as well as durable. He displayed great compassion even about people whose skullduggery he was relentlessly exposing. He moved with an effortless, matter of fact, bread and butter courage with no side or braggadocio, in the face of threats. He became ac-

customed but not hardened to the spectacle of people betraying good causes. But he never faltered in his concern for those causes. He cared for and won the confidence of leaders in the trade union movement and of the rank and file. He did not exaggerate the trade union movement into an all-purpose vehicle of social reform. Rather he saw it as a challenge to reality, the primary self-help operation in the war against poverty, through which perhaps life could be made less short, less brutish, less nasty. He felt a commitment to the ordinary person—to the nonhero, to the sort of plain American who made this country. The trade union movement—like our Nation—was created by people who pressed on not because they considered themselves heroic, but because they were too scared to stop.

I think Sam also saw his job as an educational one. He felt he had to talk as well as write about the labor movement, to establish its place in the community and to educate his associates in the process. It is always difficult to persuade or reassure employers that trade unions are here to stay. Sam helped convey the facts of trade union life both to management and to the unions themselves. Perhaps it is self-serving to say that the labor assignment is one of the toughest in the news world, with a special quality of its own. But rather than emphasize the particular nature of the labor movement or imply the need for a sort of secret expertise to appreciate it, he was always ready to explain the situation at considerable length, with great patience and with flashes of insight and with little raisins of stories about labor personalities, about past strikes and near strikes—about the fire beneath the smoke. He was always ready to lend a fact to a friend or even to save him from error. He would even admit his own errors—which is in itself a rare sort of grace. He loved his work in all its aspects. He was a professional. He lived in and through his job. For nearly 20 years he achieved here in Minneapolis a happy integration of life and labor. Out of this combination he brought credit to his city and his newspaper, pride to his friends, and happiness to his family. He was still on his way. He just shouldn't have died so soon.

Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL B. BREWSTER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, a recent article in the Washington, D.C., Sunday Star, written by Larry A. Still, tells of the fervent hope for the future of O'Neil Leroy Costley, of Baltimore, Md.

The article is headlined "Three Job Corps Graduates Win Chance at Executive Careers." The story is a true story of Americana—give American youth a chance and it will strive to pursue constructive goals.

There is another saga of Americana in the story. This is the report of W. C. Hobbs, vice president in charge of the Washington, D.C., based firm giving jobs to Job Corps graduates—the management and engineering services division of Consolidated American Services, Inc. Mr. Hobbs was himself a dropout—he left school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. in science and engineering.

I think it is interesting to quote what Mr. Hobbs had to say to the Job Corps graduates he employed:

I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment. They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them.

Mr. Hobbs is also quoted as stating that he hired "the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered greater selectivity, better character, and higher quality of potential workers than any other single source.

Mr. President, I believe this account merits the attention of my colleagues and I ask that the article be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THREE JOB CORPS GRADUATES WIN CHANCE AT EXECUTIVE CAREERS

(By Larry A. Still)

Three graduates of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Job Corps training program were given new jobs in Washington and a chance of executive training yesterday by two former dropouts who already have succeeded.

The trainees are Cosme Arriola, 21, of San Antonio, Tex.; O'Neal Leroy Costley, 18, of Baltimore, and Lawrence Harkless, 21, of Port Arthur, Tex., all members of the first graduating class of the Camp Kilmer, N.J., Urban Center.

Camp Kilmer is one of 100 training centers being established in the antipoverty program for 40,000 young men and women, aged 16 to 21, "who need a change of environment and individual help to develop talents, self-confidence and motivation to improve themselves."

FIRST EXECUTIVE TRAINEES

The three Kilmer grads started work as the Job Corps' first executive trainees at the management and engineering service division of Consolidated American Services, Inc.

Consolidated operates management and maintenance services for major industries throughout the Nation and on Wake Island, in Thailand and Vietnam.

"I never thought I would be here," said Arriola at the firm's plus Washington office in the Madison Bank Building. "My mother didn't want me to be far from home, but she says it's for my benefit," said Harkless.

"My family is proud of me. They hope I stick it out," said Costley.

W. C. Hobbs, vice president of Consolidated, said he hired the youths from the Job Corps program because the camps offered "greater selectivity, better character and higher quality" of potential workers than any other single source.

"We are going to adjust their working hours so they can go to college if they wish," Hobbs said. "We can always use a good mechanical engineer. It may take 6 or 7 years but we're in no hurry."

The trainees will begin at a minimum starting salary of $1.75 to $2.25 an hour during a 90-day training period, according to John Rollo, manager of the division's logistic and social science department.

The firm found each youth housing in the District, established separate checking accounts for them, purchased clothing so they could go to work and return to school.

Hobbs recalled that he dropped out of school in 1931, but returned to get a B.S. degree in science and engineering. He is general manager of Consolidated's management and engineering services division which includes three other dropouts among the 105 employees.

Dr. David Gottlieb, director of program development and job evaluation for the Office of Economic Opportunity, agreed that the executive training program could provide new inspiration for the 13,000 youths presently in 44 camps.

"These fellows have already demonstrated more on the ball than I had at their age," Gottlieb said.

EARNED PH. D.

Gottlieb also quitted school when he was in the 10th grade and never returned to get a high school diploma.

He enrolled at Wayne State University in Detroit as an unclassified student and received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago after the graduate school waived all entrance requirements. Today Gottlieb is a member of the Michigan State University faculty.

There are 800 graduates of Job Corps training programs, including many who have entered military service and 8 who are attending college on scholarships, Gottlieb said.

Arriola was graduated from high school in San Antonio, but dropped all hopes of studying architectural drafting to find a job that would help support five brothers and two sisters.

He was recommended for the Job Corps and became president of the student council at Camp Kilmer and valedictorian of his class. He was hired as a property control clerk at Consolidated and plans to study data processing at night.

Costley will work in the firm's administrative group as a reproduction clerk and Harkless as a junior draftsman in the engineering department. Costley dropped out of high school in his senior year when his mother, father, 10 brothers and 3 sisters moved to Tuskegee Institute, Ala., where his father took a job at the Veterans' Administration hospital.

"I didn't have to drop out," Costley said, "but I was too bullheaded. The Job Corps has given me a wonderful chance."

Harkless said he quit school in the ninth grade because "I was losing interest and it was getting to be a bore." He added, "I didn't want to go back to school and I was too young to go in the service, so the Job Corps was right in between."

Hobbs had one final word for his new trainees. "I want these fellows to know they won't get any preferential treatment," he emphasized. "They'll have to work like everybody else. At the end of the 90 days they will be just one of the workers and advance on merit and ability. It's entirely up to them."

Estimated Cost of Each New Law Enacted in the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, the minority staff of the Appropriations Committee has been answering many requests for information concerning the amounts authorized in the long list of new legislative enactments of this session, and I have had prepared the following tabulation, indicating the estimated cost of

each new law, when an estimate was available, or the amount stated in the legislation.

In very many instances, there is little information available. In many cases, an estimate is available for the first year only, with future years "open." This points up the need for legislation, such as I have proposed, that the administration send to Congress in the budget a tabulation of estimated 5-year costs of new legislation, and that such estimates be included in the legislative reports of the committees.

The tabulation follows:

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-1	S.J. Res. 3	Date for transmission of Budget and Economic Reports	
89-2	H.J. Res. 234	Supplemental appropriation, Agriculture	Appropriation.
89-3	H.R. 3818	Eliminate requirement that Federal Reserve banks maintain certain reserves in gold certificates.	
89-4	S. 3	Appalachian Regional Development Act	$1,092,400,000.
89-5	S. 301	Astronautics, Goddard Day, ceremonies	
89-6	H.R. 45	Inter-American Development Bank	1965, $250,000,000; 1966, $250,000,000; 1967, $250,000,000.
89-7	S.J. Res. 48	Bennett Place Commemoration	
89-8	S.J. Res. 47	Professional Photography Week	
89 9	H.R. 1496	Release amounts of zinc, lead, and copper from stockpile	
89-10	H.R. 2362	Elementary and Secondary Education Act	1966, $1,344,700,000; 1967, $1,861,400,000; 1968, $2,431,500,000; 1969, $479,000,000; 1970, $543,500,000; total, $6,660,100,000.
89-11	S. 307	Consent of Congress to a compact relating to taxation of motor fuels consumed by interstate buses between 5 States and the District of Columbia.	
89-12	H.R. 5721	Acreage-poundage marketing quotas for tobacco	
89-13	H.R. 4527	Coast Guard, 1966, authorization for appropriations	$114,250,000.
89-14	H.R. 4778	$3,000,000 increase in annual appropriations authorized for Indian adult vocational training program, from $12,000,000 to $15,000,000.	$3,000,000 annually.
89-15	S. 974	Manpower Act of 1965	1966, $454,000,000; open annually thereafter until June 30, 1969.
89-16	H.R. 7091	2d Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1965	Appropriation.
89-17	H.R. 2594	Civil service retirement annuities	$65,000,000.
89-18	H.J. Res. 447	Defense supplemental appropriation bill ($700,000,000, southeast Asia)	Appropriation.
89-19	S. 60	Nez Perce National Historical Park, Idaho	$1,967,000.
89-20	H.R. 5702	National Commission on Food Marketing, 1-year extension for report	$1,000,000 additional.
89-21	H.R. 7855	Procurement, 17 small patrol cutters, U.S. Coast Guard, fiscal 1966	$6,260,000.
89-22	H.R. 7064	Foreign Service buildings, Vietnam	$1,000,000.
89-23	S. 701	International Coffee Agreement Act of 1965	$150,000 annually (until Oct 1, 1968).
89-24	H.R. 66	District of Columbia Parole Board authority to discharge parolees	
89-25	H.J. Res. 195	American Legion National Convention, District of Columbia	
89-26	H.R. 3043	Evacuation, Armed Forces dependents	Estimate, $220,000 Vietnam dependents; for others (?).
89-27	H.R. 2998	Arms Control and Disarmament Act	1966 through 1968, $30,000,000.
89-28	S. 702	Disposition judgment funds on deposit to credit of Quinaielt Tribe of Indians	
89-29	H.J. Res. 436	Tobacco acreage allotments, filing of lease	
89-30	H.R. 3995	Functions of Secretary of Treasury	
89-31	H.R. 6497	U.S. quota, International Monetary Fund	$1,035,000,000.
89-32	H.R. 8122	Atomic Energy Commission, 1966 authorization for appropriations, rescission of $5,455,000.	$2,555,521,000.
89-33	S. 339	Agate Fossil Beds National Monument, Nebr	$2,143,150.
89-34	H.R. 6691	Validate payments to National Forest Service employees, 1961, 1962, 1963	
89-35	H.R. 806	Amend Textile Fiber Products Identification Act	
89-36	H.R. 7031	National Technical Institute for the Deaf	Estimate, 1966 planning $200,000; costs of construction, equipping, and operating over 1st 4 years, $13,500,000; annual operation and maintenance after 4 years, $2,000,000. $15,402,800,000. (1966).
89-37	S. 800	Annual Armed Forces research and procurement authorization, $105,600,000 above President's request.	
89-38	H.R. 821	Relief, Kure Beach, N.C.	$100,000.
89-39	S. 435	Extend boundaries, Kanisksu National Forest, Idaho	$500,000 from land and water conservation fund.
89-40	H.R. 7597	Veterans' insurance fund reopened (transfer from veterans' special term insurance fund to veterans' reopened insurance fund, to be repaid).	$1,650,000.
89-41	S. 2089	Pacific Northwest Disaster Relief Act	$111,875,000. ($50,000,000, 1965 appropriation; $20,000,000, 1966 appropriation; $38,000,000, 1965 continuous authorization, $3,875,000, appropriation.)
89-42	H.R. 6755	Authorize appropriations for river basin projects	$944,000,000.
89-43	S. 1135	Extend termination date of authority for President to submit reorganization plans.	
89-44	H.R. 8371	Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965	
89-45	H.R. 1782	Retired Federal employees health benefits, Government contributions	
89-46	H.R. 7777	Federal Aviation Agency, appointment of Gen. William F. McKee, Administrator.	
89-47	H.R. 1732	Government Printing Office, civilian employees' pay	
89-48	S. 1000	Movable property, title transfer	
89-49	H.R. 8464	Increase in public debt limit (to $328,000,000,000 during 1966)	
89-50	H.R. 214	Veterans' benefits mustering-out payments (not more than 200 Army and Air Force officers eligible, DOD said could be absorbed).	
89-51	H.R. 7762	Reserve Officers' Training Corps, Naval Reserve; correct technicalities, no added cost.	
89-52	H.R. 6767	Interior Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-53	H.R. 7717	Annual NASA Authorization Act	$5,190,396,200.
89-54	H.R. 3165	Pecos National Monument, N. Mex	$500,000.
89-55	H. J. Res. 541	Area Redevelopment Act extension, 2 months	$12,300,000.
89-56	H.R. 5988	Federal Maritime Commission, term of Commissioners	
89-57	H.R. 7060	Treasury-Post Office Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-58	H. J. Res. 553	Continuing appropriations for fiscal 1966 until July 31, 1965	
89-59	S. 1796	Amends Small Business Act to provide increase in maturity of SBA disaster loans from 20 to 30 years; suspension of up to 5 years on payment of principal and interest on disaster loans at discretion of Administration, and increase in SBA's revolving fund by $50,000,000.	Increase in revolving fund, $50,000,000.
89-60	H.R. 6032	Mann Creek reclamation project, Idaho	$690,000.
89-61	H.R. 4493	Metal scrap, 2-year suspension of duties	
89-62	H.R. 8147	Tariffs, returning residents	
89-63	H.R. 7105	Regulation exports	
89-64	H.R. 6848	Crime, conveying false information	
89-65	H.R. 3994	Air Force, 1 claim	
89-66	H.R. 4525	Merchant marine, mobile trade fairs, June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1968	$500,000 annually for 3 years, 1966 through 1968.
89-67	H.R. 3996	Admiralty claims settlement	
89-68	H.R. 6507	Interstate crimes, arson	
89-69	H.R. 8131	Extend Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act	1966, $6,500,000; 1967, $10,000,000.
89-70	H.R. 5283	District judges, service time, Alaska	
89-71	H.R. 3415	Intercoastal shipping rates, penalties	
89-72	S. 1229	Federal Water Project Recreation Act; a general policy bill, funds to come under projects in regular legislative process.	
89-73	H.R. 3708	Older Americans Act of 1965	1966, $6,500,000; 1967, $11,000,000; 1968, 1969, 1970, open.
89-74	H.R. 2	Drug Abuse Control Amendments of 1965	$10,000,000 annually.
89-75	H.R. 6453	District of Columbia Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-76	H.R. 5184	Claim, port of Portland, Oreg	$6,226.80.
89-77	H.R. 5874	Amend Public Law 815, school construction, Puerto Rico, Wake, Guam and Virgin Islands.	$2,000,000 and $100,000, annually.
89-78	H.R. 7847	Small Business Act, revolving fund increased from $341,000,000 to $461,000,000	Revolving fund increased $120,000,000.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-79	H.R. 5306	Banks, foreign government deposits	
89-80	S. 21	Water Resources Planning Act	$11,700,000 (title III, 10-year authorization, $5,000,000 annually).
89-81	S. 2080	Coinage Act of 1965, increases amount authorized to be appropriated from $30,000,000 to $45,000,000. However, it is estimated that the seigniorage from the additional coins produced will result in increased Treasury receipts of $900,000,000 in 1966, $1,000,000,000 annually).	
89-82	H.R. 9497	Wheat-marketing-quota referendum, extension of time	
89-83	H.R. 4185	Patent fees, estimated in Senate report to increase receipts from $8,900,000 to $23,461,000, against costs of operation of $31,451,000.	Reduction in expenditures.
89-84	S. 2154	Puerto Rico Commission on Status (increases authorization to $465,000)	$215,000.
89-85	S. 998	Fishing vessels and gear, loans (revolving fund would expire June 30, 1965, extension to June 30, 1970).	$20,000,000.
89-86	H.R. 5246	Common carriers, securities	
89-87	S. 956	Construction, immigration and customs facilities, Guam and Virgin Islands	$100,000 each project.
89-88	H.R. 225	Presidential memorial certificate	$35,000 annually.
89-89	H.R. 4526	Merchant marine war risk insurance, 5-year extension	No added cost.
89-90	H.R. 8775	Legislative Branch Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-91	S.J. Res. 71	South Pacific Commission	$200,000 annually, U.S. share of expenses.
89-92	S. 559	Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act	$2,000,000.
89-93	H.R. 5242	Consolidations, common carriers	No appreciable difference in ICC administrative costs.
89-94	S. 1462	Pueblo Indian lands, conservancy district	
89-95	H.R. 5041	Common carriers, regulations	
89-96	H.J. Res. 591	Continuing 1966 appropriations, extension from July 31 to Aug. 31	
89-97	H.R. 6675	Social security amendments: The fiscal year table was presented during House Appropriations Committee hearings this year. The actuarial data was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in connection with the conference report and reflects 1st year costs as estimated at that time, and includes 1st year of various segments of the program which actually are in different years.	

[In millions of dollars]

	Fiscal years		
	1966	1967	1968
Trust funds	2,627	5,690	6,228
General funds	312	916	1,017
Total	2,939	6,606	7,245

E. ACTUARIAL DATA RELATING TO BILL

TABLE 1.—*Summary of 1st year costs under H.R. 6675*

[In millions of dollars]

	Conference	
	Trust funds	General Treasury
Health care programs:		
Basic hospital insurance	2,210	290
Voluntary supplementary medical	[1] 600	600
MAA liberalization	----------	200
Total	2,810	1,090
OASDI:		
7-percent benefit increase	1,470	----------
Child school benefit	195	----------
Broader definition of child	10	----------
Child disabled at 18 to 21	----------	----------
Blind disability	5	----------
Reduced benefits at 60	165	----------
Transitional benefits at 72	140	----------
Disability definition	40	----------
Retirement test	295	----------
Total	2,320	----------
Public assistance and child health:		
Increase in formula	----------	150
TB and mental exclusion	----------	75
Coverage of MA	----------	40
Maternal and child health	----------	61
Miscellaneous	----------	13
Total	----------	339
Income tax changes	----------	−97
Total, all programs	5,130	1,332
Conference	6,462	

[1] Contributions of participants.

89-98	H.R. 8721	Legislative expenses, government of Virgin Islands	
89-99	S. 627	Exempt oceanographic research vessels from certain laws	
89-100	H.R. 8720	Payment legislative salaries, government of Guam	
89-101	H.R. 8484	Transportation at Government expense of automobiles of military personnel	$80,000 annually.
89-102	S. 26	Golden Spike National Monument, Utah	$1,168,000
89-103	S.J. Res. 83	Proclamation, authorization, founding of Coast Guard	
89-104	H.R. 8862	Increase annual contribution to International Council of Scientific Unions & Associations from $65,000 to $100,000.	$35,000 annually.
89-105	H.R. 2985	Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Mental Health Centers Construction Act Amendment (initial grants included).	1966, $45,000,000; 1967, $62,500,000; 1968, $76,000,000; 1969; $51,500,000; plus continuing grants 1967 through 1972, $150,000,000; total, $385,500,000.
89-106	H.R. 5508	Facilitate work of Agriculture Department	
89-107	H.R. 5860	Disposition assets of Choctaw Tribe	
89-108	H.R. 237	Missouri River Basin project, Garrison division	$207,000,000 plus fluctuations in cost plus operation and maintenance.
89-109	S. 510	Community health services, extension	1966, $18,000,000; 1967, $79,000,000; 1968, $20,000,000; total, $117,000,000.
89-110	S. 1564	Enforce right to vote	Depends on number of examiners, etc.
89-111	H.R. 903	Add 5,620 acres to Kings Canyon National Park, Calif.	
89-112	H.R. 8620	Take into consideration natural disasters in reference to feed grains, cotton, and wheat programs in 1965	

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-113	S. 1321	District of Columbia bond property attachments	
89-114	H.R. 6622	Eliminate limitation on number of permanent employees, postal field service, convert estimated 20,000 temporary employees to career status.	$3,200,000 annually.
89-115	H.R. 2984	Public health services extension	$280,000,000 over 3 years, 1967, 1968, 1969.
89-116	H.R. 1771	5-day week for postmasters	$19,000,000.
89-117	H.R. 7984	Housing and Urban Development Act	$8,200,000,000 (table attached).
89-118	S. 24	5-year extension, 1968-72, saline water conversion program, increase authorized by.	$185,000,000.
89-119	H.R. 8111	Herbert Hoover National Monument, Iowa	$1,650,000.
89-120	S. 579	Relief, State of New Hampshire	$23,292.50.
89-121	H.R. 7954	Implement provisions London Convention Safety of Life at Sea	
89-122	H.J. Res. 481	Expand types of equipment and number of electric typewriters for House Members.	
89-123	H.J. Res 324	Reappointment, Robert Fleming, Smithsonian Board	
89-124	S.J. Res. 56	Bicentennial celebration, birth of James Smithson	
89-125	H.R. 4714	National arts and cultural development	$150,000 per annum.
89-126	S. 1742	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Finance Corporation.	
89-127	H.R. 4346	Merchant marine subsidy, construction differential extension, June 30, 1965, to June 30, 1966, 55 percent new merchant vessels, 60 percent reconstruction passenger ships: Construction differential subsidy—1961, $102,118,519; 1962, $136,858,263; 1963, $97,715,325; 1964, $79,987,066. Reconstruction differential subsidy—1961, $657,379; 1962, $3,906,765; 1963, $3,550,308; 1964, $2,349,230.	1 year around $100,000,000.
89-128	H.R. 7997	Independent Offices Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-129	H.J. Res. 454	Statue of Liberty, National Monument, development, Ellis Island	Authorizes $6,000,000; limits to $3,000,000 during 1st 5 years.
89-130	S. 893	Define Tlingit and Haida Indians of Alaska	
89-131	H.R. 10139	20 percent increase in telephone and telegraph service of House Members	$480,000 annually.
89-132	H.R. 9075	Increase military basic pay	$996,000,000, ($1,048,029,000 annually).
89-133	S.J. Res. 100	National American Legion Baseball Week	
89-134	S. 2054	Amend Peace Corps Act	$115,000,000 for fiscal 1966.
89-135	H.R. 8856	Amend Atomic Energy Act re electric power produced through use of licensed nuclear facilities (without this authority AEC would be forced to build powerlines underground costing well over $4,000,000).	
89-136	S. 1648	Public Works and Economic Development Act	1966, $710,000,000; 1967, $760,000,000; 1968, $760,000,000; 1969, $760,000,000; 1970, $260,000,000; total, $3,250,000,000.
89-137	H.R. 206	Increase subsistence allowance, disabled veterans pursuing vocational education	1966, $2,200,000; 1967, $1,800,600; 1968, $1,600,000; 1969, $1,300,000; 1970, $1,200,000; total, $8,100,000.
89-138	H.R. 208	Extend time limitations, totally disabled veterans pursuing vocational education	$1,400,000, 1966 and $16,000,000 1st 5 years.
89-139	S.J. Res. 81	Increases by $100,000,000 sum authorized for National System of Interstate and Defense Highways and authorizes apportionment for 1967 based on revised cost estimate increase of $3,000,000,000 over the 1965 estimate (which does not include highway beautification of $600,000,000, plus cost of control of outdoor advertising and elimination of junkyards). The law authorizes apportionment for fiscal year 1967 based on the new estimate but "Congress reserves the right to disapprove" that cost estimate. Inasmuch as that may never happen, attention should now be called to the increase, under which the highway will proceed under the 1967 apportionment this law authorizes.	$3,000,000,000.
89-140	H.R. 7595	Transportation dependents requiring medical care who accompany members of uniformed services overseas. DOD expected this authority to be used infrequently, cannot estimate cost, but expects it to be "relatively small."	
89-141	H.R. 6097	Federal crime, assassinate or assault President or Vice President	
89-142	H.J. Res. 431	Extend duration copyright protection pending enactment of copyright revision law.	
89-143	H.R. 5034	Facilitate disposition unclaimed personal property at Defense or Treasury, estimated to save $35,000 annually plus administrative expenses.	
89-144	H.R. 546	Retrocede to Wisconsin concurrent jurisdiction of rights-of-way of certain highways.	
89-145	S. 1309	Authorize Federal checks to be drawn in favor of banking organization for credit of person's account in instances of more than 1 person designating same bank: may result in savings, smaller number of checks written.	
89-146	H.R. 2176	Conveyance of land in Dare County to State of North Carolina	
89-147	H.R. 9947	Reimbursement for transportation expenses of House Members and clerks	$400,000 annually.
89-148	H.R. 3320	Hubbell Trading Post National Historic Site, Ariz	$1,000,000.
89-149	H.R. 3044	Incentive pay hazardous duty on flight decks of aircraft carriers	$5,326,000 annually.
89-150	H.R. 3037	Payment of transportation for remains of deceased dependents, members of Armed Forces.	$670,000 annually.
89-151	H.R. 7843	Authorize survivor member of Armed Forces who dies while on active duty to to be paid unused accrued leave.	$2,000,000 annually.
89-152	H.R. 10306	Mutilation or destruction of a draft card a criminal offense	
89-153	H.J. Res. 95	Name "Lake Meredith"	
89-154	H.R. 881	Alibates Flint Quarries and Texas Panhandle, Pueblo Culture National Monument.	$265,000.
89-155	H.R. 7181	Commemoration of historical events in Kansas with appropriate markers	$805,700.
89-156	H.R. 7765	Labor-HEW appropriation bill	Appropriation.
89-157	H.R. 7596	Increase number of officers on active duty in grades of colonel or lieutenant colonel, Air Force.	
89-158	H.R. 89	Tocks Island National Recreation Area in Pennsylvania and New Jersey	$55,600,000.
89-159	H.J. Res. 639	Continuing 1966 appropriations to Sept. 30, 1965	
89-160	H.R. 5519	Armed Forces, dependents, language training	$200,000 annually.
89-161	H.R. 485	Auburn Folsom south unit, Central Valley project, California	$425,000,000 (1965 prices) adjusted to fluctuations in construction costs.
89-162	H.R. 1763	Payment of witness' fees in habeas corpus cases, etc	
89-163	H.R. 3997	Recording U.S. district court proceedings by electronic equipment	No additional expense.
89-164	H.R. 8639	State, Justice, Commerce, USIA appropriation act	Appropriation.
89-165	H.R. 3990	Increase in per diem and allowances for Federal jurors	$1,400,000 annually.
89-166	H.R. 5497	Require filing fees to be paid in full before court may discharge bankrupt; estimated annual savings between $150,000 and $200,000.	
89-167	H.R. 3992	Federal district court trial manuscripts	$10,000 annually.
89-168	H.R. 9544	Authorize disposal of 620,000 long tons of rubber from national stockpile	
89-169	H.J. Res. 632	Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Archival Depository, agreement with University of Texas.	
89-170	H.R. 5401	Federal-State cooperation in enforcement and administration national transportation system.	
89-171	H.R. 7750	Authorize funds for foreign aid, 1966	$3,360,000,000 (1966).
89-172	H.R. 6007	Authority for promotion of qualified Air Force Reserve officers to Reserve grades of brigadier and major general; Department of Defense said no increase in budget but did not indicate cost.	
89-173	H.R. 4822	National Capital Transportation Act of 1965, construction, exclusive of $52,000,000 in interest, $431,000,000 of which $50,000,000 will come from District of Columbia general fund.	$100,000,000 Federal funds. $50,000,000 borrowing authority.
89-174	H.R. 6927	Create Department of Housing and Urban Development	
89-175	H.R. 5280	Exemption from antitrust laws, to assist balance-of-payments position of United States.	
89-176	H.R. 6964	Rehabilitation of U.S. prisoners	
89-177	H.R. 496	Name lock and dam for William O. Huske	
89-178	H.R. 2263	Correctional Rehabilitation Study Act of 1965	1966, $500,000; 1967, $800,000; 1968, $800,000.
89-179	H.R. 1044	Exchange of land, Norfolk, Va	
89-180	H.R. 4905	Real property conveyance, Florida	
89-181	S. 511	Increase authorization for permanent annual appropriation for Gorgas Memorial Laboratory, Canal Zone (increase from $250,000 to $500,000 annually).	$250,000 annually.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-182	S. 949	State Technical Services Act of 1965	1966, $10,000,000; 1967, $20,000,000; 1968, $30,000,000.
89-183	H.R. 4465	District of Columbia Code, pt. III—Decedents Estates and Fiduciary Relations	
89-184	H.R. 9570	Federal Firearms Act Amendments	
89-185	H.R. 5024	Claims settlement, uniformed services and civilian employees, Federal Government authorizes Federal agencies to settle claims up to $10,000 for damages to or loss of personal property.	$327,126 for reconsideration of old claims; amount of future claims (?).
89-186	S. 2420	Continuing authority for protection of former Presidents and their wives or widows.	
89-187	S.J. Res. 53	Father Marquette Tercentenary Commission	
89-188	H.R. 10775	Military Construction Authorization Act	$1,780,062,000.
89-189	H.R. 727	Administration of Coast Guard Band	
89-190	S. 795	Lummi Indian Reservation, Wash.; land assessments within diking projects	
89-191	H.R. 725	Clarify responsibility for making obstructions in navigable waters	No new cost.
89-192	S.J. Res. 89	2-year extension of existing authority for erection in District of Columbia of memorial to Mary McLeod Bethune.	
89-193	H.R. 3039	Armed Forces, early payday authorization before a Saturday, Sunday, or legal holiday.	Cost "negligible" and to be absorbed by Defense Department.
89-194	H.R. 5989	Transportation empty cargo vans in vessels	No added Federal cost.
89-195	S. 20	Assateague Island National Seashore, Md.-Va	$16,250,000 for land acquisition.
89-196	S.J. Res. 102	Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice and District of Columbia Commission on Crime and Law Enforcement.	$1,500,000.
89-197	H.R. 8027	Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965	$10,000,000 1966; open for 1967 and 1968.
89-198	H.R. 8333	Armed Forces cash award program—for Coast Guard when not operating as part of the Navy—estimated annual savings of $186,091,000 against expenditure of $6,680,000.	
89-199	H.R. 10586	Labor-Health, Education, and Welfare Supplemental Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-200	H.R. 7779	Retirement of enlisted members, Coast Guard Reserve	Cost to increase gradually from $2,400 in 1965 to $26,400 in 1985 and level off.
89-201	H.R. 8761	6.5-percent increase, retired pay, Lighthouse Service (as of May 31, 1965, the Service had 546 retirees with 82 still on active duty).	
89-202	H.R. 10323	Military Construction Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-203	S.J. Res. 5	Name Washington Channel bridge Francis Case Memorial Bridge	
89-204	H.R. 6431	Permit duty-free importation of certain forms of nickel	
89-205	H.R. 8469	Cost-of-living increases in annuities payable from civil service retirement and disability fund, increase 11 percent of all annuities having commencing date prior to Oct. 1, 1956, and a 6-percent increase for all having commencing date after Oct. 1, 1956.	1st year cost $103,200,000; the total cost of the increase unti the oldest retiree expires will be $1,054,000,000.
89-206	S. 1903	U.S. participation in United Nations	
89-207	S. 7	Establish Spruce Knob-Seneca Rocks National Recreation Area, W. Va	Purchase 6,000 acres under act, have other authority for purchase of 54,000 acres, will come out of land and water conservation fund, $3,500,000.
89-208	S. 1317	Authorize District of Columbia Commissioners to prescribe penalties for handling and collection of dishonored checks and money orders.	
89-209	S. 1438	National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities	Major portion of law: (1) 1966, $10,000,000; 1967, $10,000,000; 1968, $10,000,000; 1969 and after, open; (2) $7,250,000 annually, (3) $2,750,000 annually, plus authority for administrative costs. Financial assistance for strengthening instruction in humanities and the arts: 1966, $500,000; 1967, $500,000; 1968, $500,000; open thereafter. Teacher training institutes: 1966, $500,000; 1967, $500,000; 1968, $500,000; 1969 and after, open.
89-210	S. 2042	Extend authority of Atomic Energy Commission to indemnify licensees and contractors under Atomic Energy Act for public liability.	This is a contingent liability of $500,000,000 for each nuclear incident. This is expected it would be reduced by private insurance coverage. Authority runs until Aug. 1, 1977.
89-211	H.R. 10014	Additional office space in districts for Members of House of Representatives	$267,600.
89-212	H.R. 10874	Amend Railroad Retirement Act and Railroad Retirement Tax Act by eliminating provisions reducing annuities of spouses of retired employees by the amount of monthly benefits payable under OASI.	
89-213	H.R. 9221	Defense Department Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-214	S. 2127	Special indemnity insurance for members of Armed Forces serving in combat zones.	All costs traceable to extra hazards of servicemen will be borne by the Government; premium rates are expected to be $2 a month on $10,000 and $1 on $5,000, deducted from pay.
89-215	H.R. 3989	30-day extension of time for filing petitions for removal of civil actions from State to Federal courts.	
89-216	H.R. 5883	Requiring bond under Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act to provide protection from loss from acts of fraud or dishonesty.	
89-217	H.R. 948	Amend District of Columbia laws relating to divorce, legal separation, and annulment of marriage.	
89-218	H.R. 6294	Power of arrest extension for Secret Service agents	
89-219	S. 906	Provide measurement of gross and net tonnages for seagoing vessels having 2 or more decks.	
89-220	S. 1588	Authorize funds for research and development in high-speed ground transportation.	1966, $20,000,000; 1967, $35,000,000; 1968, $35,000,000; total, $90,000,000.
89-221	H.J. Res. 673	Continuing 1966 appropriations from Sept. 30 through Oct. 15, 1965	
89-222	H.R. 205	Amend War Orphans' Educational Assistant Act	1966, $5,704,000; 1967, $5,892,000; 1968, $6,392,000; 1969, $6,629,000; 1970, $5,690,000.
89-223	S. 1190	Authorize land disposition, Alaska	
89-224	S. 664	Disposition judgment funds, Klamath and Modoc Tribes and Yahooskin Band of Snake Indians.	
89-225	H.R. 5252	Validating subsistence payments made to enlisted personnel stationed at Tainan Air Force Station in Taiwan Oct. 1, 1960, to June 30, 1962.	
89-226	S. 1764	Land acquisition, Uinta National Forest, Utah	
89-227	S. 1988	Real property conveyance to State of Maryland, University of Maryland campus	
89-228	H.R. 2414	Land conveyance, Roseburg, Oreg	
89-229	H.R. 5768	Extension of duty suspension, silk yarn	
89-230	H.R. 8715	Contribution to International Committee of the Red Cross	$50,000 annually.
89-231	H.R. 9877	Remove restriction on value of property which may be owned by the American Hospital of Paris.	
89-232	S. 1623	Extension of study of effects of insecticides on fish and wildlife	1966, $3,200,000; 1967, $5,000,000; 1968, $5,000,000; total, $13,200,000.
89-233	S. 1975	Provide facilities for International Pacific Halibut Commission	$500,000.
89-234	S. 4	Water Quality Act of 1965	Increase in construction grants: 1966, from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000; 1967, from $100,000,000 to $150,000,000. Grants for R. & D.: 1966, $20,000,000; 1967, $20,000,000; 1968, $20,000,000; 1969, $20,000,000; (total increase, $180,000,000).
89-235	S.J. Res. 98	Requesting President to extend proclamation "See the United States"	
89-236	H.R. 2580	Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments	
89-237	H.R. 4152	Loans to production credit associations by Federal intermediate credit banks without necessity of collateral.	Increases by $560,000,000 limit on amount of obligations Federal intermediate credit banks may have outstanding to aid producers and reduce need of Government capital.
89-238	H.R. 5842	Extend Lead-Zinc Small Producers Stabilization Act	
89-239	S. 596	Authorize funds for combating heart disease, cancer, stroke, and other major diseases.	1966, $50,000,000; 1967, $90,000,000; 1968, $200,000,000; total, $340,000,000.
89-240	S. 1766	Authorize Secretary of Agriculture to make loans to public agencies and nonprofit corporations for development of water systems serving rural areas.	Provides for grants and increased loans for water facilities in rural agricultural areas; expands Farmers Home Administration-insured loan authorized from $200,000,000 to $450,000,000.

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-241	H.R. 7969	Amend tariff schedules of United States	
89-242	S. 1620	Consolidate 2 judicial districts in South Carolina	
89-243	H.R. 4750	Interest Equalization Tax Extension Act	
89-244	H.R. 8035	Accept donation of additional land, Fire Island National Seashore, N.Y.	
89-245	H.R. 10516	Disposal of vegetable tannin extracts from national stockpile	
89-246	H.R. 10714	Disposal of colemanite from stockpile	
89-247	H.R. 10715	Disposal of chemical grade chromite from stockpile	
89-248	H.J. Res. 309	Increase number of electric typewriters furnished Members of House of Representatives.	
89-249	H.R. 2091	National Park Service concession policies	
89-250	H.R. 9417	Revise boundary of Jewel Cave National Monument in State of South Dakota	
89-251	H.R. 10748	Authorize transfer of copper from the national stockpile to Bureau of the Mint	
89-252	H.J. Res. 330	Disposal of chromium metal, acid-grade fluorspar, and silicon carbide from stockpile.	
89-253	H.R. 8283	Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, expand war on poverty	Extends all economic programs to June 30, 1968, and authorizes appropriations of $1,785,000,000 for fiscal 1966.
89-254	H.R. 728	Broaden and extend vessel exchange provisions of Merchant Marine Act	
89-255	S. 1065	Land exchange, Great Falls property, Virginia; connection with George Washington Memorial Parkway.	$1,000,000 for land acquisition.
89-256	H.J. Res. 695	Continuing 1966 appropriations from Oct. 15 through Oct. 23, 1965	
89-257	H.R. 3045	Authority for military personnel who have served in Vietnam since 1961 to accept decorations from the Government of Vietnam or its allies.	
89-258	S. 2232	Loan service of captioned films and educational media for deaf persons	1966, $3,000,000; 1967, $3,000,000; 1968, $5,000,000; 1969, $5,000,000; 1970 and annually thereafter, $7,000,000.
89-259	S. 2273	Exempt from seizure under judicial process certain objects of cultural significance imported for temporary display.	
89-260	S.J. Res. 69	Authorize construction of James Madison Memorial Bldg. to serve as 3d Library of Congress building.	75,010,000.
89-261	H.R. 6165	Repeal statutory provision specifically authorizing appointment of women to clerkships in the Federal Government.	
89-262	H.R. 9336	Amend International Claims Settlement Act regarding claims against the Government of Cuba.	Amount necessary.
89-263	H.R. 7329	Convey land owned by the Navy to the city of San Diego.	
89-264	H.R. 10234	Eliminate requirements for reimbursement among military departments for medical care furnished a member of another department.	
89-265	H.R. 5655	Authorize advance of funds to disbursing officers for members of armed forces of friendly foreign nations.	
89-266	S. 1856	Authorize purchase of naval uniforms by members of Naval Sea Cadet Corps without expense to the Government.	
89-267	H.R. 724	Authorize transfer to the custody of the Attorney General of certain prisoners of the Canal Zone who are U.S. citizens.	
89-268	S. 903	Relating to the painting, illumination, and dismantlement of radio towers	
89-269	S. 1576	Construction of Jefferson National Expansion Memorial at the site of old St. Louis, Mo.	Increase $5,990,000 (from $17,260,000 to $23,250,000).
89-270	S. 1689	Relating to hiring or rental of private property by the Forest Service	
89-271	H.R. 9975	Authorize shipment of vehicles owned by deceased or missing military personnel	
89-272	S. 306	Provide research programs relative to controlling air pollution resulting from fumes from gasoline- and diesel-powered vehicles.	1966, $10,470,000; 1967, $20,845,000; 1968, $31,185,000; 1969, $33,970,000.
89-273	H.R. 10871	Foreign Aid Appropriation Act	Appropriation.
89-274	S.J. Res. 106	Allow showing to the public of the film "John F. Kennedy—Years of Lightning, Day of Drums".	
89-275	H.R. 1805	Authority for promotion of below-the-zone Naval Reserve captains to grade of rear admiral.	
89-276	S. 1516	Authorize GSA Administrator to enter into contracts not to exceed 3 years for servicing equipment in Federal buildings.	
89-277	S. 1715	Extend penalty for assault on District of Columbia police to employees of institutions for confinement of juveniles.	
89-278	H.R. 5571	Clarification of incentive pay for submarine duty to personnel qualified in submarines who are attached to staffs of submarine operational commanders.	No increase cost.
89-279	H.R. 6852	Disposal of abaca from national stockpile	
89-280	H.R. 7059	Increase authorization for Smithsonian Institution	Authorize $350,000 annually.
89-281	H.R. 7707	Authorize appointment of crier-law clerks by district judges	
89-282	S. 1719	Authorize overtime pay for Metropolitan Police, District of Columbia Fire Department, U.S. Park Police, and White House Police.	$885,000 annually (of which $741,000 would be annual recurring cost to District of Columbia).
89-283	H.R. 9042	Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965	
89-284	H.R. 9247	Participation of the United States in the HemisFair 1968 exposition to be held at San Antonio.	$125,000.
89-285	S. 2084	Promoting more effective control of outdoor advertising and junkyards near Federal highways, highway beautification.	1966, $160,000,000; 1967, $160,000,000; administrative expenses, $5,000,000; administration of safety program, $500,000; total, $325,500,000.
89-286	H.R. 10238	Labor standards for certain persons employed by Federal contractors to furnish services to Federal agencies.	
89-287	H.R. 7743	National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act	Sec. 2 authorized appropriation, $2,125,000 and sums necessary; $75,000,000, contingent liability; sec. 10, 1966 through 1970, $1,000,000 annually for direct loans. Authorized to borrow from Treasury if vocational student loan fund balance not sufficient to cover defaults in payments. Also, provision for Federal payment to reduce student interest costs.
89-288	H.R. 7484	Provide rank of lieutenant general or vice admiral for military officers serving as Surgeons General.	
89-289	H.R. 7169	Increase fees for filing registration statements under the Securities Act	
89-290	H.R. 3141	Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965	1966, $23,353,000; 1967, $231,972,000; 1968, $254,832,000; 1969, $787,504,000; total, $1,297,661,000; plus 1970, 1971, 1972 continuation.
89-291	S. 597	Authorize funds, medical library	1966, $11,000,000; 1967, $21,000,000; 1968, $21,000,000; 1969, $21,000,000; 1970, $21,000,000; total, $95,000,000.
89-292	S. 32	Construction, water project, southern Nevada	$81,003,000 plus construction cost fluctuation.
89-293	H.R. 7919	Establish Roger Williams National Memorial, R.I.	$700,000.
89-294	H.J. Res. 571	Designate week of Oct. 25 as National Parkinson Week	
89-295	H.R. 7888	Designate, patent, United American Veterans of U.S.A.	
89-296	S.J. Res. 32	Contribution to Ryukyu Islands arising from acts of U.S. military forces, from Aug. 15, 1945, to Apr. 28, 1952.	$22,000,000.
89-297	H.R. 2853	Increase in copyright fees	
89-298	S. 2300	Rivers and harbors and flood control	$2,000,000,000.
89-299	H.R. 9220	Public Works Appropriation Act	
89-300	H.R. 5167	Settlement of tort claims by Veterans' Administration	
89-301	H.R. 10281	Government Employees Salary Comparability Act	3.6-percent increase, $488,175,000; fringe benefits, $53,300,000 annually; total, $641,475,000.
89-302	S. 1735	Marine laboratory, University of California use of	
89-303	H.R. 10198	Tariff, lumber, Shipping Act requirements	
89-304	H.R 23	Conservation and development, fish, anadromous	Authorization until June 30, 1970, $25,000,000.
89-305	H.R. 9495	FDR Commission	
89-306	H.R. 4845	Provide for economic purchase, lease maintenance automatic data processing equipment. Estimated to save $60,000,000 to $100,000,000.	
89-307	S. 516	Extend St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission	
89-308	H.R. 4170	Foreign Service Annuity Adjustment Act	For the 1st fiscal year $94,900 increase to high of $208,900 in 1976 and thereafter diminishing.
89-309	H.R. 11588	Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1966	Appropriation.
89-310	H.R. 11096	Disposal from stockpile of graphite, quartz, and lump talc	

Public law	Bill No.	Subject	Cost estimate
89-311	H.R. 168	Increase compensation for service-connected veterans	$178,000,000.
89-312	H.R. 10369	Bus taxation proration compacts, Connecticut	
89-313	H.R. 9022	Construction of schools in areas affected by disasters	
89-314	H.R. 11303	Extension of retirement annuities for Federal employees	
89-315	H.R. 11420	Certain mailing privileges to members of Armed Forces	
89-316	H.R. 8370	Agriculture appropriation act	Appropriation.
89-317	H.J. Res. 397	District of Columbia, lands, transfer to United States	
89-318	H.R. 9545	Preservation of evidence pertaining to the assassination of John F. Kennedy	
89-319	H.R. 1781	District courts to be held in Clinton, N.C.	
89-320	H.J. Res. 597	Memorial to Dr. R. H. Goddard	
89-321	H.R. 9811	Food and Agriculture Act of 1965, other estimates have been reported of $4,500,000,000 annually, amounting to $18,000,000,000 for 4 years.	Latest estimate of Agriculture Department is $4,000,000,000 a year for 4 years, $16,000,000,000.
89-322	H.R. 9047	Disposal of zinc from stockpile	
89-323	H.R. 10305	Disposal of nickel from stockpile	
89-324	H.R. 7812	Loan naval vessels to foreign countries	
89-325	H.J. Res. 641	Authorize Father Flanagan's Boys' Home to erect a memorial in the District of Columbia.	
89-326	H.R. 1778	Condemnation of insanitary buildings, District of Columbia	
89-327	H.J. Res. 671	Authorize President to proclaim month of November as Water Conservation Month.	
89-328	H.R. 5026	Authorize Burt County Bridge Commission to refund bonds	
89-329	H.R. 9567	Higher Education Act, estimates of $4,700,000,000 apparently include continuing authorizations not included in these specific figures show in the law.	1966, $845,350,000; 1967, $786,280,000; 1968, $953,020,000; total, $2,584,650,000. For 1969 and succeeding years such sums as authorized.
89-330	S. 2092	Permit agricultural marketing orders applicable to celery, sweet corn, limes, or avocados to provide for paid advertising.	
89-331	H.R. 11135	Sugar Act Amendments, subsidies run $90,000,000 a year and will continue at that level 6 years; excise tax collected brings into the Treasury general fund about $95,000,000 annually; in addition there is a tariff.	
89-332	S. 1758	Representation by attorneys before Federal agencies	
89-333	H.R. 8310	Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments; 1969 and thereafter such sums as Congress may authorize.	1966, $385,000,000; 1967, $461,000,000; 1968, $526,000,000; total, $1,372,000,000.
89-334	S. 2542	Increase small business revolving fund	$120,000,000 increase in revolving fund.
89-335	H.R. 5493	Flag to be flown 24 hours each day in Lexington, Mass.	
89-336	H.R. 797	Establish Whiskeytown-Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area, Calif.	$44,300,000.
89-337	S. 2679	Amend Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, increase watershed authority, build dams ranging up to 12,500 acre-feet instead of 5,000 acre-feet.	
89-338	H.R. 7475	Name lock and dam No. 6 on Arkansas River for D.D. Terry	
89-339	H.R. 11539	Assistance to Florida, Louisiana, Mississippi for reconstruction of areas damaged by recent hurricane.	
89-340	H.J. Res. 788	Jan. 10, 1966, meeting date for 89th Cong., 2d sess.	
89-341	H.R. 5597	Relieve physicians of liability for negligence in treatment at scene of accidents in District of Columbia.	
89-342	H.R. 11267	Remove certain limitations relating to electrical equipment and mechanical office equipment, House of Representatives.	
89-343	S. 1004	Government property and services procurement	
89-344	H.R. 9830	Amend Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, authorize reimbursements to State or political subdivision for sidewalk repair.	$50,000 annually.
89-345	H.R. 4421	Land transfer, Cheyenne, Wyo.	
89-346	S. 2118	Validating certain ship mortgage bonds on American-flag vessels	
89-347	S. 1320	Clarify criminal laws of District of Columbia	
89-348	S. 2150	Eliminate certain reports and other publications prepared by executive departments and agencies.	
89-349	H.R. 227	Entitle certain war orphans (of veterans) benefits	$400,000.

A Trip to the Big Thicket: A National Park Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. RALPH YARBOROUGH
OF TEXAS
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, as this session of Congress draws to a close and as the Members of this body disperse to all parts of the country, I know that many of us will in the coming months venture into the fields and forests which still abound in many parts of our land. From this communion with nature will come a refreshing stimulus which will aid us in the days ahead.

Unfortunately, more of this wilderness land falls victim each day to the destroying force of an expanding society. There are many things we can do to control unnecessary spoilization of the American landscape; one thing is to place more of our few remaining suitable wild areas under the protection of the national park system.

The Big Thicket in east Texas is an irreplacable treasure which must be preserved. I recently spent one of the most memorable days of my life there, and I ask unanimous consent that an article written by Louis Hofferbert and appearing in the Houston Chronicle, of October 21, be printed at this point in the RECORD. Mr. Hofferbert is one of the ablest columnists writing for any newspaper in America, and he has written a most entertaining account of my trip to the Big Thicket.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Houston (Tex.) Chronicle, Oct. 21, 1965]

TEXAS NOTEBOOK—YARBOROUGH VISIT GOOD BREAK FOR THICKET

(By Louis Hofferbert)

There used to be an old vaudeville joke about the man who was tired of working for a living, so he got himself elected to Congress. That was always good for a laugh on the two-a-day circuit, and likely still is on whatever passes for vaudeville now.

Those who find it funny, and plenty who don't, would have enjoyed seeing Senator YARBOROUGH a few days ago when he took a closeup look at our Big Thicket.

The Senator really worked on that trip. He worked like a field hand, and he raised a proper sweat. He may not have liked it, but he did not have much choice. He was so deep in the brush it was a case of working or Texas coming up one Senator short on the next rollcall.

It was plain the Senator was impressed, and not only because he had to swing a machete to help clear the way for the four-wheel-drive cars that nearly did not make it even with his help. Those who went with him could tell he was impressed by everything from the beauty of Menard Creek to the wahoo berries bustin' out of their crimson burrs.

I was impressed, too. During the last few years I have made a lot of trips into parts of the thicket, and I had the idea I knew the whole place pretty well. But suddenly I learned I had never really been into the thicket at all, only prowled a little around the edges. The big middle of that wilderness is nothing like what you see from the outside, and I am telling you it is out of this world.

Senator YARBOROUGH does not suffer from any shortage of words. He can discuss everything from Anahuac to Zanzibar without stopping for breath. But there were times that day when he stood there beneath the big oak and beeches, listening to the knock-knocking of a woodpecker off in the distance, and not saying a word. He seemed to think, as I have so often, that no words can tell how you feel in such a place.

One of the best things about Senator YARBOROUGH's trip was that he plainly did not make it just for fun or to shake hands with some voters. He took along some top experts to tell him what they thought about the thicket, and from what I heard I think they were as impressed as much as anybody else.

It was my good luck to ride in a Jeep with Dr. Don Correll, Dr. Clarence Cottam, Bill Bowen, Jack McElroy, and Lance Rosier. All of the names may not be familiar to everybody, since they specialize in different things, but put them together and you have all the knowledge of Texas wildlife you could get into one Jeep without cracking the windows.

Those men are not speechmakers. They did not wave their hats or shout about the

beauty or importance of what they saw. But you could tell they were not missing much, and that every one was wishing he had the time to see more. My guess is that they will be back more than once, and that the thicket has made some valuable friends.

In fact that balmy October day may turn out to be the most important day in the whole history of the big thicket.

Summary of Record and Accomplishments of the Committee on Ways and Means During the 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, just completed, the Committee on Ways and Means has again continued its record of diligent attention to the legislation falling within its jurisdiction. As Members will recall, the jurisdiction of this committee is exceedingly broad and complex, including matters which affect the day-to-day activities of all of our citizens. In this 1st session of the 89th Congress, the committee has considered and reported legislation in each of its major areas of jurisdiction.

Three major bills were reported to the Congress by the committee and have now become public law. In addition, a large number of minor bills were reported, passed, and have now become public law. Two of the three major bills were of extraordinary significance, and serve as good examples of the important part which the Committee on Ways and Means plays in the economic life of the Nation and of its citizens. The first of these measures was the Social Security Amendments of 1965, which included the hospital insurance program and the voluntary supplementary medical plan, in addition to an across-the-board increase in social security benefits and many major changes in practically all titles of the Social Security Act.

The second of these measures was the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965, which repealed and thus eliminated the vast majority of excise taxes imposed at the Federal level. Each of these measures has far-reaching and significant ramifications not only with respect to the immediate present but also with regard to the years to come. At a later point in this summary, there is a detailed explanation of each of these major measures.

In addition to the foregoing two principal examples of the work of the committee, mention should also be made at this point of the important technical changes which were made in the tariff schedules of the United States by the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965. This bill made changes and modifications with respect to more than 85 items in the tariff schedules of the United States.

As I have pointed out in the past, and can again state without reservation, the members of the Committee on Ways and Means have devoted themselves diligently and conscientiously to the quite heavy work of the committee. The members have been assiduous in pursuing their responsibilities and in the attendance of meetings of the committee almost daily throughout this session of the 89th Congress. While individual members of the committee have of course not always agreed on all the measures considered by the committee, clearly each Member can be justly proud of the work which has been accomplished and the record which has been established.

During the course of this session, the Committee on Ways and Means has held public or executive hearings on a total of 58 days, exclusive of executive sessions, and has directly received testimony from more than 364 individuals during those hearings. In addition, comments, recommendations, and statements of views were received for the printed record from many hundreds of other interested persons and organizations. A detailed review of the subjects covered by the public hearings may be found in the calendar of the Committee on Ways and Means, which is available to the public.

In addition to the public hearings, during the first session of the 89th Congress the full Committee on Ways and Means met in executive session 102 times, covering 74 days. This included approximately 48 sessions, covering 31 days, on the subject of medical care for the aged and social security.

Of the 13,791 public and private bills and resolutions introduced in the House during the course of this session, there was referred to the Committee on Ways and Means a total of 1,952 bills and resolutions, in addition to 30 executive communications. Of this total, there were 1,072 tax bills, 450 social security bills, 337 tariff bills, and 93 miscellaneous bills. This total represents approximately one-sixth of all the public bills and resolutions introduced in the House of Representatives during this session.

During this session of the 89th Congress, the committee favorably reported to the House of Representatives a total of 44 bills, which includes 8 tax bills, 1 social security bill, 30 tariff bills, and 5 bills of a miscellaneous character. Of the 44 bills reported to the House, 40 bills have passed the House, which includes 8 tax bills, 1 social security bill, 27 tariff bills and 4 miscellaneous bills. The table which follows gives a further detailed history of the action of the Congress with respect to these measures:

Bills and resolutions referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, 89th Cong., 1st sess., by category (as of adjournment)

	Tax	Social security	Tariff	Miscellaneous	Total
Bills referred to committee	1,072	450	337	93	1,952
Bills reported to House	8	1	[1] 30	[1] 5	[2] 44
Bills passed House	8	1	[1] 27	4	[1] 40
Bills reported to Senate	2	1	[1] 21	[1] 3	[2] 27
Bills passed Senate	2	1	[1] 21	[1] 3	[2] 27
Bills enacted into law	2	1	[1] 7	2	[1] 12

[1] Including 1 Senate bill.
[2] Including 2 Senate bills.

Mr. Speaker, for the further information of the Members, I submit a summary of the legislation reported to the House of Representatives by the Committee on Ways and Means during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

PUBLIC BILLS

H.R. 6675—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-97, approved July 30, 1965. Following is a brief summary of the provisions of this legislation, the Social Security Amendments of 1965:

A. HEALTH INSURANCE AND MEDICAL CARE

The legislation provides three programs for health insurance and medical care for the aged under the Social Security Act by establishing—

First. A basic hospital insurance plan providing inpatient services, related post-hospital care (skilled nursing home and home health visits), and outpatient diagnostic services for individuals 65 or older who are eligible for social security or railroad retirement benefits. These benefits are financed through a separate payroll tax and separate trust fund, except that the benefits for railroad retirement eligibles will be financed through their payroll tax system, if certain financing conditions are met.

Also, benefits are provided to currently aged people who are not social security or railroad retirement beneficiaries. They are financed from general revenues. Effective date: Benefits are first effective on July 1, 1966, except for skilled nursing services in extended care facilities which are effective on January 1, 1967.

Second. A voluntary supplementary medical insurance plan providing physicians' and other medical and health services financed through monthly premiums of $3 initially by individuals 65 years or older matched equally by Federal general revenue contributions. Effective date: Benefits are first effective July 1, 1966.

Third. An expanded Kerr-Mills medical care program for the needy and medically needy combining all the vendor medical provisions for the aged, blind, disabled, and families with dependent children, now in five titles of the Social Security Act, under a uniform program (with an increase in the Federal share matching formula) in a single new title with certain prescribed Federal standards. Effective date: Matching under new title—XIX—will be available January 1, 1966.

B. CHILD HEALTH AND WELFARE AMENDMENTS

First. Maternal and child health, crippled children, and child welfare authorization: The amount authorized for the maternal and child health and crippled children's programs over current authorizations will be increased by $5 million for each program for fiscal 1966 and by $10 million in each succeeding fiscal years as follows:

Fiscal year	Prior law	Under new law
1966	$40,000,000	$45,000,000
1967	40,000,000	50,000,000
1968	45,000,000	55,000,000
1969	45,000,000	55,000,000
1970 and after	50,000,000	60,000,000

The somewhat different authorizations for child welfare services under prior law are revised to bring them in line with those for the other two programs, so that authorizations for all three programs are identical.

Second. Training personnel for the health care of crippled children: Grants are provided to institutions of higher learning for training professional personnel for health and related care for crippled children, particularly children who are mentally retarded or have multiple handicaps. Authorizes $5 million for fiscal 1967, $10 million for fiscal 1968, and $17.5 million for each succeeding fiscal year.

Third. Health care for needy children: The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to carry out a 5-year program of special project grants to provide comprehensive health care and services for preschool or school-age children, particularly in areas with concentrations of low-income families. An appropriation of $15 million is authorized for fiscal 1966; $35 million for fiscal 1967, and an additional $5 million for each succeeding year rising to $50 million for fiscal 1970. An authorization of $500,000 for fiscal 1966 and 1967 is made for grants to study the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of emotionally disturbed children.

Fourth. Mental retardation planning: Grants totaling $2,750,000 for each of 2 fiscal years (1966 and 1967) are authorized for the purpose of assisting States to implement and follow up on planning for treatment of mental retardation authorized under section 1701 of the Social Security Act.

C. PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

First. Increased assistance payments: The Federal share of payments under all State public assistance programs is increased a little more than an average of $2.50 a month for the needy aged, blind, and disabled and an average of about $1.25 for needy children, effective January 1, 1966. This is brought about by revising the matching formula for the needy aged, blind, and disabled—and for the adult categories in combined program in title XVI—to provide a Federal share of $31 out of the first $37—formerly $29 out of the first $35—with matching above this amount varying according to State per capita income up to a maximum of $75—formerly $70—per month per individual on an average basis. The law revises matching formula for aid to families with dependent children so as to provide a Federal share of five-sixths of the first $18—formerly fourteen-seventeenths of the first $17—with matching above this amount varying according to State per capita income up to a maximum of $32—formerly $30. A provision is included so that States will not receive additional Federal funds except to the extent they pass them on to individual recipients. Effective January 1, 1966.

Second. Tubercular and mental patients: The exclusion from Federal matching in old-age assistance and medical assistance for the aged programs—and for combined program, title XVI—is removed as to aged individuals who are patients in institutions for tuberculosis or mental diseases or who have been diagnosed as having tuberculosis or psychosis and, as a result, are patients in a medical institution. As a condition of Federal participation in such payments to, or for, mental patients it is required that certain agreements and arrangements assure that better care results from the additional Federal money. States will receive no more in Federal funds under this provision than they increase their expenditures for mental health purposes under public health and public welfare programs. Also restrictions as to Federal matching for needy blind and disabled who are tubercular or psychotic and are in general medical institutions are removed. Effective January 1, 1966.

Third. Protective payments: A provision is added for protective payments to third persons on behalf of old-age assistance recipients—and recipients on combined title XVI program—recipients of aid to the blind, and recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled unable to manage their money because of physical or mental incapacity. Effective January 1, 1966.

Fourth. Aid to families with dependent children in school: The optional provision in present law allowing States to continue making payments to dependent children up to age 21 if they are in regular attendance at a high school or vocational school is extended to include attendance at a school, college, or university.

Fifth. Income exemptions under public assistance: The following income exemptions are provided:

(a) Old-age assistance: The earnings exemption under the old-age assistance program—and aged in combined programs—is increased so that a State may, at its option, exempt the first $20—formerly $10—and one-half of the next $60—formerly $40—of a recipient's monthly earnings. Effective October 1, 1965.

(b) Aid to families with dependent children: At their option, States are allowed to disregard up to $50 per month of earned income of any dependent child under the age of 18 but not more than $150 of earnings may be exempted in the same home. Effective July 1, 1965.

(c) Aid to the permanently and totally disabled: States, at their option, may exempt earnings of recipients of aid to the permanently and totally disabled. As in the case of the aged, the first $20 per month of earnings and one-half of the next $60 could be exempted. In addition, any additional income and resources could be exempted as part of an approved plan to achieve self-support during the time the recipient was undergoing vocational rehabilitation. Effective October 1, 1965.

(d) Income exemption for all public assistance programs: States, at their option, may disregard not more than $5 per month per recipient of any income in all five public assistance programs. Effective October 1, 1965.

(e) Old-age and survivors insurance—retroactive increase: States, at their option, may disregard so much of the OASDI benefit increase—including the children in school after age 18 modification—as is attributable to its retroactive effective date.

(f) Economic Opportunity Act earning exemption: A grace period is provided for action by States that have not had regular legislative sessions, whose public assistance statutes now prevent them from disregarding earnings of recipients received under titles I and II of the Economic Opportunity Act.

(g) Income exempt under another assistance program: A provision is added stipulating that any amount of income which is disregarded in determining eligibility for a person under one of the public assistance programs shall not be considered in determining the eligibility of another individual under any other public assistance program.

Sixth. Definition of medical assistance for aged: The definition of medical assistance for the aged is modified so as to allow Federal sharing as to old-age assistance recipients for the month they are admitted to or discharged from a medical institution.

Seventh. Judicial review of State plan denials: The law provides for judicial review of the denial of approval by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of State public assistance plans and of his action under such programs for noncompliance with conditions in the Federal law.

Eighth. Uniform matching: The new law permits a State that has a medical assistance program under title XIX to claim Federal sharing in total expenditures for money payments under other titles, under the same formula used for determining the Federal share for medical assistance under title XIX.

D. OLD-AGE, SURVIVORS, AND DISABILITY INSURANCE

1. BENEFIT CHANGES

(a) 7-percent across-the-board increase in old-age, survivors, and disability insurance benefits.

A 7-percent across-the-board benefit increase is provided, effective retroactively beginning with benefits for January 1965, for the 20 million social security beneficiaries on the rolls—with a guaranteed $4 a month minimum increase for retired workers who are age

65 or over in the first month for which they are paid the increased benefit.

Monthly benefits for workers who retire at or after 65 are increased to a new minimum of $44—formerly $40—and to a new mamixum of $135.90—formerly $127—on average earnings up to $4,800. In the future, creditable earnings under the increase in the contribution and benefit base to $6,600 a year would make possible a maximum benefit of $168.

The maximum amount of benefits payable to a family on the basis of a single earnings record will be related to the worker's average monthly earnings at all earnings levels. Under prior law, there was a $254 limit on family benefits which operated over a wide range of average monthly earnings. Under the legislation the highest family maximum would be $368.

(b) Payment of child's insurance benefits to children attending school or college after attainment of age 18 and up to age 22: A provision is included which will continue to pay a child's insurance benefit until the child reaches age 22, provided the child is attending a public or an accredited school, including a vocational school or a college, as a full-time student after he reaches age 18. Children of deceased, retired, or disabled workers will be included. No mother's or wife's benefits will be payable if the only child in the mother's care is one who has attained age 18 but is getting benefits on the basis of school attendance.

This provision is effective retroactively to January 1, 1965. It is estimated that 295,000 children will be eligible for benefits for September 1965, when the school year begins.

(c) Benefits for widows at age 60: An option to widows of receiving benefits beginning at age 60, is provided with the benefits payable to those who claim them before age 62 being actuarially reduced to take account of the longer period over which they will be paid. Full widow's benefits are payable at age 62.

This provision is effective beginning with monthly benefits payable for September 1965. It is estimated that 185,000 widows will claim benefits during the first year of operation.

(d) Amendment of disability program:

(i) Definition of disability: The requirement that a worker's disability must be expected to be of long continued and indefinite duration is eliminated and instead an insured worker will be eligible for disability benefits if he has been under a disability which can be expected to result in death or which has lasted or can be expected to last for a continuous period of not less than 12 calendar months. Benefits payable by reason of this change will be paid beginning with benefits for September 1965. An estimated 60,000 persons—disabled workers and their dependents—become immediately eligible for benefits as a result of this change.

(ii) Disability benefits offset provision: The social security disability benefit for any month for which a worker is receiving a workmen's compensation benefit will be reduced to the extent that the total benefits payable to him and his dependents under both programs exceed 80 percent of his average monthly earnings covered by social security prior to the onset of disability, but with the reduction periodically adjusted to take account of changes in national average earnings levels. The offset provision will be applicable with respect to benefits payable for months after December 1965 based on disabilities commencing after June 1, 1965.

(iii) Blindness as a disability factor: (a) Young workers who are blind and disabled: Establishes alternative insured status requirement for workers disabled before age 31 of one-half of the quarters elapsing after age 21 up to the point of disability—with a minimum of six quarters—or, in the case of individuals disabled before age 24, at least one-half of the quarters in the 3-year period ending with the onset of the disability. To qualify for this alternative the worker will have to meet the statutory definition of blindness for the disability "freeze." Workers will, however, have to meet the other regular requirements for entitlement to disability benefits, including inability to engage in any substantial gainful activity.

(b) Older workers who are blind and disabled: Provides that those individuals age 55 or over who meet the statutory definition of blindness for the disability "freeze" could qualify for cash benefits on the basis of their inability to engage in their past occupation or occupations. However, their benefits will not be paid for any month which they are actually engaging in any substantial gainful activity.

(iv) Rehabilitation services: State vocational rehabilitation agencies will be reimbursed from the social security trust funds for the cost of rehabilitation services furnished to individuals who are entitled to disability insurance benefits or to a disabled child's benefits. The total amount of the funds that could be made available from the trust funds for purposes of reimbursing State agencies for such services cannot, in any year, exceed 1 percent of the social security disability benefits paid in the previous year.

(v) Entitlement to disability benefits after entitlement to benefit payable on account of age: A person who becomes entitled before age 65 to a benefit payable on account of old age could later, before he reaches age 65, become entitled to disability insurance benefits.

(vi) Allocation of contribution income between OASI and DI trust funds: An additional 0.20 percent of taxable wages and 0.15 percent of taxable self-employment income is allocated to the disability insurance trust fund bringing the total allocation to 0.70 percent and 0.525 percent, respectively, beginning in 1966.

(e) Benefits to certain persons at age 72 or over: Eligibility requirements are liberalized by providing a basic benefit of $35 at age 72 or over to certain persons with as few as three quarters of coverage acquired at any time since the beginning of the program in 1937. To accomplish this, a new concept of transitional insured status is provided. Prior law required a minimum of six quarters of coverage.

Effective for monthly benefits for September 1965, at which time an estimated 355,000 people will be able to start receiving benefits.

(f) Wife's and widow's benefits for divorced women: Payments of wife's or widow's benefits are authorized to the divorced wife of a retired, deceased, or disabled worker if she had been married to the worker for at least 20 years before the date of the divorce and if her divorced husband was making (or was obligated by a court to make) a substantial contribution to her support when he became entitled to benefits, became disabled, or died. The legislation also provides that a wife's benefits will not terminate when the woman and her husband are divorced if the marriage has been in effect for 20 years. Provision is also made for the reestablishment of benefit rights for a divorced wife, a widow, a surviving divorced wife, or a surviving divorced mother who remarries and the subsequent marriage ends in divorce, annulment, or in the death of the husband. Effective in September 1965.

(g) Retirement test: The amendments liberalize the retirement test so that a beneficiary under age 72 may have annual earnings of $1,500—instead of $1,200 as in prior law—and still get full benefits for the year. If a beneficiary earnings exceed $1,500 for a year, $1 in benefits is withheld for each $2 of annual earnings between $1,500 and $2,700 and for each $1 of earnings thereafter—under prior law the $1 for $2 adjustment applied to annual earnings between $1,200 and $1,700. A beneficiary will nevertheless get full benefits, regardless of his annual earnings, for any month in which he earns wages of $125 or less (rather than $100 as in prior law), and does not render substantial services in self-employment. These changes are effective for taxable years ending after 1965.

Also, certain royalties received in or after the year in which a person reaches age 65, from copyrights and patents obtained before age 65, are exempted from being counted as earnings for purposes of the retirement test, effective for taxable years beginning after 1964.

For 1966, an estimated 750,000 persons—workers and their dependents or survivors—either will get more benefits under the new law than they would have gotten under prior law, or will get some benefits where they would have gotten no benefits under prior law.

(h) Continuation of widow's and widower's insurance benefits after remarriage: Under prior law, a widow's and widower's benefits based on a deceased worker's social security earnings record generally terminated when the survivor remarried. The new legislation provides that benefits would be payable to widows age 60 or over and to widowers age 62 or over who remarry. The amount of the remarried widow's or widower's benefit will be equal to 50 percent of the primary insurance amount of the deceased spouse rather than 82½ percent of that amount, which is payable to widows and widowers who are not remarried.

(i) Adoption of child by retired worker: The provisions relating to the payment of benefits to children who are adopted by old-age insurance beneficiaries are changed to require that, where the child is adopted after the worker becomes entitled to an old-age benefit, first, the child must be living with the worker in the month when application for old-age benefits is filed or adoption proceedings have begun in or before that month; second, the child must be receiving one-half of his support from the worker for the entire year before the worker's entitlement; and third, the adoption must be completed within 2 years after the worker's application for benefits.

(j) Definition of child:

(i) A child will be paid benefits based on his father's earnings without regard to whether he has the status of a child under State inheritance laws if the father was supporting the child or had a legal obligation to do so. Under prior law, whether a child met the definition for the pupose of getting child's insurance benefits based on his father's earnings depended on the laws applied in determining the devolution of intestate personal property in the State in which the worker was domiciled. It is estimated that 20,000 individuals (children and their mothers) became immediately eligible for benefits under this provision.

(ii) Also an exception is provided so that child's benefits will not terminate if child is adopted by his brother or sister after the death of the worker on whose earnings record he is getting benefits. Under prior law benefits terminated upon adoption unless he was adopted by his stepparent, grandparent, uncle, or aunt.

2. COVERAGE CHANGES

The following coverage provisions were included:

(a) Physicians and interns: Self-employed physicians are covered for taxable years ending on or after December 31, 1965. Interns are covered beginning on January 1, 1966, on the same basis as other employees working for the same employer.

(b) Farmers: Under the new law, farm operators whose annual gross earnings are $2,400 or less will be permitted to report either their actual net earnings or 66⅔ percent of their gross earnings, for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1965. Farmers whose annual gross earnings are over $2,400 will be required to report their actual net earnings if $1,600 or more but if actual net earnings are less than $1,600, they will be permitted to report either their actual net earnings or $1,600.

(c) Cash tips: Cash tips received after 1965 by an employee in the course of his employment are covered as wages for social security and income-tax withholding purposes, except that employers are not required to pay the social security employer tax. The employee is required to give his employer a written report of his tips within 10 days after the end of the month in which the tips are received. To the extent that the employer does not have sufficient wage payments—or funds turned over to him by the employee—to offset the required withholding, he notifies the employee and the employee reports this amount to the Government directly.

(d) State and local government employees: Several changes would facilitate social security coverage of additional employees of State and local governments.

(e) Exemption of certain religious sects: Members of certain religious sects who have conscientious objections to insurance (including social security) by reason of their adherence to the established tenets or teachings of such sects could be exempt from the social security tax on self-employment income upon application accompanied by a waiver of benefit rights.

(f) Nonprofit organizations: Nonprofit organizations, and their employees who concur, may elect social security coverage effective retroactively for a period up to 5 years (rather than 1 year, as under prior law). Also, wage credit may be given for the earnings of certain employees of nonprofit organizations who were erroneously reported for social security purposes.

(g) District of Columbia employees: The legislation provides for social security coverage of certain employees of the District of Columbia (primarily substitute schoolteachers).

(h) Ministers: The deadline for electing social security coverage by ministers who have been in the ministry at least 2 years since 1954 is extended 2 years. Also, social security credit may be obtained for the earnings of certain ministers, which were reported but which cannot be credited under prior law.

3. MISCELLANEOUS

(a) Filing of proof: The period of filing of proof of support for dependent husband's, widower's, and parent's benefits, and for filing application for lump-sum death payments where good cause exists for failure to file within the initial 2-year period, is extended indefinitely.

(b) Automatic recomputation of benefits: The benefits of people on the rolls will be recomputed automatically each year to take account of any covered earnings that the worker might have had in the previous year and that would increase his benefit amount. Under prior law there are various requirements that must be met in order to have benefits recomputed, including filing of an application and earnings of over $1,200 a year after entitlement.

(c) Military wage credits: The provision authorizing reimbursement of the trust funds out of general revenue for gratuitious social security wage credits for servicemen is revised so that such payments will be spread over the next 50 years.

(d) Extension of life of applications: The new law liberalizes the requirement that an application for monthly insurance benefits be valid for only 3 months after the date of filing, and for disability benefits 3 months before the beginning of the waiting period. The new law allows an application to remain valid up until the time the Secretary makes a final decision on the application.

(e) Underpayments: The new law provides specific authority, lacking in prior law, for the Secretary to settle certain underpayments of benefits.

(f) Authorization for one spouse to cash a joint check: The Secretary of the Treasury would be authorized, under a new provision, to issue regulations so as to permit a surviving spouse (or other surviving payee) to cash a benefit check issued jointly to a husband and wife if one of them dies before the check is negotiated; any overpayment resulting from the cashing of the joint check would be recovered.

(g) Social security records—deserting parents: The new law provides that, under certain specfied conditions, the address of a deserting parent of a child applying for or receiving public assistance may be given to a welfare agency or a court through a welfare agency.

(h) Attorney's fees: A provision is incorporated which permits a court that renders a judgment favorable to a claimant in an action arising under the social security program to set a reasonable fee—not in excess of 25 percent of past due benefits which become payable by reason of the judgment—for an attorney who successfully represented the claimant. The Secretary is permitted to certify payment of the fee to the attorney out of such past due benefits.

(i) Waiver of 1-year marriage requirement: The legislation provides an exception to the 1-year duration of marriage requirement for social security benefits for any widow, wife, husband, or widower who was, in the month before marriage, actually or potentially entitled to railroad retirement benefits as a widow, widower, parent, or disabled adult child.

E. SCOPE, COSTS AND FINANCING

1. HEALTH INSURANCE AND MEDICAL CARE FOR THE NEEDY

The scope of the protection provided is broadly as follows:

Basic plan: It is estimated that approximately 17 million insured individuals and 2 million uninsured will qualify on July 1, 1966.

Voluntary supplementary plan: It is estimated that of the total eligible aged of 19 million, from 80 to 95 percent will participate, which will mean approximately 15.2 to 18 million individuals will be involved.

Medical assistance for needy: The expanded medical assistance—Kerr-Mills—program is estimated to provide new or increased medical assistance to about 8 million needy persons during an early year of operation. States could, in the future, provide aid to as many as twice this number who need help with medical costs.

The costs and financing are as follows:

Basic plan: Benefits and administrative expenses under the basic plan would be about $1 billion for the 6-month period in 1966 and about $2.3 billion in 1967. Contribution income for those years would be about $1.6 and $2.8 billion, respectively. The costs for the uninsured—

paid from general funds—would be about $280 million for the first full year.

The level-premium—long range—cost of the hospital insurance program is 1.23 percent of payroll broken down as follows:

	Percent
Hospital and extended care facility benefits	1.19
Posthospital home health	.03
Outpatient diagnostic	.01
Total	1.23

Separate payroll taxes to finance the basic plan, paid by employers, employees, and self-employed persons, would be earmarked in a separate hospital insurance trust fund established in the Treasury. The same contribution rate would apply equally to employers, employees, and self-employed persons.

The tax rate, base, and tax amount for future years is shown in the following table:

TABLE 1.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to employers, employees, and self-employed persons under the basic hospital insurance program of the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97), 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax on employer, employee, and self-employed (each)		
	Tax rate (percent)	Tax base	Tax amount [1]
1965			
1966	0.35	$6,600	$23.10
1967	.50	6,600	33.00
1968	.50	6,600	33.00
1969–72	.50	6,600	33.00
1973–75	.55	6,600	36.30
1976–79	.60	6,600	39.60
1980–86	.70	6,600	46.20
1987 and after	.80	6,600	52.80

[1] For each self-employed person and employee with earnings or wage equal to or in excess of the tax base; employers pay same amount on behalf of such employees.

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

The benefit provisions of the law are financed by first, an increase in the earnings base from $4,800 to $6,600 effective January 1, 1966; and, second, a revised tax rate schedule.

The tax rate schedule under prior law and the revised schedule under the new legislation for the OASDI program is shown by the two tables which follow:

TABLE 7.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to employers and employees (each) under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax rate employer and employee (each)		Tax base		Tax per employee with base wage under Public Law 89–97 [1]			
					Amount of tax		Increase under Public Law 89–97	
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Over prior law	Over 1965
	Percent	Percent						
1965	3.625	3.625	$4,800	$4,800	$174	$174.00		
1966	4.125	3.850	4,800	6,600	198	254.10	$56.10	$80.10
1967	4.125	3.900	4,800	6,600	198	257.40	59.40	83.40
1968	4.625	3.900	4,800	6,600	222	257.40	35.40	83.40
1969–72	4.625	4.400	4,800	6,600	222	290.40	68.40	116.40
1973–75	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1976–79	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1980–86	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10
1987 and after	4.625	4.850	4,800	6,600	222	320.10	98.10	146.10

[1] Employers pay same amount on behalf of such employees.

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

TABLE 8.—*Tax rate, tax base, and tax amount applicable to self-employed persons under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89–97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program, 1965–87 and after*

Year	Tax rate		Tax base		Tax per self-employed with base earnings under Public Law 89–97			
					Amount of tax		Increase under Public Law 89–97	
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89–97	Over prior law	Over 1965
	Percent	Percent						
1965	5.4	5.4	$4,800	$4,800	$259.20	$259.20		
1966	6.2	5.8	4,800	6,600	297.60	382.80	$85.20	$123.60
1967	6.2	5.9	4,800	6,600	297.60	389.40	91.80	130.20
1968	6.9	5.9	4,800	6,600	331.20	389.40	58.20	130.20
1969–72	6.9	6.6	4,800	6,600	331.20	435.60	104.40	176.40
1973–75	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1976–79	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1980–86	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80
1987 and after	6.9	7.0	4,800	6,600	331.20	462.00	130.80	202.80

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

TABLE 10.—*Combined tax rate on employer and employee under the Social Security Amendments of 1965 (Public Law 89-97) and under prior law, old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and basic hospital insurance program, 1965-87 and after*

[In percent]

Year	Combined tax rate on employer and employee							
	Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program		Basic hospital insurance program		Old-age, survivors, and disability insurance program and basic hospital insurance program			
	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Under prior law	Under Public Law 89-97	Change under Public Law 89-97	
							Over prior law	Over 1965
1965	7.25	7.25			7.25	7.25		
1966	8.25	7.70		0.70	8.25	8.40	+0.15	+1.15
1967	8.25	7.80		1.00	8.25	8.80	+.55	+1.55
1968	9.25	7.80		1.00	9.25	8.80	−.45	+1.55
1969-72	9.25	8.80		1.00	9.25	9.80	+.55	+2.55
1973-75	9.25	9.70		1.10	9.25	10.80	+1.55	+3.55
1976-79	9.25	9.70		1.20	9.25	10.90	+1.65	+3.65
1980-86	9.25	9.70		1.40	9.25	11.10	+1.85	+3.85
1987 and after	9.25	9.70		1.60	9.25	11.30	+2.05	+4.05

Source: Staff of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

H.R. 8371—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89-44, approved June 21, 1965. Following is a brief outline of the provisions of this legislation, the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1965:

Item	Prior law		Public Law 89-44	Effective date
	Base	Rate		
A. RETAILERS				
Furs	Retail price	10 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965.
Jewelry	do	do	do	Do.
Luggage and handbags	do	do	do	Do.
Toilet preparations	do	do	do	Do.
B. MANUFACTURERS				
Passenger automobiles [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	Manufacturers' price	do	Reduced to 7 percent on June 22, 1965, 6 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 4 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1969.	
Schoolbuses	do	do	Exempted	Do.
Camper coaches and bodies and self-propelled mobile homes	do	do	do	Do.
Farm feed, seed, and fertilizer equipment	do	8 or 10 percent	do	Do.
Small 3-wheeled motor vehicles	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Auto parts and accessories [1] (except parts primarily used for trucks and buses).	do	8 percent	Repealed entirely	Jan. 1, 1966.
Used parts incorporated in new trucks	Value	10 percent	Value of parts exempted from tax on new trucks.	June 22, 1965.
Casinghead and natural gasoline	Gallon	4 cents	Taxable only when used as motor fuel.	July 1, 1965.
Gasoline	do	do	Taxable only when suitable for use as a motor fuel.	Do.
Lubricating oil [1]	do	6 cents	Repeals tax on cutting oil and on other lubricating oil used otherwise than in a highway motor vehicle. Tax on oil used for a highway motor vehicle to be allocated to the highway trust fund.	Jan. 1, 1966.
Cutting oil [1]	do	3 cents		
Refrigerators [1]	Manufacturer's price	5 percent	Repealed entirely	June 22, 1965.
Freezers [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Airconditioners [1] (refunds as to sales after May 14, 1965)	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Electric, gas, and oil appliances [1]	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Electric light, bulbs [1]	do	10 percent	Repealed entirely on Jan. 1, 1966, except tax on bulbs used in previously taxable items repealed on June 22, 1965.	
Radios and phonographs [1]	do	do	Repealed entirely	Do.
Television sets [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Phonograph records [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Musical instruments [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Sporting goods [1] (except fishing equipment)	do	do	do	Do.
Cameras and film [1]	do	do	do	Do.
Projectors [1]	do	5 percent	do	Do.
Business machines [1]	do	10 percent	do	Do.
Pens and mechanical pencils	do	do	do	Do.
Lighters	Each (but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price).	10 cents	do	Do.
Matches:				
Plain	2 cents per 1,000, but not more than 10 percent of manufacturer's price.		do	Do.
Fancy	5½ cents per 1,000		do	Do.
Playing cards [1]	Pack	13 cents	do	Do.

[1] Provision is made for floor stock refund.

Item	Prior law		Public Law 89-44	Effective date
	Base	Rate		
C. FACILITIES AND SERVICES				
General admissions	Amounts exceeding $1	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Noon, Dec. 31, 1965.
Horse and dog races	Amount	20 percent	do	Do.
Cabarets	Bill	10 percent	do	Do.
Club dues	Annual dues, if exceeding $10.	20 percent	Repealed entirely on Jan. 1, 1966, except the tax in the case of initiation fees for new clubs which is repealed on July 1, 1965.	
Airtravel	Amount	5 percent	Exempts certain travel of Armed Forces personnel by redefining uninterrupted international air travel.	July 1, 1965.
Safe deposit boxes	Rent	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Do.
D. COMMUNICATIONS				
Local and long-distance telephone and teletypewriter service	Bill	do	Reduced to 3 percent on Jan. 1, 1966, 2 percent on Jan. 1, 1967, 1 percent on Jan. 1, 1968, 0 on Jan. 1, 1969.	
Certain private line and PBX service	do	do	Exempted	Jan. 1, 1966.
Telegraph service	do	do	Repealed entirely	Do.
Wire and equipment service	do	8 percent	do	Do.
E. DOCUMENTARY STAMP TAXES				
1. Bond and stock issues:				
Stock	$100 value	10 cents	do	Do.
Mutual funds	do	4 cents	do	Do.
Bonds	do	11 cents	do	Do.
2. Bond and stock transfers:				
Stock	$100 value (but no more than 8 cents per share nor less than 4 cents per sale).	4 cents	do	Do.
Bonds	$100 value	5 cents	do	Do.
3. Conveyances (deeds, instruments, or writing conveying realty).	$500 value	55 cents	do	Jan. 1, 1968.
Wagering taxes (State sweepstakes, pools, and lotteries)	Amount of wager	10 percent	Exempted wagers placed after Mar. 10, 1964.	
F. OTHER TAXES				
Coin-operated amusement devices (not including gaming devices).	Machine	$10 per machine per year.	Repealed entirely	July 1, 1965.
Bowling alleys and billiard and pool tables	Alley or table	$20 per alley or table per year.	do	Do.
Distilled spirits	Gallon	Varying	Redefines term "export" to exempt from tax shipments to Wake and Midway Islands.	Do.
Manufactured tobacco (chewing, smoking, snuff)	Pound	10 percent	Repealed entirely	Jan. 1, 1966.
Poultry exchanges	Exempts certain poultry exchanges from income tax for taxable years beginning after Dec. 31, 1953, and ending after Aug. 16, 1954, which begin before Jan. 1, 1966.			

H.R. 318—Mr. JENNINGS—passed House October 7, 1965: The purpose of this bill is to provide that the manufacturers' excise tax on tires and inner tubes in the case of manufacturer-owned (or importer owned) retail stores is to be imposed at the time of delivery to these stores, rather than at the time these tubes or tires are sold. Under present law, a tax of 10 cents a pound is imposed on a highway-type tires and 5 cents a pound on other tires, and a tax of 10 cents a pound is imposed with respect to inner tubes, at the time they are sold by the manufacturer, producer, or importer. In the case of tire and inner tube manufacturers—or importers—maintaining their own retail stores or retail outlets, this means that no tax is imposed until the manufacturer makes a retail sale. As a result, where a manufacturer has his own retail store, this means that no tax is paid on his retail inventory. On the other hand, the independent tire dealer, because the sale by the manufacturer, producer, or importer occurred prior to or at the time of his acquisition of the tires and tubes, can have only tax-paid inventory.

H.R. 318 would remove this competitive discrimination against independent tire dealers by providing for the imposition of the tire or inner tube tax at the time the tire or inner tube is delivered to a retail store or retail outlet of the manufacturer, producer, or importer.

The bill was reported unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and was passed by voice vote under suspension of the rules.

H.R. 327—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to exempt from income taxation mutual, nonprofit organizations organized before September 1, 1957, and operated to provide reserves for building and loan associations, cooperative banks, and mutual savings banks, if at least 85 percent of their income is attributable to providing such reserve funds and to investments. The bill extends this tax-exempt status to organizations which are similar in essential respects to those already exempt. Present law, however, exempts such organizations only if they provide both reserves for, and insurance of shares and deposits of, member associations.

The bill also provides that net income derived by such organizations—both that of the organizations exempted by this bill and that of the similar organizations already exempt—which is not related to the provision of reserves or insurance will be taxed as unrelated business income thus confining the privilege of tax exemption to income derived from the specific services upon which that exemption is based.

H.R. 4260—Mr. KEOGH—passed House June 17, 1965: As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill amends the real estate investment trust provisions of present law to provide that the term "real estate investment trust" means a corporation as well as an unincorporated trust or unincorporated association. Real estate investment corporations which meet the conditions specified in the statute now applicable to real estate investment trusts would be eligible for the "pass through" type of tax treatment, where 90 percent or more of their income is distributed, in substantially the same manner as regulated investment companies. Thus, where the specified conditions are met, the distributed income would be taxed to the shareholder in the real estate corporation and not to the corporation itself. The income taxed to the shareholder, as presently provided in the case of real estate investment trusts, would be treated as ordinary income—not eligible for the dividend exclusion—except in the case of capital gains, which would be treated in the same manner as is presently provided for real estate investment trusts.

H.R. 4493—Mrs. GRIFFITHS—Public Law 89-61, approved June 30, 1965: The purpose of this bill, which was enacted into law in the form reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, was to continue for 2 years, to the close of June 30, 1967, the existing suspension of duties on

scrap of various metals. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation, and the committee was advised that the conditions which prompted the initial suspension of the duty on metal scrap, and the continuations thereof to the present time, have not changed. The committee was unanimous in recommending enactment of the bill.

H.R. 4750—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89–243, approved October 9, 1965: This bill extended to July 31, 1967, the interest equalization tax which, in the absence of legislation, would have terminated on December 31, 1965, and broadened its application to include debt obligations having a maturity of 1 or more years—instead of 3 years or more. The tax, originally enacted as a part of the overall program to improve our balance-of-payments position, increases the cost of foreign borrowing in the case of securities and debt obligations in this country by approximately 1 percent. The Committee on Ways and Means was of the opinion that the tax had proven to be useful in our efforts to counter the deficit in our balance of payments, and its extension was urged by the administration.

H.R. 5768—Mr. HERLONG—Public Law 89–229, approved October 1, 1965: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means, the purpose of this bill was to continue for 3 years, until the close of November 7, 1968, the existing suspension of duties on certain classifications of spun silk yarn. This suspension of duty, which has been in effect continuously since November 1959 was originally enacted in order to enable domestic producers to import fine silk yarns free of duty so as to make it more economical for them to produce fine-yarn fabrics in competition with imported similar fabrics. The committee was advised that the continuation of the suspension is justified on the basis of the same reasons that prompted the original suspension. Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill. The Senate added a provision to the bill creating a specific tariff category for certain textured yarn composed of continuous manmade fibers and providing a rate of duty for this product of 25 cents per pound plus 30 percent ad valorem. This provision was not included in the conference agreement and as the bill became law, but the President was requested to cause a study to be made of this matter with a report, including recommendations as to the appropriate rate of duty for such yarns, to be made to the Congress not later than February 1, 1966.

H.R. 6319—Mr. BOGGS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide, in the case of recoveries of foreign expropriation losses, a new set of rules generally limiting the tax on the recovery to the benefit previously received in deducting the loss (but applying current tax rates). In hardship situations the bill also makes provision for payment of the tax on recoveries in 10 equal annual installments bearing interest at 4 percent. A special rule is provided in the case of life insurance companies, and the bill also makes provision for taxing recoveries with respect to foreign expropriation losses where a benefit from a tax deduction was received by one corporation holding securities in another whose property was expropriated.

H.R. 6431—Mr. SCHNEEBELI—Public Law 89–204, approved September 27, 1965: As unanimously reported to the House by the Committee on Ways and Means and subsequently enacted into law, this legislation provided for the suspension, through June 30, 1967, of the duty on certain forms of nickel, and authorized the President to proclaim the continuance of of such duty-free treatment after June 30, 1967, in order to carry out a trade agreement entered into under the authority of section 201 of the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. The committee was advised that the United States is heavily dependent upon imports for its supplies of nickel, and that the duty on these products constitutes a significant cost burden on U.S. manufacturers, particularly producers of stainless steel and alloy steels, and that removal of the duty would help to improve the competitive position in the domestic as well as the export market of U.S. products manufactured from imported nickel-bearing raw materials. Favorable departmental reports were received on the legislation.

H.R. 6568—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 18, 1965: As reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, this bill would, first, repeal the 3-cent processing tax on coconut oil, which has been suspended by temporary enactments continuously since 1957, as well as the duties of palmnut kernels and palmnuts; second, increase the duty-free quota of Philippine coconut oil from 120,000 to 160,000 long tons for the years 1965, 1966, and 1967; third, condition the duty-free quota increase for 1966 and 1967 and suspension of reduced duties on copra upon the Philippine Government having waived its existing 1¼-cent preference on copra.

This legislation was reported by the committee after full public hearings and careful consideration of all sides of the issue involved, and represents the unanimous view of the committee as to the most equitable treatment of the situation.

H.R. 7502—Mr. ULLMAN—passed House August 3, 1965: The purpose of this bill as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House is to amend the provisions of existing law relating to the income tax treatment of casualty losses to provide that if property is destroyed or damaged by a storm, flood, or other casualty which is designated by the President of the United States as a major disaster then, if the losses exceed the gains, both the losses and the gains will be treated as ordinary for tax purposes.

Under present law, uninsured business losses—or those from property held for the production of income—arising from a fire or other casualty are treated as ordinary losses without regard to any gains the taxpayer may have. This rule is not changed by the bill. In the case of major disasters, the bill supplements this rule of existing law to provide substantially similar loss treatment for partially insured business property—or property held for the production of income. This loss treatment also is provided in the case of major disasters for losses of personal assets held for over 6 months (such as a personal residence—whether or not it is covered by any insurance.

The Treasury Department has indicated that it has no objection to the enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 7621—Mr. DOW—passed House June 9, 1965—Public Law 89–241: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill was to close a tariff loophole by amending the Tariff Schedules of the United States to limit the term "button blanks" to raw or crude blanks suitable for manufacture into buttons. The substance of this bill was adopted by the Senate as an amendment to H.R. 7969, the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, and it became law as a part of that legislation.

H.R. 7723—Mr. KING of California—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to suspend the duties on certain tropical hardwood lumbers until January 1, 1968, and to authorize the President to proclaim the continuance beyond that date of the duty-free treatment of such lumbers in connection with a trade agreement which may be entered into under the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 as though such temporary duty-free treatment were permanent treatment under the tariff laws. The products covered by the bill are hardwood lumbers, rough, dressed, or worked, which the Tariff Commission has determined to be tropical forestry commodities of kinds not produced in significant quantities in the United States. Although the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 provides for the elimination of duties on such lumber under the trade agreements procedure, this cannot be accomplished until after the conclusion of the Kennedy Round negotiations, and the Committee on Ways and Means is of the opinion that the U.S. foreign economic interests would be served by the immediate temporary suspension of these duties.

Favorable departmental reports were received on the bill, and the Department of Commerce advised that it knows of no objection on the part of domestic industry to its enactment.

H.R. 7969—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89–241, approved October 7, 1965: The purpose of this legislation, the Tariff Schedules Technical Amendments Act of 1965, was to provide for the correction of certain errors which, through oversight, inadvertence, or lack of adequate information, had been made by the Tariff Commission in preparing the tariff schedules of the United States—TSUS.

TSUS was the product of many years of work by the Tariff Commission under legislative directive to compile a revision

and consolidation of the laws prescribing the tariff status of imported articles with a view to their simplification. Duty changes were to be avoided except where required as an incident to the accomplishment of the purposes of the legislation. The result of the Tariff Commission efforts was a revised set of tariff schedules which the Congress ultimately adopted by the Tariff Classification Act of 1962. After some revision under legislative criteria, the new schedules became effective on August 31, 1963.

Since the adoption of the new schedules, a number of errors had come to light, and the purpose of H.R. 7969 was to gather these errors together and make corrections in one bill, rather than deal with them piecemeal.

H.R. 8147—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89–62, approved June 30, 1965: As enacted into law, this legislation made permanent the previously temporary reduction to $100 in the exemption from duty that a returning resident of the United States may bring back into this country free of duty and changed the basis of valuation from wholesale value to fair retail value. The bill also contained provisions which, among other things, first, reduced the quantity of alcoholic beverages that may be included in the exemption from 1 wine gallon to 1 quart—except in the case of persons returning from the Virgin Islands, Guam, or American Samoa—and limited the exercise of this privilege to persons age 21 or over; second, reestablished and made permanent with certain changes the special temporary exemption provisions which had previously applied to U.S. residents returning from the Virgin Islands and extended those provisions to also include persons returning from American Samoa or Guam; and, third, limited the exemption to articles accompanying the individual on his return to the United States.

The legislation was recommended by the administration as one of several steps proposed by the President to deal with the continuing deficit in our balance of payments. The Secretary of the Treasury advised the Committee on Ways and Means that the reduction in duty-free exemption had been effective in bringing about balance-of-payments savings, and the committee concluded that this action was warranted.

H.R. 8210—Mr. MILLER—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill provides that at the discretion of the President the European Space Research Organization—ESRO—an organization of 11 Western European countries engaged in the planning of scientific activities in the peaceful use of outer space which is interested in establishing a small satellite telemetry command station near Fairbanks, Alaska, may be designated by the President as an international organization for purposes of the International Organizations Immunities Act. Upon such a designation, the organization, to the extent provided by the President, will be exempt from customs duties on property imported for the activities it engages in, from income taxes, from withholding taxes on wages, and from excise taxes on services and facilities. In addition, the employees of the international organization—other than nationals of the United States—may not be subject to U.S. income tax on the income they receive from ESRO. Favorable departmental reports were received on this legislation.

H.R. 8436—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill would amend those provisions of the Tariff Schedules of the United States granting exemption from duty to articles produced in insular possessions of the United States with use of foreign materials so that such exemption will no longer be allowed in the case of certain timing devices so produced in any of such possessions other than in the Virgin Islands of the United States.

The need for the legislation arose out of the rapid development of a watch assembly industry in the Virgin Islands which was threatening to assume such proportions as to constitute primarily a tariff-avoidance scheme. This threat was avoided by the recent action of the Virgin Islands Legislature in enacting legislation establishing what are, in effect, quotas on shipments of watch movements to the United States. Following close on this action, however, rumors have spread that some U.S. firms and possibly others are planning to establish watch-assembly operations on Guam and American Samoa and thus defeat the effect of the action of the Virgin Islands Legislature. The bill would frustrate any such action by withdrawing the special exemption privilege with respect to timing devices produced in those possessions.

H.R. 8445—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, the purpose of this bill is to eliminate an inequity in the provisions of existing law which prescribe the formula for computing retired pay for judges of the Tax Court of the United States. Under present law the retired pay of a judge of the Tax Court, unlike the retired pay of judges of other Federal courts, is based on the salary payable to him as judge "at the time he ceases to be a judge" rather than on the salary of the office, the normal basis utilized in computing retired pay for judges of the U.S. district courts and of the U.S. Court of Claims.

H.R. 8445 would eliminate this disparate treatment in the law by providing for the calculation of retired pay of Tax Court judges in a manner similar to that presently provided for judges of the other Federal tribunals.

H.R. 8464—Mr. MILLS—Public Law 89–49, approved June 24, 1965: This legislation, which was enacted into law without amendment, provided a temporary increase in the public debt limit to $328 billion for the period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending on June 30, 1966. In the absence of legislation, the debt limitation would have reverted on July 1, 1965, to the permanent limit of $285 billion.

In the report of the Committee on Ways and Means on this bill, it was noted that the committee had requested the Treasury Department and the Bureau of the Budget to determine whether in their view there are guidelines for establishing a new permanent debt ceiling which would be realistic in light of the present level of the debt, and to report back to the committee on this subject.

H.R. 9042—Mr. MILLS—Public Law No. 89–283, approved October 21, 1965: This legislation, the Automotive Products Trade Act of 1965, provided for the implementation of the Agreement Concerning Automotive Products Between the Government of the United States and the Government of Canada, signed by President Johnson and Prime Minister Pearson on January 16, 1965.

The legislation marks a milestone in the trade relations of the United States and her greatest trading partner, Canada. H.R. 9042 provides authority to the President to carry out the U.S. undertaking under the Automotive Products Agreement to remove the U.S. duties on imports of Canadian motor vehicles and original equipment for new motor vehicles. Canada removed its duties from U.S. imports on January 18, 1965. The agreement was the culmination of the efforts of representatives of both Governments to solve a problem which had led to actions that threatened a trade war between the two countries. The problem arose out of the desire of Canada to increase its share in the North American automotive market.

H.R. 9570—Mr. JENNINGS—Public Law 89–184, approved September 15, 1965: The purpose of this bill, which was reported to the House unanimously by the Committee on Ways and Means and was enacted into law without amendment, was to amend the Federal Firearms Act to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to relieve applicants from certain provisions of the act if he determines that the granting of relief would not be contrary to the public interest, and that the applicant would not be likely to conduct his operations in an unlawful manner. The committee concluded, after examination of a situation which had been brought to its attention, that under certain circumstances it would be desirable to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to grant relief from the disabilities imposed under the Federal Firearms Act in the case of felony convictions, where the felony concerned did not involve the use of firearms or other weapons or any violation under the Federal or National Firearms Act. The Departments of the Treasury and Justice submitted reports interposing no objection to the enactment of this legislation.

H.R. 10625—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: As unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, this bill would make a series of amendments to the Internal Revenue Code designed to provide essentially the same tax treatment under the retired serviceman's family protection plan where provision is made for annuities for surviving spouses or certain child beneficiaries as already is provided in the case of the

civil service retirement program and other qualified pension plans. Both the Department of the Treasury and the Department of Defense favor this legislation.

H.R. 11029—Mr. KEOGH—passed House October 5, 1965: H.R. 11029, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, aims at closing certain loopholes in the U.S. Tariff Schedules which enable foreign manufacturers to so manipulate the manufacture of certain fabrics as to avoid higher duties that would apply in the absence of such manipulation. Like other legislation designed to frustrate tariff avoidance practices, the purpose of this bill is to assure the full payment of the duty actually intended to apply to particular products.

H.R. 11216—Mr. MILLS—passed House October 21, 1965: The purpose of this bill, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means and passed by the House, is to eliminate an impediment to allowance in duty under item 807.00 of the tariff schedules of the United States with respect to U.S. products previously exported and returned to this country as components of articles assembled abroad. A clause in item 807.00 denies the benefit afforded unless the particular U.S. products contained in the returned assembled article are prior to their exportation identified to the U.S. Customs as being intended for assembly abroad and returned to the United States as components of particular articles. This requirement has proven to be onerous both to the U.S. exporters and to the customs authorities. The bill would eliminate the requirement, which was not a feature of the law prior to the adoption of the new tariff schedules.

S. 701—Senator MANSFIELD, by request—Public Law 89-23, approved May 22, 1965: As amended by the Committee on Ways and Means and enacted into law, the purpose of this legislation was to grant the President the authority that would permit the United States to carry out its obligations under the International Coffee Agreement of 1962, which had previously been signed by the United States and ratified by the Senate.

S. 1760—Senator FULBRIGHT—reported to House October 8, 1965: The purpose of the bill, S. 1760, as unanimously reported by the Committee on Ways and Means, is to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury to conclude the settlement of a debt arising from a loan by the United States to Greece in 1929, on which no payments have been made since the early years of World War II. Under the terms of the settlement, Greece will repay at interest $13,155,921 in 82 annual installments; the latter with one exception will each amount to approximately $329,000, and the payments thus will total $26.7 million. The bill provides that the sums so paid by Greece shall be deposited in the Treasury of the United States, and it authorizes the appropriation of amounts equivalent to the sums so deposited for use in financing educational and cultural exchange programs authorized by the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961 in relation to Greece and the people of Greece.

Both the Department of Labor and the Department of State have recommended this legislation and requested its prompt enactment.

PRIVATE BILLS

Seventeen private bills were reported by the Committee on Ways and Means during the past session of the Congress. Most of these bills provided for the duty-free entry of certain scientific instruments for the use of specified educational institutions. A listing of the private bills reported by the committee, noted as to the items covered by each and the status of the bill at adjournment, follows:

Private bill number and author	Status at adjournment or last action	Item for which duty-free entry provided	Institution involved
H.R. 1317, Mr. Gubser	Private Law 89-198 (approved Nov. 2, 1965)	Mass spectrometer	Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.
H.R. 1386, Mr. Lipscomb	Private Law 89-172 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	do	Pomona College, Claremont, Calif.
H.R. 2655, Mr. O'Hara, Illinois	Private Law 89-199 (approved Nov. 2, 1965)	do	University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
H.R. 3126, Mr. Pelly	Private Law 89-181 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	do	University of Washington.
H.R. 4599, Mr. Rogers, Colorado	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Stained glass	Congregation Emanuel, Denver, Colo.
H.R. 4832, Mr. Karsten	Private Law 89-174 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	Mass spectrometer	St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.
H.R. 5831, Mr. O'Brien	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Stained glass and cement windows.	Our Lady of the Angels Seminary, Glenmont, N.Y.
H.R. 6906, Mr. Stratton	Private Law 89-193 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Mass spectrometer and split-pole spectrograph.	University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
H.R. 6666, Mr. Stratton	Private Law 89-208 (approved Nov. 8, 1965)	Spectrograph system	University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
H.R. 7608, Mr. Jarman	Private Law 89-187 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	Distribution machine	University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
H.R. 8232, Mr. Steed	Private Law 89-195 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Mass spectrometer-gas chromatograph.	Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Okla.
H.R. 8272, Mr. Thompson, New Jersey	Private Law 89-175 (approved Oct. 30, 1965)	Isotope separator	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
H.R. 9351, Mr. Reifel	Private Law 89-196 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Shadomaster measuring projector.	University of South Dakota.
H.R. 9587, Mr. Aspinall	Private Law 89-197 (approved Nov. 1, 1965)	Craig countercurrent distribution apparatus.	Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colo.
H.R. 9588, Mr. Boggs	Private Law 89-177 (approved Oct. 31, 1965)	Rotating chair	Louisiana State University Medical Center, New Orleans, La.
H.R. 9903, Mr. Giaimo	Private Law 89-209 (approved Nov. 8, 1965)	Multigap magnetic spectrograph; and Senate amendments as follows:	
		(1) Mass spectrometer	Yale University.
		(2) Mass spectrometer	Ohio State University.
		(3) Digital polarimeter.	Smith College.
		(4) Photomicroscope	Utah State Training School.
		(5) Rheogoniometer	Catholic University of America.
H.R. 8647, Mr. Irwin	Reported to House Oct. 19, 1965	Authentic troubador uniforms.	Troubadors Drum & Bugle Corps, Bridgeport, Conn.

WAVZ Editorial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, WAVZ, in New Haven, Conn., has carried a number of fine editorials on Vietnam and the "misguided students who have been giving a false impression of where Americans stand by their agitation against our efforts in Vietnam."

As my colleagues know, I too have expressed dismay and concern over some of the activities of students and other young people who have been so active and so vocal for the United States to pull out of Vietnam.

What I found especially interesting was the suggestion in one of the editorials that students and others who want to help out write to some of the individual American soldiers in Vietnam.

The student mentioned in the WAVZ editorial "has been telling them something very simple—that be believes in what they are doing there."

And not surprisingly at all, he has been receiving answers from these servicemen, saying that his letters have helped.

I commend Daniel Kops, the president of WAVZ, for his editorials, for his suggestion that people write to individual soldiers in Vietnam and for his offer to forward as many of these letters as he receives to Vietnam.

Under unanimous consent I place these WAVZ editorials printed in the RECORD at this point:

(We take you now to the editorial room of WAVZ, for a statement of opinion by this station. Here is Daniel W. Kops, president of WAVZ, to bring you that statement.)

"Thank you.

"A high school student in Hamden wrote a letter a few weeks ago to be delivered to some soldiers in South Vietnam.

"He did it without any fanfare and has never sought personal publicity. He just wanted to do something to assure a few of our fighting men that there are young people at home * * * probably a majority of our young people * * * who believe in what we're fighting for and understand why American troops need to be there.

To us at WAVZ, this is a gratifying contrast with the hordes of naive demonstrators who are presently undermining our war effort. They seem to be demanding a great deal of attention for their antics of tearing up draft cards, marches on Washington and banner waving.

"No doubt they need an emotional outlet, but this particular one is serving no purpose, but the interest of the Communists.

"Congressman GIAIMO states it well—that the question of U.S. involvement Vietnam was once debatable, but we are now committed to fight a successful war to halt Communist aggression there and bring about a peaceful settlement. This is not a time to undermine that effort.

"With this we heartily agree. We think it's time these students went back to their classrooms for some concentrated study of what's happening in the world. Until they do there's always the danger that our allies and opponents might think they represent serious American thinking.

"Thank you for your attention."

(You have been listening to a WAVZ editorial, a statement of opinion by this station.)

(We take you now to the editorial room of WAVZ, for a statement of opinion by this station. Here is Daniel W. Kops, president of WAVZ, to bring you that statement.)

"Thank you.

"In our last editorial we talked about the misguided students who have been giving a false impression of where Americans stand by agitation against our efforts in Vietnam—an impression which undermines us in the minds of our allies, our opponents, and worst of all, our own troops.

"We talked, too, about a student who wanted to do something to help. He has been writing letters to be given to individual American soldiers stationed in Vietnam. He has been telling them something very simple—that he believes in what they are doing there.

"And you will be glad to know he has helped. He has been getting answers from the soldiers, saying so.

"Today we want to talk about what you can do for your country, because we don't think it's corny to be patriotic, and your help is needed.

"We would like to ask that you write letters, too, letters that tell an individual soldier in your own way that you appreciate his risks and you believe in what he is doing.

"If you are a parent, if you're an ex-serviceman, or have ever been away from home, you know the value of a letter. If you are a student, talk about it in a classroom and you'll be able to write what your friends are thinking, too.

"Write as many letters as you want, and we'll take care of forwarding them. Just address them to Commanding General, American Forces, care of Radio Station WAVZ, New Haven.

"Yes, this is a way you can do something for your country.

"Thank you for your attention."

(You have been listening to a WAVZ editorial, a statement of opinion by this station.)

The Wonderful World of Paper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, just as surely as it can be said that the paper and paperboard industry begins in the woodlands of the United States, it can be said to have found its home in western Massachusetts. I am privileged to number among my constituents, one of the largest number of paper companies of any Member of the Congress. These 26 companies serve the needs of all of us for the many paper products that are a part of the "wonderful world of paper."

Recently, a supplement to the New York Times was devoted to the paper industry. This able and attractive presentation covered all facets of an industry upon which every one of us depend to a degree few of us realize. Our use of paper has become so much a habit that an awareness of the impact its absence would have serves as a timely reminder of the contributions to the orderly transaction of business and the virtual necessities of a day's routine made by this industry in the form of paper products.

The introductory remarks to this supplement were devoted to just such a supposition: "Can You Imagine a World Without Paper?" I have included the full text of this introduction below.

An industry having roots deep in the heritage of New England, the paper companies might easily take their position there for granted, just as we, the user of their products, take those products for granted. However, the paper companies of Massachusetts' First Congressional District are a source of pride for me and for everyone making their home there. Active participation in community affairs and leadership for the progress and development of their home communities have been the hallmark of these companies.

I am also including an excerpt from this supplement devoted to a topic which occupied the time and thoughts of all of us in the Congress during the 1st session of the 89th Congress; that is, the topic of water pollution. The remarks, "Water Management—Progress and Promise," amply illustrate the dependence of the paper industry on water resources, one of western Massachusetts' most important natural resources, as well as the awareness of this industry to the need and desire to work for the abatement and control of the impairment of water quality.

I urge my colleagues to read the complete story of the paper industry presented in this supplement:

CAN YOU IMAGINE—A WORLD WITHOUT PAPER?

Suppose, as you slept last night, some evil genie had withdrawn paper from the earth and, to insure the permanency of his mischief, blighted the forests which are the primary source of paper.

It is not an easy supposition. Not even an Alfred Hitchcock film has ever imagined the walking nightmare that would then descend upon the world.

The sunlight would glare through shadeless windows and bounce off empty picture frames on paperless walls. You could reach for the morning newspaper to find out what had happened only to discover that there was no morning newspaper. Nor an evening newspaper from the day before. And it, at this point, you should decide that your salvation lay in prayer, then the prayer had better be well memorized, for not even a Bible would have survived to help you.

Need a cigarette? There remains only a pile of loose tobacco on the floor. Breakfast? Orange juice and milk spill out of the refrigerator door. Loose cereal tumbles from the cupboard shelf. A radio or television newscast to help straighten out all this confusion? Important radio and television components are made of paper, too, and even Huntley and Brinkley work from a script. Well, at least you can get the kids off to school. School? Why bother? What is a school without books and paper and lunchbags?

What, for that matter, is civiliation as we know it today without the thousands of varied paper products that separate us, as much as anything else, from the upper Pleistocene? Without paper there would be no commerce, no industry, no banks, not even a government, which does not really run on redtape, but on tons of paper.

We, in fact, use more paper than any other nation, some 92 billion pounds of it a year, or roughly 479 pounds per person. Compared to our phenomenal consumption, Sweden and Canada have an annual per capital consumption of over 300 pounds. Russia uses about 42 pounds per person. As for China, where it all began with the discovery of the elementary papermaking process in the first century, the average consumption is estimated at no more than 6 pounds of paper per person each year.

Fortunately, we are in no danger of having to do without the industry's 100,000 and more paper and paperboard products because paper companies manage their forest lands on a sustained yield basis, and in fact grow more trees than they use.

Through research and experimentation and at a cost of more than $1 billion a year in new mills and equipment, the American paper industry is serving the growing paper and paperboard needs of our Nation.

WATER MANAGEMENT: PROGRESS AND PROMISE—BOTH A SUPPLIER AND A USER OF ENORMOUS QUANTITIES OF WATER, THE PAPER INDUSTRY CONTINUES TO ACCELERATE ITS RESEARCH ACTIVITIES AS IT SEEKS TO CONTROL ITS ORGANIC WASTES

The paper industry, perhaps more than any other industry, is dependent upon large quantities of water for the production of its many products. Because of this, the industry has been acutely aware of the need for water quality and is today grappling more forcefully than ever with one of the greatest problems it has encountered in its long history: that of eliminating—or, at least, controlling—the wastes from the effluents produced in the manufacture of pulp, paper, and paperboard.

This is a problem involving mill managements of every paper company in the Nation, a problem affecting all segments of our society. And because of industry efforts today and in the past, considerable progress

has been made in the field of water conservation and stream improvement.

Everyone contributes to the pollution problem: industry and government, shipping, utilities, farmers, even every American family that uses our highways and waterways.

Pollution has been around for a long time. It was present in its natural form (as rotting vegetation) when the first settlers arrived in this land. They built on or near the sources of water and discarded their wastes into the streams and rivers without a care because the streams could easily assimilate the wastes. Even as the population of the land multiplied and towns and cities and industries sprang up along the rivers and streams, our waterways continued to digest the growing wastes of a new nation. Civilized man, industrialized man, failed to recognize that even nature was limited in what it could do.

The rude awakening came some 20 years ago, when burgeoning suburban communities and new industrial complexes realized they were overloading the rivers and streams and killing plant and aquatic life with wastes. Finally, an aroused public clamored for strict controls and Congress passed legislation to halt the abuses.

Seventeen years ago, a Federal Water Pollution Control Act was passed, providing financial and technical assistance for the construction of water facilities for municipalities, and making research grants available. Many States created their own commissions, or joined with other States to form interstate agencies and compacts. Industry, on an individual basis, moved ahead to study the nature of its industrial wastes and worked closely with local and State authorities on the processing and control of waste materials, with much being accomplished over the years.

Some basic research revealed that the amount of water needed by the Nation was impressive. Every day 300 to 350 billion gallons of water is used by the homeowner, industry, utilities, and the farmer. Of this amount, some 48 percent is used by the manufacturing industries and the utilities. These 145 to 170 billion gallons of water are utilized in two distinct ways—a nonconsuming use and a consuming use. The first method means that the water is used in the manufacturing process but is returned to the source; the second indicates that the water is used or dissipated away. Currently 98 percent of industry's utilization of water is nonconsuming. Only 2 percent is unrecoverable.

Paper industry concern reaches back almost 44 years to 1922, when an association established a committee to collect data on research activities of the industry and other organizations.

In 1938, the Sulphite Pulp Manufacturers' Research League was formed and charged with the responsibility of improving stream conditions. Its first year's budget was $18,000; today it is more than 10 times that. Just a few years later—in 1943—the pulp and paper industry created the National Council for Stream Improvement, an organization that was nationwide in scope. With headquarters in New York and five regional groups located throughout the country, the council carries out basic research seeking solutions to the industry's waste problems and makes these findings available to members for introduction in their mills. A staff of 22 NCSI engineers are engaged in this activity. And numerous research projects have been carried out with some 21 colleges, universities, and other nationally recognized research institutions.

During the past 20 years the industry has made substantial headway in reclaiming fibers and other solids and, equally important, considerable progress in maintaining oxygen supply in streams serving the industry. Additionally, great strides have been made in the conservation of water through the development of new techniques.

In the area of fiber reclamation, losses have been reduced from 5 to 2 percent (a saving of 1 million tons of fiber a year) through the introduction of fiber recovery systems which allow the water to be recycled into the papermaking process. Other solids are recovered by using a variety of techniques including sedimentation, flotation, and filtration.

A major effort has been conducted to replenish the water with oxygen that is dissipated during its use in the mill. Several methods are currently in use, such as aeration basins, artificial weirs, surface aeration equipment, activated sludge plants and trickling filter installations, all of which allow time for bacteria to consume the oxygen-using substances. The total organic pollution load from the average ton of pulp and paper produced by the industry, as measured by biochemical oxygen demand (BOD) has been reduced by 65 percent, even though the industry's tonnage has more than doubled over a 20-year period.

Great emphasis has been placed on conserving water. Industry water use per ton over a 30-year period has decreased by almost 66 percent. In 1935, 100,000 gallons were needed to make a ton of paper; today, an average of a 35,000 gallons is used. And in many mills, the average gallon of water is used more than three times.

Despite this progress, there are problems facing the industry, problems which must be understood by all interested in pollution control and abatement. For example, a particularly acute situation can arise when a community, faced with a pollution problem, demands that it be eliminated. The public desires clean water in its streams; yet it also needs adequate employment in the community. Mill management is faced with the reality that the mill may not be able to afford the investment necessary to provide complete water treatment facilities, and must therefore consider the alternative—closing the facility. Problems such as these demand foresight and cooperation by all parties involved.

These are problems, of course, which relate to existing manufacturing facilities. In designing a new mill, companies make every effort to take water and effluent problems into consideration to insure an acceptable profitability on their capital investment. They determine not only the supply of water but also the assimiliative capacity of the stream involved. They agree to State standards and regulations and obtain the States permission to use the stream. The type of in-plant equipment necessary and the type of external waste treatment is determined. The cost of such waste treatment equipment, plant and land will determine the capital investment necessary.

Pulp and paper mills fully accept the responsibility that is theirs to help clean up the streams and rivers of the land. But, they should not be expected to proceed at a pace and at a cost that would cripple one of the country's largest industries.

As a paper company executive declared recently before a special congressional subcommittee on air and water pollution. "The industry will continue to carry out its water pollution abatement efforts to the fullest extent consistent with the needs of our society and within our economic capabilities."

Why the United States Should Not Resume Aid to Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, currently, we are faced with a decision as to whether it is in the best interests of the United States to resume aid to Egypt. Once again, we must decide whether to bail President Nasser out of an economic crisis. The quandary is not a new one. The crisis is of Egypt's own making. The very conditions which caused it—foreign adventure, domestic neglect—have been familiar to us for a decade.

We made this decision twice before, in 1956 and in 1959. Each time we were told that we must provide Nasser with an alternative to the Soviet Union, and each time Egypt undercut the pro-Western position and with renewed strength undermined the United States and its allies. It seems strange, but true, that when Nasser is down he leans on us and when he is up he praises others.

Any realistic appraisal of the Egyptian leader argues against resumption of unconditional aid to Egypt. Furthermore, such an appraisal indicates that now is the time when we can place those conditions with greatest hope of making them stick.

We are told that Egypt has forsaken foreign adventure. The Congo is cited; so is the withdrawal from Yemen. We should not be impressed with these examples. The cause of the Congo rebels was a losing cause; and Nasser cut his losses. The settlement in Yemen was not a voluntary peace. Nasser went to Jidda because a fanatic group had pinned down 60,000 of his best troops, far from home, in a bloody war of attrition.

I do not see any reason for us to believe that his original motivation—to gain a foothold on the Arabian Peninsula from which he could menace Saudi-American oil, British-south Arabia, and the east coast of Africa—has been altered.

We are told that Egypt is loosening its internal restrictions—that Premier Mohieddin was appointed precisely to effect reforms that would encourage foreign investment and spur economic development. We should await developments to see if Nasser has really recognized his mistakes. The costly Yemen adventure was not popular with the people, who are more concerned about their own poverty than Arabia's wealth. If he needed proof of the unpopularity of his policies, he had only to count the turnout for the funeral of a former royalist in Cairo—or count the guns that the Moslem brotherhood had stacked away, waiting for their target, in secret cells.

We are told that the new face of a chastened Nasser bodes well for those he has threatened in the past. But we must judge this man by his words and deeds, not his smile. Genocidal war against Israel, our ally, is still threatened, albeit for 4 years hence. The delay encourages our diplomats to think that 4 years means never. I believe we might in the next 4 years see a Palestine Liberation Organization composed of ill-used refugees, men who are not free to work in Egypt but who are unleashed by Egypt to fight Israel, growing into a dangerous army: an army honed on Egyptian propaganda, supported by increasingly militant Arab States because of Egyptian pressure, paid for by wealthy Arab States such as Kuwait because of Egyptian blackmail.

The reason given to encourage optimism is not good enough. For the first time in too long, we have a clear chance to exercise that influence which we have been told we have over Nasser. He needs our food. He cannot acquire it elsewhere. If we give it to him without conditions, we may be feeding him while he prepares for this war he has always spoken of—the war against Israel.

If we make resumption of our aid conditional on the fulfillment of Egypt's commitment under the U.N. Charter to negotiate a settlement with her neighbors, to stop this exhausting arms buildup toward the military ultimate, then we may be able to effect a lasting peace.

World Peace Through Law Conference Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Charles S. Rhyne, president of the World Peace Through Law Center and former president of the American Bar Association, has prepared an excellent report on the recent Washington Conference on World Peace Through Law.

This very successful conference had participation by many Members of Congress. The report deserves to be set out in full in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

THE WASHINGTON WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

In a magnificent demonstration of capacity to agree on a worldwide basis, more than 3,200 of the leading jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries worked together for a week, September 12–18, 1965, at the Washington World Conference, considered over 200 proposals, and approved nearly 100 of these as parts of a mammoth work program to strengthen international law rules and international legal institutions to advance the cause of world peace. That so many law leaders from all parts of the world representing nearly all creeds, languages, forms of government, traditions and customs could sit down at such a world conference and agree upon what must be done to make law a major factor for world peace demonstrates the commitment and dedication of the legal profession to the rule of law for the world community.

The parade of plans and hopes, ideas, and institutions which were presented at the conference by participants from all over the world and then considered, approved or rejected, indicates how many are the agreements and how few the disagreements on what must be done to build a world ruled by law.

WORLD JUDICIAL SYSTEM

The conference approved many towering ideas, but at the same time it decided to start at the bottom and build upward rather than from the top down. For example, the conference approved the idea of a world judicial system but it then concretely approved a treaty creating neighborhood courts for the decision of minor disputes between two or more nations as the best, and a modest, beginning toward that world judicial system. The thought of the participants was that by creating the habit of going to court on minor matters on a neighborhood basis the habit of using courts instead of force to decided disputes would become established as a habit of nations and they would be encouraged to submit their major disputes to the courts under the rule of law.

Another major advance was the approval of the idea of a world law code. But here again in the more modest action was approval of the first of many volumes of the code. The first volume is to contain those treaties which have the most worldwide acceptance as of now. Another concrete proposal which was approved was the World Bank's Convention setting up conciliation and arbitration rules and procedures for a world dispute center on foreign investments.

PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON ADDRESSED CONFERENCE

At plenary sessions, luncheons, and the banquet some 150 distinguished speakers, addressing large audiences, emphasized the imperative need of action by the legal profession to advance the rule of law internationally. These speakers included the President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the International Court of Justice, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and chief justices, judges and ministers of justice from 59 nations. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Richard M. Nixon, Edward W. Kuhn, president of the American Bar Association, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Henry R. Luce, Gen. David Sarnoff, and many other great leaders addressed the conference.

Prime Minister Wilson, of England, King Constantine, of Greece, and most of the other heads of state sent messages of greeting and support to the conference. The opening day was observed throughout the world as the first World Law Day. At special conference World Law Day ceremonies, addresses were delivered by the honorary chairman, Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota, of Japan, the chairman, Harold E. Stassen, and Lord Denning of England.

"OUR GENERATION CAN TRANSLATE A DREAM TO A REALITY"

The Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, in a landmark inaugural address laid before the conference an excellent summary of the facts which indicate to him that we of our generation have the capacity to create enough new law and new legal institutions to make law a major factor in world affairs. The Chief Justice said:

"Achieving and maintaining a rule of law strong enough to regulate action of nations and individuals in the world community is no more dreamy, impossible or impracticable than was the idea of splitting the atom, or putting a man on the Moon, or sending a missile to Mars a few years ago. I believe we of our generation can translate the centuries-old dream of a world ruled by law from dream into reality. In part, my belief is based upon the imperatives of our day which make this a necessity to save mankind from nuclear holocaust. In part, my belief is based upon the fact that there is more law and judicial institutions today, nationally and internationally, than ever before in the history of mankind. Given this knowledge and reliance and taking note of the necessity that we succeed in order to survive, I would like to comment upon factors we possess which should enable us to move forward in our quest for a world ruled by law."

He then cited the following: (1) We know more about law internationally and nationally than any other generation; (2) more and better law exists today within each nation; (3) more international law exists; (4) international judicial bodies have grown in number and usefulness; (5) extension of international law to the individual has developed a larger number of defenders and supporters of world law; (6) traditional international law concepts are being altered to encompass the history, traditions, customs and needs of newly independent nations; (7) heads of state are increasingly using world law in their dialog and contacts in their conduct of foreign relations; (8) the peoples of the world are increasingly aware of what law can do for peace; (9) the legal profession is becoming organized to work cooperatively on a worldwide basis; and (10) the growing cooperation among judges.

President Johnson reaffirmed our Nation's "continuing dedication to the rule of law" saying:

"We believe that is the surest road to a fruitful and secure peace."

He also said:

"Law is the greatest human invention. All the rest give him mastery over his world. Law gives him mastery over himself."

Commending the jurists and lawyers at the conference for their initiative and leadership, he concluded:

"If others join us, then the time may yet come when you and your colleagues will be honored as pathfinders toward the final armistice in man's war against himself."

PANEL SESSIONS

The substantive work of the program was carried on primarily in panel sessions which discussed the following topics: Existing and proposed international courts, space law, international law in domestic courts, international communications, international trade and investment, arbitral tribunals, human rights, international judicial cooperation, disarmament, industrial and intellectual property (i.e., patents, copyrights, and trademarks), creative research, education in international law, and the expanding structure of international law: Peacekeeping, general principles, and international organizations.

For each of these topics a work paper summary was prepared by one of the world's leading experts in which basic problems and trends were described and recommendations made for research and action. After the work paper had been presented other panelists summarized prepared papers or commented informally on the topic. Participants were given the opportunity to speak from the floor after scheduled speakers had made their remarks.

At these work sessions the role of adjudication in the resolution of international disputes was delineated; suggestions were made for the improvement and expansion of international law and international legal institutions; and recommendations were made to continue studies on the possible usefulness of regional and specialized courts. Panelists on international law in the domestic courts emphasized the contribution that domestic courts could make to international law and dealt with the fundamental principle that international law is part of the

law of the land. Speakers on international communications stressed the need for law to govern an expanded global satellite system.

The transnational trade panel urged the development and adoption of procedures for the effective resolution of investment disputes; a model international code was recommended. Work paper summaries were written for both commercial arbitration and arbitration between States, with emphasis on the improvement of procedures. Panelists on human rights pointed out the need to improve procedural machinery and protect rights by substantive declarations, agreements, laws, and treaties. The panel on creative research in international law stressed the importance of viewing international law from a universal rather than a national viewpoint and endorsed the International Law Manual project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. And the panel on the expanding structure of international laws emphasized the need to strengthen the United Nations.

Cooperation between high courts Chief Justice Warren presided over special sessions attended by the 254 high court judges from 103 nations and other justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. They discussed cooperation among members of the high courts of the world to further world peace under law, future exchanges of opinions and the need for a World Judicial Conference at which judges could get to know each other and exchange ideas and experience. They stressed that the Washington conference was the first worldwide meeting ever held of national high court judges and urged further meetings as most beneficial for the rule of law nationally and internationally.

The above is but a brief sketch of a few of the outstanding suggestions, ideas and proposals which emerged from the speeches, panel papers, and discussions in which distinguished jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars made so many valuable recommendations for advancement of the rule of law. In addition, some of the center's committees presented reports and held meetings to discuss their future programs. The center plans to publish a volume which will include the papers, addresses, and summaries of some of the informal comments presented at the panel sessions.

WORLD LAW DAY

Worldwide attention was focused upon the Washington World Conference through celebration of the first World Law Day in more than 100 nations. World Law Day was proclaimed by President Johnson, and other heads of state, Governors of States, and more than 700 mayors and city councils. Some of the latter proclamations were done jointly by U.S. cities and their so-called "sister" cities abroad. The holding of the first world exhibit of law codes and historic documents was a rather unique "first" for the conference.

Heading the historical documents on display in this exhibit was the original of the 1225 Magna Carta from England and the originals of the Declarations of the Rights of Man from France. Many other originals of ancient law documents were also forwarded by other nations for display. The originals of these great law instruments of other nations were displayed at the National Archives of the United States along with the originals of our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and other great law instruments.

Never in all history had so many of the great law instruments from all over the world been displayed at one time under one sponsorship. The leading law book publishers and suppliers of services to lawyers participated by displaying their books and services. This unprecedented display of the instruments of mankind's great law heritage gave great inspiration to those working through the conference to develop a program to substitute law for force as a decision mechanism internationally. Many expressed the hope that a similar exhibit would take place at future world conferences.

The outbreak of war between Pakistan and India seemed to lend urgency and emphasis to the quest at the conference for a sound path to world peace through law. Throughout the week leading jurists and lawyers conferred and labored to reach common ground on how to fill in the gaps that exist in the world's law structure. And these law leaders did achieve much common ground. It is accurate to report, however, that they were chiefly interested in developing concrete and specific plans and programs to advance the rule of law for the world community. Over and over again, speakers said all agree that a world ruled by law would be peaceful but what is needed most is plans to get beyond that idea to specific law rules and legal institutions so such a world will come into being quickly before nuclear holocaust becomes humankind's fate.

WORK PAPER DRAFTED

A 292-page work paper summarizing international law and experience with international legal institutions was given to all delegates. An 850-page looseleaf document, entitled "Law and Judicial Systems of Nations," was also given to many of the participants. This volume summarized the facts about law, lawyers, judicial systems, and legal education in 110 countries. It also contains a partial directory of leading members of the legal profession of these countries, bar associations and law schools. Due to the great expense of preparing and printing this volume it was released at the conference to foreign registrants, charter and sustaining members of the center only. Both of these documents are unique in that such information has never been compiled in this form before.

In essence, those attending the Washington conference had the most complete summary of law in the world ever presented to any group at such a meeting. This enabled them to take an overview of law in the world, its strengths and weaknesses nationally and internationally, and gave them a background from which they could move forward with confidence in approving or disapproving the many ideas and proposals laid before them. This looseleaf volume will be constantly updated as a basic work document of the World Peace Through Law Center and as a directory of leading jurists and lawyers of each nation.

ALL ELEMENTS OF WORLD COMMUNITY

That so large and diverse a group of outstanding jurists from the four corners of the earth could meet and agree on a program to advance world law is in and of itself a tremendous accomplishment. In essence the conference delegates represented all elements of the world community. That they agreed on so many specifics should enable rapid advances to be achieved on many aspects of world law. The importance of the conference participants as leading jurists within their own nations should cause the conference agreements to have a great impact upon public opinion and leaders of nations.

PLANNING AND EXECUTING THE PROGRAM

The program, planning, and coordinating committees are entitled to tremendous credit in so planning and executing the program as to lead to so much agreement. Many have inquired about the manpower which carried out this mammoth conference. Above all the conference was a joint enterprise of the lawyers of the United States. It indicates what they can do when they get organized to do a job well. Some 400 lawyers served on 50 conference committees. The planning committee of 60 bore the main brunt of the work for it met monthly for over 1 year to hammer out policies, programs, and details and met daily throughout the conference. These lawyers came from all over the United States to these planning meetings at their own expense. In fact, no lawyer from the United States received any expense reimbursement at or prior to the conference.

The many compliments on how all parts of the program operated smoothly, and on time, are properly received by members of the coordinating committee who saw to it that all speakers were present, all equipment working, and all arrangements were properly carried out. In fact, they have developed a system that is a marvel to behold as it really works. There were 352 law students from 58 law schools who served as escorts or interpreters and aids to the distinguished jurists from abroad. Some 150 U.S. lawyers (and in many instances their wives) also acted as interpreters in nearly every language and dialect. In many instances, U.S. lawyers and judges arranged special events such as dinners and receptions for the jurists and lawyers of other nations.

There were 209 newspaper, radio, and TV reporters who registered in the pressroom of the conference, not counting the more than 100 reporters who accompanied President Johnson when he delivered his address. The paid staff of translators, interpreters, typists, and other employees for the conference numbered over 100. Of the 3,200 registrants over 1,000 were from abroad. While Congress was in session Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and more than 200 Senators and Members of the Congress and their assistants registered as participants and attended one or more functions of the conference.

Many of the distinguished visitors were guests of their country's ambassador during their stay in Washington, and most of the ambassadors attended the conference. Nearly every embassy had a reception in honor of their guests. The president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia and Mrs. Paul F. McArdle gave a reception for all delegates. The president of the American Bar Association and Mrs. Edward W. Kuhn gave a reception at historic Anderson House. The Chief Justice of the United States and Mrs. Earl Warren gave a reception at the U.S. Supreme Court at which they were assisted by the other Justices and their wives. The attendance for this reception was so great that the receiving line filled the many front steps of the beautiful Supreme Court building and extended out to the street. The Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk and the Attorney General and Mrs. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach gave a reception at the State Department. The Association Society of International Law and the American Association of Law Schools gave a reception for teachers of law. Many other social events took place. Those arranged by the ladies committee included a boat trip to Mount Vernon, a tour of the White House, an evening at the National Gallery of Art, sightseeing tours of Washington, and coffee hours each morning.

FINANCING THE CONFERENCE

Another important fact is that the lawyers of the United States financed this conference by raising over $500,000 from foundations, corporations and individuals, the latter including some 250 law firms who gave from $50 to $5,000 toward this budget. Ford Foundation gave $150,000 toward expenses of foreign judges. Major expenditures were for simultaneous translation equipment (all sessions were in Spanish, French, and English) and conference personnel, traveling and hotel expenses of foreign judges unable to pay their own way (so as to insure that all nations could be represented), expenses of experts, printing and mailing. It is good to report that the conference ended up in the black financially.

NEW HEADQUARTERS IN GENEVA

The announcement by the Executive Committee of its decision to set up headquarters of the World Peace Through Law Center in Geneva and maintain there a "world law library" and a "world law information clearinghouse" for Center members is a giant step forward toward making law more available and thus more used and usable throughout the world.

At the final plenary session of the conference a "Work Program To Advance a World Rule of Law" was adopted. This document identified and recommended research projects which should be made and encouraged the support of certain principles, institutions, and educational action. It also pointed out significant developments in world law since the Athens World Peace Through Law Conference in 1963. As stated above, over 200 proposals were presented and about one-half of these are incorporated in the work program. Others requiring further study were noted for future consideration.

The proposals with respect to such things as courts of human rights on continents other than Europe, where they already have one, a multilingual legal dictionary and scores of other law subjects should focus enough public and legal attention on these needs to force essential progress toward fruition of ideas into concrete law rules and institutions.

SCHOLARS TO TAKE INITIATIVE

The World Peace Through Law Center hopes that scholars the world over will take the initiative in making these needed studies. It hopes to aid and encourage this essential research, particularly in the law schools of all nations. The Center itself will urge its committees to make useful studies and reports and will seek other means to finance and carry out these research proposals. Already many world law projects are being sent to the Center from all over the world.

DECLARATION OF FAITH

The conference closed with a "Declaration of Faith in World Order Under Law" which proclaimed the ties between universal concern over war and effective procedures for the peaceful decision of disputes, the responsibility of members of the legal profession to improve the means of settling disputes; recognition of the critical nature of many current disputes; and urged that only by the application of the rule of law can these objectives be achieved. In this declaration of faith the participants declared that they:

"1. Reaffirm the Declaration of General Principles for a World Rule of Law adopted by the first World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece;

"2. Pledge our continuing active support of the World Peace Through Law Center, created at Athens, and its global work program;

"3. Pledge our continuing, devoted effort with each other and within our respective nations and legal organizations, to achieve the objectives of strengthening and expanding world law rules and world, as well as regional, legal and judicial institutions; and

"4. Declare our unshakable faith that, whatever transient disputes there may be, a just world order under law can be achieved, and that, with patient determination and hard work, it will be achieved."

By every yardstick of measurement the Washington World Conference was a tremendous success. It had inspiration, information, participation and hospitality in abundance. Its "firsts" include World Law Day, World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Law Instruments and the World Judicial Conference. It was by far the largest world conference of the legal profession in all history. Another world conference will be held in 1967 probably in Geneva due to conditions making the first site, New Delhi, difficult. In the meantime the great emphasis by the World Peace Through Law Center will be upon concrete progress on the global work program and the next conference.

Membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is open to all members of the legal profession. Regular membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is only $10 per year, charter membership is $50, and sustaining membership is $100. Members receive a monthly bulletin, can serve on one of the Center's 95 committees, receive research pamphlets and, if charter or sustaining members, receive the "Law and Lawyers of Nations," the looseleaf directory which will be kept up to date on a rather constant basis by the appointment of editors in each nation. All members are listed in the directory along with their addresses.

The foregoing demonstrates that the legal profession is indeed organizing itself to make a major contribution to mankind's future. This very successful program to strengthen law rules and legal institutions should indeed in time succeed in speeding the day when law will replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

Above all the worldwide dialog and friendships generated among law leaders of nations makes this program a tremendous factor for world peace. These leaders agree with Chief Justice Warren that the dream of a world rule of law is within man's capacity to achieve. They are moving realistically to translate that dream into concrete reality.

Aid to the United Arab Republic?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, I am disturbed by reports that the administration is considering the resumption of aid to the United Arab Republic, in the form of sales of surplus commodities for Egyptian currency.

The Congress has made very clear its opposition to such a step by prohibiting aid to the United Arab Republic unless the President explicitly determines that it is "essential to the national interest."

It is difficult for me to see how that determination could be reached in the case of the United Arab Republic at the present time. On the contrary, President Nasser's actions and policies in the Middle East would seem to point to the opposite conclusion.

The United Arab Republic today remains the fountainhead of Arab efforts to subdue Israel. Nasser has only delayed, not disavowed, his plans to launch a war of extermination against Israel, which meanwhile remains the target of vicious propaganda and economic warfare directed from Cairo.

Elsewhere, the United Arab Republic continues its efforts to undermine American policies and positions, from Libya to Vietnam, from Cyprus to the Congo. But it is in the Middle East that Nasser's will to power poses the greatest threat to peace and stability, and where any aid he received from us could only strengthen his position and capacity for mischief.

I do not dismiss the possibility that, under certain circumstances, aid may have a salutary effect on the national policies of the recipient. But the United States so far has funneled more than one billion dollars into Egypt with no discernible effect on Nasser's adventurism. If aid is to be resumed, surely the American people have every reason to demand some iron-clad assurances that Nasser will order a "cease-fire" in the United Arab Republic's aggressive external policies.

The War in Vietnam: A Picket Line or a Job To Be Done?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SILVIO O. CONTE
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, the daily reports from the battlefields of Vietnam call out for our attention from the pages of every newspaper day after day. Those reports, of advances and setbacks, of gallantry and the valiant efforts of the Americans fulfilling our commitment to the people of this beleaguered country weigh heavily in the hearts and minds of every American. The world watches and waits—with its attention focused on the American role in this struggle for freedom, freedom from oppression and hopelessness for the people of South Vietnam.

The American role has, however, taken on a new dimension with the activities of groups who would seek to replace the voice of the American people, honoring the commitment which has been made, with the chants of protest and the irreverent slogans of the placards they bear. And the world watches.

What is the American role and who speaks for the American people? Some may call it a question of conscience or of patriotism. Perhaps no one can know it more precisely nor speak of it more eloquently than the American soldier in Vietnam.

To him the war is not an afternoon rally, a picket line in front of the White House, or a coffeehouse discussion on the philosophy of war. To him it is a job that has to be done, a personal commitment he honors daily and which encompasses every moment of every hour of his days.

I believe we all should listen to what he has to say, no matter what our personal views on this conflict may be.

I recently received a letter from a young soldier whose home is in the First Congressional District—Pfc. William J. Broderick, of Dalton, in Berkshire County, Mass. Bill is fighting in Vietnam and speaks of that fight in his letter. I want to share his thoughts with you. His words are few but their message is clear and sincere and, yes, eloquent.

DEAR MR. CONTE: I would like to thank you and the other Congressmen for what

you have done to aid us soldiers in Vietnam. We are all doing our best to spread the American policy in Vietnam.

I'm glad to hear there are no protest groups in the Berkshires. Being from Dalton, I'm glad to fight for the people of the Berkshires.

The fight is not over yet, but the Vietcong are finding the going a lot harder now that American troops are here. And the troops are not leaving no matter what the cost.

Thank you.

BILL BRODERICK.

Veterans' Day Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on November 11 of each year, the entire Nation honors its servicemen, past and present, expressing heartfelt gratitude for the many sacrifices they have made and for the freedoms which they have preserved.

Since the founding of the Republic, the people of Connecticut have served their country with courage, dedication, and distinction both in time of peace and in time of war.

We in Connecticut are proud of our veterans. In this connection, I would like to bring to the attention of Congress the proclamation issued by the Honorable John Dempsey, Governor of Connecticut, on the occasion of this Veterans' Day, 1965.

There being no objection, the proclamation was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROCLAMATION OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT

The people of Connecticut are conscious of their deep and lasting debt to the hundreds of thousands of veterans from our State who have served their country with honor in time of war.

Connecticut men were in the vanguard of the Colonial troops who bravely entered battle to bring this Nation into being. In every war since that time, Connecticut men willingly made whatever sacrifices were necessary in order to preserve our security and to defend the cause of freedom.

Once each year a day is set aside to honor those who answered the call to arms in our behalf. Therefore, in accordance with the general statutes of Connecticut, I hereby proclaim Thursday, November 11, 1965, to be Veterans' Day.

As we recall the heroic war service of veterans let us also give thought to the present day servicemen who are guarding the interests of free people and striving to preserve the peace.

Let us also make Veterans' Day an occasion for renewal of our determination that the permanent world peace we earnestly seek will become a reality.

I urge, in connection with the observance of Veterans' Day, that State and National flags be flown on public and private buildings and that appropriate commemorative exercises be held in communities throughout Connecticut.

JOHN DEMPSEY.

By his excellency's command:

ELLA T. GRASSO,
Secretary of State.

New Dimensions of Deterrence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. VANCE HARTKE
OF INDIANA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, in a recent address Maj. Gen. Jerry D. Page, Deputy Chief of Staff for the Air Force Systems Command, made some significant remarks concerning areas in which we may expect in the next few years some new dimensions in Communist activities.

Because the content of his remarks is a real contribution to our thinking concerning our international efforts, I ask unanimous consent that the text may appear in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the text was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW DIMENSIONS OF DETERRENCE

(By Maj. Gen. Jerry D. Page)

Since the technical subjects of the symposium should be adequately covered at the panel sessions, I thought that my remarks this noon might appropriately deal with some of the broader issues which will affect the decisions concerning technology and systems.

It is obvious that the direction of our national defense program is affected not only by the current world situation but also by the nature of the anticipated threat 5, 10, and 15 years into the future. For this reason it is relevant to consider some of the new dimensions where Communist activities will likely be on the increase in coming years.

One of these new dimensions, of course, is space. I think that subject was well covered in this morning's panel, and there is no need to cover this ground again. With regard to the technical aspects of space, you are far better qualified than I. With regard to the potential implications of space for our continuing national security, no one at this point can regard himself as really an expert. There are still too many unknown factors. But the interest in space shown by others makes it clear that space adds a new dimension to our thinking about national defense.

At the same time there is a second new dimension to our long-range thinking about national security. It seems far away from space, but it demands the same hard thinking and calls for the same urgency. The importance of this dimension was pointed out last month by Deputy Secretary of Defense Cyrus Vance in a speech in Washington. Because of the significance of his remarks, I think it is worthwhile to begin by reviewing some of the main points he made.

Secretary Vance's speech dealt with the Lin Piao statement and our national response to it. Lin Piao is the vice chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and is also Communist China's Minister of National Defense. His statement, which was issued just 2 months ago, is a very revealing declaration of Peiping's plans for the expansion of world communism. As the Secretary of State noted recently, it is as candid a warning to us today as Hitler's "Mein Kampf" was in the 1930's. Many people ignored that earlier warning. It would be a serious mistake to ignore this one.

Basically, the Lin Piao statement analyzes the strategy employed by Mao Tse-tung to take over the Chinese mainland, and then applies this strategy, by extension, to the Communist conquest of the entire world. In Lin Piao's words, "It must be emphasized that Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory of the establishment of rural revolutionary base areas and the encirclement of cities from the countryside is of outstanding and universal importance for the present revolutionary struggles."

In contrast to the Russian revolution, which began in the cities and spread to the countryside, the Chinese revolution began in the countryside, encircled the cities, and finally captured them. This, asserts Lin Piao, is to be the worldwide strategy for communism. North America and Western Europe, which he describes as "the cities of the world," are to be encircled and conquered through the Communist capture of the so-called "rural areas of the world"—Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

The present "focus" of this revolutionary effort, Lin Piao announces, is the struggle in South Vietnam. This should make it clear beyond doubt the importance of our commitment to that country. The Communist aggression against South Vietnam is no more a "local" issue than the aggressive moves against Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland were local issues in the 1930's. Now, as then, the attack on one small nation can reasonably be interpreted as merely a part of a pattern of continuing aggression—and we have been clearly warned what to expect in the future.

Our response to this warning can be clearly seen in southeast Asia. We are standing firmly by our commitment to the people of South Vietnam.

We will continue to help them resist aggression and assist them in their efforts to create a better life. Our continued efforts should make it unmistakably clear to Hanoi and Peiping that terrorism, murder, subversion, and infiltration from the north will not succeed.

The President has repeatedly made our intentions and our objectives clear. As he has pointed out, we are in Vietnam "to strengthen world order. Around the globe from Berlin to Thailand are people whose well-being rests in part on the belief that they can count on us if they are attacked. To leave Vietnam to its fate would shake the confidence of all these people in the value of an American commitment and in the value of America's word. The result would be increased unrest and instability, and even wider war."

To carry out our commitment to free peoples who are threatened by aggression, we are actively developing the equipment and techniques to conduct counterinsurgency and limited war operations. The Air Force, along with the other services, has important responsibilities in this regard—on both a short-term and long-term basis.

The urgency of our responsibilities in the limited war area in no way diminishes the importance of our efforts in other areas, such as space, ballistic missiles, or aeronautical systems. The fact is that developments in all of these areas should naturally support and complement each other. For it should be clear that the most advanced counter-insurgency techniques would avail us very little if our opponents should achieve a decisive military breakthrough in space. Likewise, advanced space or missile capabilities alone would not enable us to deal with outbreaks of insurgency, terrorism, and subversion which we may encounter in the years ahead. We must continue to maintain the proper balance in our development programs, so that our Nation maintains adequate strength across the entire spectrum of deterrence.

To do this we must place proper emphasis on technology, which is directly relevant to the entire range of our responsibilities. Thus, a third dimension of deterrence might be called "technological momentum." In recent years it has been increasingly recog-

nized that a nation's military strength and economic growth both depend heavily on its achievements in science and technology. This fact means that our rate of technical progress should be sufficient to allow us to respond in a timely fashion to technological breakthroughs which may be achieved by other nations.

In a fast-moving world we can no longer afford to wait until other nations have demonstrated a new military capability before we begin the research which may enable us to meet a new threat. On the contrary, we should maintain at all times the technological momentum which provides the best guarantee of a timely and adequate response to unexpected developments.

Our ability to stay technologically prepared is a product of a number of factors. These include, first, how much money is being spent for research and development? Second, how many trained people do we have working in the research and development area? Third, how much freedom do they have in pursuing their experiments? Fourth, how good are our technical facilities—laboratories, test chambers, wind tunnels, and so forth? Fifth, to what extent do allied research and development activities complement our own? And sixth, do we have the industrial base to produce the new systems which may incorporate new technology?

One way of providing technological momentum is through the creation of "technological building blocks," which then may form the basis of new systems when the need arises. The employment of this "building block" approach calls for adequate attention to all the factors I have mentioned.

One of the basic requirements is for an increasing supply of highly competent technical people. Both scientific and engineering skills will continue to be in heavy demand. How well this demand is met depends on the educational system, particularly in the scientific and technical areas. Judging by the interest that has been generated in recent years, I believe that our schools will meet the challenge.

There is one further point which should be mentioned, because it has a vital bearing on the way we meet the threat posed by Lin Piao's strategy of world revolution. This is the fact that this dimension of conflict is not merely geographical, but is ideological as well.

By this I mean that the crucial question facing the peoples involved is what set of ideas will govern them. Will it be the outmoded belief that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun," as Mao Tse-tung proclaims? Or will it be the idea that political power grows only out of the people themselves, as the experience of our Nation confirms?

This is a fundamental question, because it is a matter of individual and national decision. As we truly live out our heritage, then we—not the Communists—are the true revolutionaries. The aims of our revolution are implicit in our history. They were restated by President Johnson when he said, "Our own freedom and growth have never been the final goal of the American dream. We were never meant to be an oasis of liberty and abundance in a worldwide desert of disappointed dreams. Our Nation was created to help strike away the chains of ignorance and misery and tyranny wherever they keep man less than God means him to be."

Our firm commitment to this aim is the necessary response to Lin Piao and is relevant to all the dimensions of deterrence. This is a task and a challenge for all of us in the months and years ahead.

Thank you.

Urgent Need To Expand Higher Education Facilities Act and Raise Federal Share

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, fall 1965 enrollment figures at colleges throughout the country again prove the urgent need to expand the Higher Education Facilities Act and change the matching ratio to raise the Federal share to 75 percent on academic facilities.

I have introduced H.R. 11790 that would double the authorization for grants and change the matching ratio to 75–25 percent.

I believe the following press quotes on college attendance this fall will illustrate the national scope of this problem:

EXCERPTS FROM NEWPAPERS ACROSS THE COUNTRY

BLOOMINGTON, IND.—Indiana University today reported record enrollments of 23,612 on the Bloomington campus and 2,830 in the Indianapolis professional divisions, reflecting both the growing number of young Hoosiers graduating from high school and the declining numbers of dropouts after beginning college work.

Indiana University's share of this statewide growth moved the Bloomington total 12.69 percent above the last fall enrollment of 20,953.

EAST LANSING, MICH.—Fall term enrollment at Michigan State University totaled 41,782 with 35,580 on the campus at East Lansing, Dr. Horace C. King, registrar, reported as classes began Thursday (September 30).

The grand total figure of 41,782 was up 15 percent from last year's 36,235.

The University of Tennessee's increase in enrollment this fall is equal to the establishment of four new colleges, University of Tennessee President Andrew Holt pointed out.

The average enrollment of colleges and universities in the nation is about 700. With an increase of nearly 3,000 for all of University of Tennessee campuses, this is the equivalent of four new colleges.

A total of 38,592 students are attending the 9 Wisconsin State universities this fall, Eugene R. McPhee, Madison, director of State universities, said Wednesday (October 6).

Final reports just received from the universities show an increase of 8,528 students, or 28 percent, over last fall.

MADISON, WIS.—University of Wisconsin student enrollment has soared to a new record total of 46,710. President Fred Harvey Harrington reported to the university board of regents at its meeting in Madison Friday.

Enrollment already exceeds the total expected for the fall semester by more than 100 students, and is up 13.8 percent over the total of a year ago of 41,033.

For the first time in its history, the University of Delaware has more than 10,000 students under instruction at one time.

Last year's total registration was 9,442. The 1965–66 figures represent an increase of 6.2 percent, with undergraduate enrollment up 17.5 percent.

Moorhead State College has enrolled 3,347 students for the fall quarter of this year, a new record high for the eighth consecutive year.

The percentage gain for this year is reported at 18.8 percent, slightly higher than the average gain for the past few years. Off-campus enrollments are not included in the figures listed above.

OREGON STATE UNIVERSITY.—A 32-percent increase in the size of the freshman class has jumped Oregon State University's enrollment to a record 11,885 this fall and set the stage for more new records in coming years.

IOWA CITY, IOWA.—There are 84,085 students enrolled in 51 colleges, universities, and junior colleges in Iowa, a 15.3-percent increase over the 1964 total, according to a report prepared here for the Association of Iowa College Presidents (AICP).

LAFAYETTE, IND.—Purdue University has an alltime high total of 27,793 students enrolled this fall.

The total announced by Registrar Nelson M. Parkhurst represented an increase of almost 12 percent over last fall's 24,932.

Kent State University began fall classes with 21,305 students—a record enrollment for the 11th consecutive year, it was announced today.

Ohio's third largest university, Kent showed a 13-percent student increase compared with last year as the war babies moved to the Nation's campuses in full force.

BROOKINGS, S. DAK.—A record enrollment of 4,637 students has been reported for the fall semester at South Dakota State University.

A gain of 447 students from the former high of 4,190 last fall was noted in the report from James O. Pedersen, director of admissions and records. The increase is 10.7 percent more than last year's figure.

TALLAHASSEE, FLA.—A record enrollment of 3,588 students has been set at Florida A. & M. University for the first semester of the 1965–66 school term.

BOULDER, COLO.—Final enrollment on the Boulder campus of the University of Colorado this fall totals a record 14,693 students, up 1,313 or 9.8 percent from last year, David B. Muirhead, dean of admission and records, announced today.

MINNEAPOLIS.—University of Minnesota attendance has reached a new alltime high with 42,178 students enrolled in fall quarter daytime classes, an increase of 3,775 or 10 percent over the 38,403 previous high figure of 1 year ago, True E. Pettengill, university recorder, reported today (Wednesday, October 13).

AUBURN.—Auburn University has registered a record of 11,853 students thus far for the fall quarter of 1965, a 10-percent increase over the same period a year ago.

UNIVERSITY, ALA.—An overall University of Alabama enrollment increase of 8.3 percent this fall compared to last brings the current Capstone student population to 17,177, reports Dr. Hubert E. Mate, dean, admissions, and records.

People-to-People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. GALE W. McGEE

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, recently I was privileged to address a national meeting of an organization known as People-to-People. This organization is dedicated to the very worthwhile purpose of promoting international understanding. Indeed, this aim represents an essential ingredient to the restoration of peace to this troubled world.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this address be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REMARKS OF SENATOR GALE MCGEE BEFORE THE PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE NATIONAL CONFERENCE, OCTOBER 7, 1965, KANSAS CITY, MO.

It is a privilege to be here in Kansas City tonight to speak to this first national meeting of People-to-People. That there are representatives from nearly half the States of the Union speaks well for the dedication of those who are so generously giving of their time and effort in furthering the cause of personal diplomacy.

The purposes of People-to-People I readily salute, for in their belief that individuals all have the same fundamental aspirations, hopes, and dreams, they capture the one universal language of all nations and all individuals.

It is true of nations as of persons, as Emerson said, that "there can never be deep peace between two spirits, never mutual respect, until, in their dialog, each stands for the whole world."

It is easy to say that we must stand for the whole world; the concept of universal brotherhood and understanding is not difficult to grasp. What is difficult is to put it into practice, even upon the most elementary scale. For as individuals differ in tastes and viewpoint, so do cultures differ and the variety of outlooks and customs that make up a culture have been strengthened and solidified by centuries of separation by distance or terrain. But now man's ingenuity has eliminated those distances and bridged those physical obstacles that once separated one people from another. In a matter of hours we can transport ourselves to the most remote spot on the earth where until now the people did not know we exist, much less comprehend who we are and what we stand for.

The marvels of communication and transportation, however, have not been accompanied by similar marvels of understanding and mutual respect. To go to a foreign land is easy; to bring a foreigner here requires some money and a little time. But to understand how that person thinks or why his culture honors and esteems that which we consider worthless or even repugnant is not a process of a few hours, a few days, or even a few years. To be accomplished on a nationwide scale it will require generations.

Too often, when faced with a task of this magnitude, the human tendency is to say it cannot be done. I am proud to be addressing a group that not only thinks it can be done, but has gotten off to a very good start doing it. The people-to-people program has been in operation only 9 years, yet it has chalked up a remarkable record of achievement in bringing together the peoples of the world so that they might begin the process of mutual understanding.

What is needed, however, is a direct person-to-person approach that will help to strip away the facade of government stereotypes in every capital of the world and to expose the inaccuracies of the hasty generalization of national images around the world. Too often have we tended to judge the people of another country through the image of their national leader or some outspoken critic in their ranks. Thus, in the 1930's, all Germans were Hitlers. In the 1940's all Russians were Stalins. And in the 1950's all Indians were Krishna Mennons. Or even now, all Egyptians are Nassers, or Cubans Castros, and all Indonesians are Sukarnos.

Or to frame this same projection oppositely through the eyes of our international neighbors, there is an equally facile tendency to judge the United States through the headlinemakers of the news. Thus, any sharp criticism from a Member of Congress or from a spokesman in any other public group is headlined around the globe and quickly produces an image of the typical American. Our own countrymen sometimes fail to understand how a foreigner does equate congressional statements. In other capitals of the world, any statement from any member of the government would be regarded as official policy since many areas are not as freely accustomed to open criticism within their administrations. But, when a U.S. Senator sounds off, foreigners fail to understand that this is merely his personal view and tend to equate it instead as reflecting official policy or typical public attitudes toward whatever nation was the object of that particular Senator's attack that day.

In short, a part of the problem of misjudgment around the world stems from the fact that we all are headline hunters and tend to formulate generalizations about strangers whom we do not know. The nub of our difficulty is, therefore, that we tend to judge each other by the excesses of our most outspoken or more extreme public figures.

This is the reason why People-to-People becomes so important. So for the next few minutes that we have here together, I would like to suggest to you first some general attributes about people of the rest of the world which all Americans should come better to understand and to make allowances for as we seek to judge others. Then I would suggest secondly certain stereotypes regarding Americans that foreigners seem to accept too readily and to indicate how desperately important I feel it is that we not contribute to the deepening of these impressions in this latter category of so-called American traits. All of these factors, as you will soon gather, have long since been obvious to you as individuals because of your leadership in this program which we are meeting here to discuss this evening. But I beseech you to take up the cudgels of the cause of which these factors are but a part and carry the message person to person here at home.

For those of us who live in America, it behooves us all to work a little harder at understanding other people. There are several qualities about the rest of the human race which it is important for us to grasp if we are to project realistic and intelligent foreign policies in our national interest. I shall mention four in particular.

First, it is important to remember that most of the rest of the world is nonwhite. At least until the civil rights questions reached their current peaks, many of our countrymen tended to think of the rest of the world in their own image, including the color of their skin. Very few indeed pondered seriously the makeup of the human race either geographically or racially. To put it as sharply as possible, let us assume for a moment that we could place 100 people here at the front of the room that would accurately represent in proper proportion a cross-section of the populations of the globe. Who would they include? What would they look like? Well, 1 would be from Australia, New Zealand, or the South Pacific; 5 would be from the United States and Canada; 6 would be from the Soviet Union; 8 would be from Africa; 9 would be from Latin America; 14 or 15 would be from Western Europe; and 56 would be from Asia.

A world that is already 3 billion and racing toward 5 in the predictable future thus has to be viewed in something other than white skins or residing within the 3-mile limit of the coast lines of the United States. Either we can choose to shrink from this prospect in fear because of its immensity, or we can strive to understand it and realistically plan toward it as the kind of world in which we hope to survive.

Second, the people of the world are desperately poor. Poverty is currently a very common word in the American vernacular. But what it means to the typical resident of the United States is quite something else again in contrast to what it may mean to a Montagnard tribesman in Vietnam or a Congolese medicine man in Kivu. Much as some of us recall even the desperate plight of millions of Americans in the depths of the depression in the 1930's, we still ought to appreciate that in Asiatic terms our countrymen have never know poverty in its harshest form. When we recall that two-thirds of the world lives in some measure of hunger and sickness, is ill-clothed and ill-housed in ways too primitive for us to comprehend, we can only then begin to measure the meaning of poverty for hundreds of millions of individuals. One young man I talked to who was driving a water buffalo in a rice paddy in Thailand explained to me as best he could that, for a full day—dawn to dark—wading in mud above his knees, he could expect to receive the equivalent of four American pennies.

In the center of the Congo a chieftain explained that he and the half dozen young males in his clan could expect to earn in an entire year all added together about the equivalent of one American workingman's wage for one 8-hour day. Unless we can grasp the appalling gap between American affluence and the desperation of most of the rest of the people of the earth, we may miss the point.

Former President Eisenhower once noted that an even greater threat to the peace of the world than communism was the ever-widening gap between the very rich and the very poor nations. That's why it is increasingly imperative that in ways as constructive and as reasoned as we know how we should continue to share our affluence with those who are less fortunate than we. To do so only increases the chances that we may some day have an opportunity to live in peace.

As the late President John F. Kennedy put it, "If a free society cannot help the many who are poor, it cannot save the few who are rich."

Third, the people of the world are in a hurry. In much of the world the citizens are discovering for the first time, and understandably with shock, how much they have been cheated. World War II did as much as anything else to open the eyes of Asians and Africans in particular to the extent to which their colonial subservience had denied them their fair share of the fruits of the earth. And now in the wake of the war they seem united in their determination to make up for lost time—to take every short cut possible into the future.

The Russians afford an interesting example. About 10 years ago when I first landed in a small Russian plane at the airport in Stalingrad, we taxied alongside a large two-wheeled cart pulled by a pair of oxen. The cart was being loaded with bundles of hay by a group of women. The

idyllic setting of rural Russia could just as well have been set in medieval times were it not for the presence of the aircraft. But here indeed was a capsule of modern Russia—a nation in a hurry, from the oxcart to the airplane—indeed to the space age—in a single generation; a nation very much in a hurry.

Or in another instance as recently as the Bolshevik revolution in 1917, a majority of the people of Russia were illiterate. Today—scarcely a generation later—we have reason to believe that there is no measurable illiteracy in the Soviet Union. Russia is in a hurry.

I still recall with some surprise my first experience landing in a 707 jet on a modern airstrip near Leopoldville in the Congo and on what was represented as being, in those years, the longest jet airstrip in the world. Yet, from the edge of that same strip I viewed a Congolese village that still lived somewhat under the spell and magic of its witch doctor. Here again was a microcosm of people in a hurry. Indeed, Africa may be likened to an impatient man grasping the hand of a witch doctor on one side and the tail of a jet plane on the other and somehow in a simple way trying to have the best of both but nonetheless determined to close the gap separating his past from his future.

The same impatience characterizes the quest of millions of souls for the dignity of national independence. To be sure, most of them may not be ready for the responsibilities of self-rule by our terms; but who is to say who is ready for independence? I can even yet recall as a graduate student at the University of Chicago reading the debates in Parliament and the correspondence of public figures in England relating to the brewing restlessness in the American Colonies in 1776, and how in innumerable instances the suggestion was made by the British, "Don't worry about an explosion in America. They are not ready for independence." Obviously, a few impatient souls like Tom Jefferson, or Sam Adams, or Patrick Henry didn't agree. Readiness is really a state of mind rather than a material condition which can be easily defined.

Since the beginning of World War II, we have witnessed the birth of more new independent nations than existed in the world up to that time in modern history. In our Nation's Capital where I live and work, a majority of the foreign ambassadors were born as subjects of a colonial power. This reflects the driving impatience that also unites the peoples of many skins and cultures and philosophies. It behooves us as the people who more than any other have inspired this drive for independence to at least understand what it means to them even as it did to our own Founding Fathers nearly 200 years ago. Instead of looking down our noses at these people as though we resented their rocking the boat, we ought to understand what their new status means to them and encourage and inspire them to rise to its emerging responsibilities. The revolution of human expectations is a fact of our time. We either roll with it and seek to channel it constructively, or we will be swept away by it. President Kennedy put it much better when he said, "Unless we make peaceful revolution possible, we shall make violent revolution inevitable."

Fourth, people are different. On this front we may be slowly learning. After the experience of nearly 12 million young men and women in the Armed Forces scattered all over the world, we have acquired a nucleus of people who understand that people are different and that those differences can even be enriching rather than troublesome. There are rich cultures in the world much older than ours, and at least as rewarding as ours. Some of them may, in the course of time, be more enduring. None of us here can say—yet. But what we can say is that differences among nationalities and races and cultures can and must be respected. It would be a commonplace to suggest that the good Lord gave no monopoly of truth to any one color of skin, no special insight into all wisdom to any one nationality, nor the ultimate in values to any one culture.

An old college chum of mine once weut to Paris to study at the Sorbonne. He spent several days in locating a simple room which he might call home for the year of his study in France. Somewhere along the Left Bank, he climbed the stairs to a cold-water flat, rapped on the door, and was greeted by the lady of the house. When asked if there might be room, she replied that there were four members of her family and that they had only three rooms and a bath as it was, but that to come back the next day and she would see if she might be helpful. On returning the following day, he was notified that they had decided to close out their simple bathroom, and convert it into a sleeping room for this new face from America. Even as he protested that they should not, indeed, could not, do such a thing as that just for him, she patiently explained there were public toilet facilities just down the block that would serve their purposes and that it was worth it to them to have a visitor from America that they might get to know and through him they might come to understand better a foreign land. He was overwhelmed by their standards. "Imagine," as he expressed to me later, "an American family giving up their bathroom in order to house a foreign visitor for a year." Well, people are different.

Or better still an experience Mrs. McGee and I had in Italy while leading a group of schoolteachers around Western Europe in the summer of 1954. In those days, as some of you here will appreciate, the plumbing facilities in Italy were none too good and even downright primitive in the rural areas. One evening our bus load of 43 schoolteachers stopped in a little coastal town on the west side of Italy to stay all night. It had been a long, hard day—dusty, dirty, and hot. Tempers were short, patience was conspicuous by its absence. In the small, third-rate inn, which teachers then had to afford, there was only one bathroom. The resulting shuffling and juggling for seniority rights and priority position was something to behold. Needless to say, more than one of the school marms let the innkeeper have a piece of her mind. In desperation the poor fellow came to me and said, "Professor McGee, what's the matter with your ladies. They all complain about my toilet facilities. Tell me, sir," he said, "other Americans who stop here always seem to complain about the plumbing. May I ask you a very serious question about your country?" Then he put the question as he asked, "Does everything that's important in America take place in your bathrooms?"

The more I reflected on this question, the more I realized how the typical American tourist must invite that kind of inquiry. Well, people are different.

No incident illustrates cultural difference with quite as much warmth as the story related by James Michener during the seige of the capital city of Seoul during the Korean conflict a few years ago. As the city was under attack by the Communists, a quick decision had to be made as to the evacuation at least of the VIP's from the area. The means, however, were limited. The American commander notified the city officials that one small barge would be available, and its capacity was limited to 100 people. The decision the city fathers needed to make naturally was who were the 100 most important people in the town. They did not hesitate. On the barge they placed the 100 members of the Seoul Symphony Orchestra. The American commander was reported to have exploded with an expletive which reflected more amazement and lack of understanding than it did one of indictment. But people are different.

Even as we seek to understand others, so we should strive to have them understand us. Much as we might say to our friends of other lands that you should allow for our differences as we allow for yours, we should also strive to project the best face of America rather than some of our less favorable attributes that occasionally pop out in headlines. It is not without point that some foreigners look upon us as too materialistic, as more obsessed with dollar values than with human values, or that in our present role in the world we appear to be a nation of militarists or that we appear to be a frightened people bent only upon destroying communism, or a jittery people who lack so much confidence in ourselves that we see only the hobgoblins of the enemy behind every change that takes place elsewhere.

In a very large sense, the harsh demands of the cold war have forced upon the United States a negative image around the world. Even though we attempted to travel the other route—namely, the nonmilitary, the Soviets refused to permit us that alternative. Not only did we dismantle most of our 12-million-man military force at the end of World War II, but we offered to share with the Russians what was then our monopoly on atomic power. In addition, we extended to the Reds an offer of Marshall plan assistance to help them rebuild from the devastation of the war—no strings attached. But the answer was always the same—"no." History surely will judge that each of these proposals in turn was sincere and magnanimous, if not realistic. The hard fact remains, however, that the flagrant disregard of treaties and the determination of the Russians to expand their influence around the world wherever possible required that the only other big power in the world capable of thwarting their ambitions—namely, the United States—meet its responsibilities. This we have done. Soviet expansionism has been curbed, world communism has been stopped, and the balance of political power around the globe has been reconstituted in more favorable terms. These have been the result of a long, tortuous, and costly cold war diplomacy.

Having mostly succeeded in the cold war phase, however, is not enough. We should constantly remind ourselves that it represents only a beginning rather than the end which we seek. For necessary as it was, it has still left our country with a negative profile in the eyes of other nations. As a young college girl in Saigon put it to me during an interrogation while I was there inspecting American positions, "Mr. Senator, I'm on your side. I understand that you must halt the Russians, that you must stop the Chinese, and that uncontrolled communism is a threat to us all. My people also have gotten the message. They know that you're against Communists, and Chinese, and Russians. But they continue to ask me, and in their heart ask you, 'America, what are you for?'"

We have to work harder at telling the rest of the world what we are for as well as revealing through our actions what we are against. We must get through to them loudly and clearly that we are for people, that we are for human dignity, that we are for freedom, that we are for national independence. It is time to accentuate the positive.

Sometimes as we stress our nonmilitary qualities, we tend to stress the wrong thing. Many times I have heard travelers from the United States describing in glowing terms the skyscrapers of Manhattan or the speed of our automobiles, or the conveniences of our supermarkets. These are materialistic qualities an dtend to underscore the opinion held by many foreigners that the Americans are too materialistic. When Mr. Nehru was

the Prime Minister of India, I had the occasion to visit with him at length with another Senator about some of the difficulties our two countries were having. In the course of our conversation that great Indian statesman and philosopher passed along a significant observation. He said, "You know, sometimes you people in America miss the real point of your greatness. You talk too much about the speed of your jets, the number of your automobiles, and the luxury of your homes. But these are not your great qualities. They simply reflect the consequences of your ingenuity. Your truly great qualities are contained in the great philosophies of Thomas Jefferson, or Abraham Lincoln, or Franklin Roosevelt. They are reflected in the conscience of your people, in your respect for the dignity of the individual person, in your humanitarian impulses to help others, in your dedication to religious beliefs, in your tolerance of religious and political differences, in your respect for national independence. These are your deep-running marks of greatness." He concluded, "You should talk about them more and your material successes less, for it's your great qualities that inspire my people—indeed all people who look to you for leadership."

Finally, we have to accept the differences among people. We cannot make little Americans out of everybody. We should not if we wished; we could not if we tried. What works for us may not work in Pakistan. What benefits us may boomerang in Africa.

We must accommodate ourselves to change—rapid change. History teaches nothing if not the inevitability of change. Our capacity to change fast enough and in time will be the ultimate measure of our ability to survive in this generation. It requires that we adjust and think about what's taking place in the world. The time is at hand when we quit blaming everything on the Communists, that we stop attributing every convulsion, or revolution, or adjustment to their sinister plotting. While I do not intend to suggest that the Communists can be taken lightly, neither should they be made 10 feet tall. And in the very nature of the changes which now threaten to engulf us everywhere around the world we are distressed by certain sweeping tides of change that may in fact have little if any connection with Communists at all. To put it another way, if the Russians should disappear overnight and if the Chinese were to drop into the bowels of the earth tomorrow, most of the same bewildering problems of peoples and nations would still be plaguing us and challenging us to come up with the right answers. Anticommunism as a cliche or a slogan can become very dangerous. It can lull us into the acceptance of oversimplified causation for problems to which we would then only come up with the wrong answers. Anticommunism is a mighty poor substitute for thinking. It becomes desperately important, therefore, that we construct an American policy toward the world that is motivated more by a sense of being right than by a sense of being afraid. Fear can produce great deeds, but fear is also the brother to panic. And panic can lead to disaster.

We have every reason in these times to be confident and reasonably sure of ourselves if only we do not permit bigotry and narrowness and fear to blind us to the realities of the world around us. The American example can be one of both challenge and inspiration to other nations, and most of all to the people within those nations. Tom Paine once observed during the great revolution that produced American freedom, "the cause of America is the cause of all mankind." But it was President John F. Kennedy who reminded us of the importance of updating Tom Paine's thoughts. "Now," said President Kennedy, "in the great world revolutions, the cause of all mankind is the cause of America."

Summary of Veterans' Legislation Reported, 89th Congress, 1st Session—Summary of Veterans' Affairs Committee Action—Bills and Resolutions Referred and Hearings-Executive Sessions Conducted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress, 450 bills and resolutions were referred to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. Testimony taken in hearings conducted in the 38 open sessions consisted of 3,033 printed pages. There were 21 executive sessions, resulting in the reporting of 18 bills. Of this number, 10 have been enacted into law; 7 passed the House and were pending in Senate committees at adjournment; and 1 bill reported by the committee, was left on the House Calendar at adjournment:

Summary of Veterans' Affairs Committee action in 81st Cong. through 89th Cong.—Bills and resolutions referred and hearings-executive sessions conducted

	Congress								
	81st	82d	83d	84th	85th	86th	87th	88th	89th, 1st sess.
Bills and resolutions referred	619	436	402	537	491	628	592	508	450
Hearings sessions	64	50	46	71	69	55	45	50	38
Hearings, printed pages	2,355	2,562	5,337	4,271	4,834	3,472	3,055	3,927	3,033
Executive sessions	34	27	55	37	28	21	15	21	21
Bills reported	44	36	36	48	44	42	52	41	18
Bills in House	1		14	1	5	2	[1] 8	[1] 5	[1] 1
Pending in Senate committees	16	14	2	17	11	6	[2] 13	7	[2] 7
Bills on Senate Calendar or in Senate	1	1	2			1	[2] 2	0	0
Recommitted	1	1			1				0
Bills vetoed	2	4			1				0
Bills passed over veto	1	2							0
Laws enacted	24	22	25	30	26	33	[4] 32	29	10

[1] Including 4 bills enacted as amendment to other legislation; 1 left in House when similar Senate bill returned to Senate; and 1 similar to another bill enacted (Public Law 87-645).
[2] Includes 2 bills enacted as amendments to other bills.
[3] Includes 1 bill enacted as amendment to another bill.
[4] Some laws included the substance of more than 1 bill reported separately. 39 separately reported bills were enacted, 7 as amendments to other legislation.
[5] Provisions of 3 of these bills were passed by the House as a separate bill, and the provisions of 1 bill were included as an amendment to another bill which was enacted.
[6] Purpose of 1 bill in Senate committee accomplished administratively; 2 other bills in Senate enacted as sections of another bill; and portions of 1 bill left in House enacted as sections of another bill.

LAWS ENACTED—1ST SESSION, 89TH CONGRESS

Public Law 89-40 (H.R. 7597)—Funding of national service life insurance reopening provisions of Public Law 88-664: This law provided funds to meet initial administrative and operating costs for the national service life insurance reopening program authorized by Public Law 88-664, by authorizing transfer of $1,650,000 from the veterans' special term insurance fund—a nonparticipating fund, no dividends—to the veterans' reopened insurance fund established by this law, such funds to be repaid to the Treasury, with interest.

Public Law 89-50 (H.R. 214)—Repeal of obsolete provisions of law relating to mustering-out payments for Korean conflict veterans: Mustering-out payments of between $100 and $300 for Korean conflict veterans repealed effective July 1, 1966, the date following date of expiration of other benefits provided by the Korean GI bill.

Public Law 89-88 (H.R. 225)—Memorial certificates: Provides statutory authority for Veterans' Administration to assist the President in a program of honoring the memory of deceased veterans by means of a certificate to be sent to the next of kin or other close relative or friend.

Public Law 89-137 (H.R. 206)—Vocational rehabilitation allowance increase: Public Law 16 of the 78th Congress, enacted in 1943, authorized vocational rehabilitation for veterans who have a service-connected disability. Under this program, the Veterans' Administration pays the full academic or training cost, and in addition, pays a subsistence allowance, which varies generally from $115 to $135 per month, depending on the degree of the veteran's disability and his dependency status. This law eliminates the old method of determining the amount of subsistence paid veterans receiving vocational rehabilitation training, and provides for payment of the following amounts:

Type of training	No dependents	1 dependent	2 or more dependents
Full-time institutional training	$110	$150	$175
Institutional on-farm, apprentice, or other on-job training	95	125	150

Public Law 89–138 (H.R. 208)—Vocational rehabilitation, extension of time for training: Under provisions of earlier law, vocational rehabilitation training is provided for service-connected disabled veterans of World War II, the Korean conflict, or veterans of subsequent service. Generally speaking, vocational rehabilitation may not be afforded after 9 years following the date of the veteran's discharge or release from active service. Blinded veterans are permitted training until June 30, 1975, or 10 years after general termination date, when it is determined that the veteran has not been previously rehabilitated or where his disability has worsened to such a degree that he requires retraining. This new law extends the time limitations for seriously disabled veterans who require retraining in the same manner as that previously available for blinded veterans.

Public Law 89–214 (S. 2127 and H.R. 10873)—Life insurance for member of Armed Forces:

Servicemen's group life insurance program—

First. Provides a group life insurance program for all member of the uniformed services who are on active duty, effective after midnight, September 28, 1965.

Second. Coverage is automatic, with the serviceman required to take affirmative action to take himself out of the program. The coverage provided is in $10,000 or $5,000, no other amounts. If the serviceman elects out of the program after the automatic coverage and later applies for readmission, he must pass a physical examination to show good health.

Third. Premium rates, for servicemen, are expected to be $2 a month for $10,000 of group insurance and $1 per month for $5,000 of group insurance, including claim and administrative costs. This cost may be adjusted, hopefully downward, as experience dictates.

Fourth. Servicemen's premiums will be deducted from their pay by the Department of Defense and remitted to the Veterans' Administration.

Fifth. The deductions from the pay will cover administrative expenses of the Veterans' Administration.

Sixth. The extra hazard cost of insuring servicemen will be paid by the United States after determination on an actuarial basis, with the total payment for extra hazard cost estimated at $4 million a year during periods when casualties are at present levels. Peacetime costs will not entail any extra hazard contribution, or at most a very small one.

Seventh. Mode of settlement, to be determined by the beneficiary or beneficiaries in the absence of instruction of the serviceman, is limited to a lump-sum payment or settlement over a 36-month period in equal monthly installments. The serviceman may designate any person as a beneficiary. If an affirmative designation is not made, the insurance will be paid in the following order: Widow or widower; child or children; parents; if none of the above, to the executor or administrator of the estate; if none of the above, to the next of kin of such member or former member under the laws of domicile of such member at the time of his death.

Eighth. Upon discharge from the services, the individual is protected in the full amount of his policy for 120 days, the cost for this being borne by premiums paid during the period of his active service.

Ninth. While covered by insurance under this program an individual will have the right to obtain from a private insurance company an insurance policy without medical examination in an amount equal to the group insurance policy under which he was protected during the period of service.

Tenth. If the man has a service-connected disability, he will be eligible for a commercial policy without medical examination under this program and, in addition, will be eligible for a $10,000 service disabled veteran's insurance policy administered by the Veterans' Administration.

Eleventh. The number of participating companies is to be determined by the Administrator, the expectation being that the number of participants will at least equal or closely approximate the number under the Federal employees group life insurance program. The primary insurer or insurers will be required to be eligible to do insurance business in all 50 States and the District of Columbia, while reinsurers will not be so limited.

Twelfth. Group life insurance coverage under this program will be in addition to any U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance which the serviceman might hold.

Death gratuity program—

First. Covers death incurred in the active military, naval, or air service during the period from January 1, 1957, to the effective date of the servicemen's group life insurance program—midnight, September 28, 1965. The death must have resulted from first, action of hostile forces; second, an accident involving a military or naval aircraft; third, as a direct result of the extra hazard of military or naval service, as such hazard is determined by the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs; or fourth, the performance of service for which certain incentive or special pay for hazardous duty is authorized.

Second. Death gratuity payments will be made to the widow of the veteran; if no widow is living, then to his child or children; and if no widow or child is living, then to his living parent or parents. No other persons are eligible.

Third. Recipients of death gratuity payments will have to waive all future death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation on account of the death of the veteran with respect to whom the death gratuity is paid.

Fourth. The amount of death gratuity payment will be $5,000, reduced by the amount of U.S. Government life insurance or national service life insurance paid or payable on account of the death of the veteran and any death compensation or dependency and indemnity compensation received on account of the death of such veteran by the recipient of the death gratuity.

Public Law 89–222 (H.R. 205)—War orphans' educational allowance increase: Authorizes an increase in the amount of educational assistance allowance paid to the sons and daughters of deceased or permanently and totally disabled service-connected veterans pursuing a program of education, or special restorative training, under the war orphans' educational assistance programs, as follows:

Type of training	Old monthly rate	New monthly rate
Institutional:		
Full time	$110	$130
Three-quarters time	80	95
Half time	50	75
Institutional combined with training in business or industrial establishment	90	105
Restorative	[1] 110	[1] 130

[1] Earlier law permitted increase in restorative allowance where monthly charges exceed $35 per month by the amount of charges in excess of $35, with period of entitlement for training reduced by 1 day for each additional $3.60 expended. This law increases the $35 per month to $41 per month, and the $3.60 to $4.25.

In addition, the law changes eligibility requirements for children of veterans with service beginning from September 16, 1940, and continuing so long as the draft exists by removing the requirements that the veterans' death or disability occurred as a result of first, armed conflict; or second, from injury or disease while engaged in extrahazardous service, thus placing these children in the same status as children of veterans whose disabilities or deaths occurred during a period of war.

Public Law 89–228 (H.R. 2414)—Land conveyance, Roseburg, Oreg.: Authorizes the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey to the city of Roseburg, Oreg., without consideration, approximately 47 acres of land situated in the reservation of the Veterans' Administration hospital, Roseburg, Oreg.

Public Law 89–311 (H.R. 168)—Compensation increase for service-connected disabled veterans: Provides for an increase in compensation payments averaging approximately 10 percent, effective December 1, 1965, with the larger increases going to the most seriously disabled, as outlined below:

Degree and paragraph	Wartime cases	Old wartime rates	New wartime rates	Monthly increase above old rates	Peacetime cases	Old peacetime rates	New peacetime rates	Monthly increase above old rates
10(a)	743,516	$20	$21	$1	62,975	$16	$17	$1
20(b)	280,665	38	40	2	21,097	30	32	2
30(c)	256,529	58	60	2	19,775	46	48	2
40(d)	152,352	77	82	5	8,900	62	65	3
50(e)	95,348	107	113	6	7,500	86	90	4
60(f)	83,980	128	136	8	5,700	102	109	7
70(g)	44,216	149	161	12	3,400	119	129	10
80(h)	25,790	170	186	16	1,400	136	149	13
90(i)	8,237	191	209	18	400	153	167	14
100(j)	72,971	250	300	50	11,379	200	240	40
(l)	3,563	340	400	60	368	272	320	48
(m)	2,599	390	450	60	306	312	360	48
(n)	378	440	525	85	27	352	420	68
(o)	30	525	600	75	10	420	480	60
(p)	3,192	525	600	75	290	420	480	60
(r)	4,965	200(+525)	250(+600)	50(+75)	1,100	160(+420)	200(+480)	40(+60)
(s)	4,582	290	350	60	520	232	280	48
Total	1,782,913				145,147			

In addition to increase in basic rates of compensation, provides increases in dependency allowances paid to veterans 50 percent through 100 percent disabled; permits payment of an educational allowance for children of these veterans—or a widow receiving dependency and indemnity compensation payments—between the ages of 18 and 23, in lieu of the dependence allowance otherwise payable; and permits payment of either dependency allowance or educational allowance, where the child is pursuing a course of instruction at an approved educational institution, until attainment of age 23. The educational allowance for the child of a 100-percent-disabled veteran is $40. Educational allowances or dependency allowances are computed in the same manner for those 50 percent through 90 percent disabled. Lesser amounts are paid based on degree of disability with, as an example, a 50-percent-disabled veteran receiving 50 percent of the rate payable to 100 percent disabled. A comparison of dependency allowances for 100 percent disabled under previous law and that made available by this new law follows:

Dependencey status	Old allowance	New allowance
Veteran totally disabled and has—		
(A) a wife but no child living	$23	$25
(B) a wife and 1 child living	39	43
(C) a wife and 2 children living	50	55
(D) a wife and 3 or more children living	[1] 62	[2] 68
(E) no wife but 1 child living	15	17
(F) no wife but 2 children living	27	30
(G) no wife but 3 or more children living	[1] 39	[2] 43
(H) 1 or 2 parents dependent upon him for support	[3] 19	[3] 21

[1] Plus $12 for each living child in excess of 3.
[2] Plus $13 for each living child in excess of 3.
[3] Payable in addition to other dependency allowance to which veteran is entitled.

The law also permits payment of compensation, in the case of a veteran who suffers from bilateral deafness of both ears, if service connection is established for deafness in one ear but not the other, as though deafness in both ears were service connected.

In addition, the law contains the following provisions not related to compensation: First, extends veterans' preference to veterans injured en route to report for active duty in the military service; second, removes the requirement that a holder of the Congressional Medal of Honor must attain the age of 40 years in order to be eligible to receive a special pension of $100 per month; third, removes certain restrictions on utilization of funds provided States for assistance in construction of nursing care beds; fourth, permits the Attorney General to defend civil actions brought against physicians, dentists, nurses, and paramedical personnel in malpractice or negligence suits, and if decision is made in favor of plaintiff, permits the Government to bear the cost of meeting the claim; and fifth, makes statutory a 125,000 hospital bed ceiling in VA hospitals, and specifies that the 4,000 nursing care beds provided by Public Law 88–450 are in addition to that maximum.

Public Law 89–349 (H.R. 227)—Extension of eligibility to war orphans' education to certain children: Makes war orphans' educational assistance available to the sons and daughters of those veterans who died or were totally and permanently disabled from a service-connected disability during peacetime periods after the Spanish-American War and prior to September 16, 1940, on the same basis as though the disability or death occurred because of service during a period of war.

BILLS PASSED BY THE HOUSE, PENDING IN SENATE COMMITTEES

H.R. 203—Research in spinal cord injuries and diseases: Would require that in each fiscal year during the 6-year period beginning July 1, 1965, and ending June 30, 1971, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs set aside $100,000 in funds appropriated for use of the Veterans' Administration for the conduct of research into spinal cord injuries and diseases, and other disabilities that lead to paralysis of the lower extremities. Reported in House, January 28, 1965; House Report No. 4. Passed House, February 2, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, February 3, 1965.

H.R. 228—Statutory awards for anatomical losses: Authorizes payment of the statutory award of $47 per month for each anatomical loss or loss of use specified in the law in addition to the basic rates of disability compensation and the rate payable to those who are permanently housebound. Reported in House, with amendment, January 28, 1965; House Report No. 6. Passed House February 2, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, February 4, 1965.

H.R. 235—Repeal of obsolete law, education of Korean conflict veterans: All education and training under the subject provision of law was terminated on January 31, 1965, and this bill would repeal chapter 33 of title 38, United States Code in its entirety, except that disposition of claims and liabilities accrued or incurred under that chapter prior to February 1, 1965, would be permitted. Reported in House, with amendments, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 455. Passed House, June 14, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, June 15, 1965.

H.R. 2656—Burial flags, size prescribed: Would require that the flag furnished by Veterans' Administration to drape the casket of deceased veterans be 5 feet in width and 9½ feet in length. Reported in House, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 456. Passed House, June 14, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, June 15, 1965. The purpose of this bill was accomplished administratively.

H.R. 3413—Veterans' preference for persons receiving compensation for injuries incurred en route for induction: Would extend veterans' preference to individuals injured while en route for induction into active duty in the Armed Forces. Reported in House, April 1, 1965, House Report No. 216. Passed House, May 17, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Finance, May 18, 1965. Rereferred to Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, May 19, 1965. A section having this same purpose was included as a part of H.R. 168, enacted as Public Law 89–311.

H.R. 4421—Land conveyance, Cheyenne, Wyo.: Would authorize conveyance to the city of Cheyenne, Wyo., without monetary consideration, for park and recreational purposes, of 27 acres of land, more or less, a portion of the reservation of the Veterans' Administration Center in Cheyenne. Reported in House, May 5, 1965, House Report No. 289. Passed House, May 17, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, May 18, 1965.

H.R. 7571—Veterans' Administration housing program, collections of indebtedness: Prohibits the withholding by the Veterans' Administration of veterans' benefits due a veteran or his widow in order to satisfy an indebtedness arising from a loss suffered under the Veterans' Administration loan programs, unless the individual consents in writing to such withholding. Agencies of Government other than Veterans' Administration would be prohibited from withholding any payment due the veteran or his widow arising from such an indebtedness without the consent of the individual or in the absence of a judgment. Reported in House, with amendments, August 12, 1965, House Report No. 783. Passed House, September 20, 1965. Referred to Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, September 21, 1965.

REPORTED FROM COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, NOT CONSIDERED ON HOUSE FLOOR

H.R. 202—Construction, alteration, or closure of Veterans' Administration hospitals and domiciliaries: Would provide that in the case of any new construction or acquisition of a hospital or domiciliary involving an expenditure in excess of $100,000, or alteration of an existing hospital or domiciliary which involves the expenditure of in excess of $500,000, such construction, alteration or acquisition may not proceed until it has been approved by a resolution of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. In the case of alteration of an existing hospital or domiciliary which involves an expenditure in excess of $200,000, but equal to or less than $500,000, a prospectus giving full details on this proposal would be filed with the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and such alteration could proceed 60 days thereafter unless the committee adopts a resolution stating that it does not favor such proposal. Also provides that no hospital or domiciliary over which the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs has direct jurisdiction and which is in operation on the date of enactment of the proposal shall be closed until such closing is approved by a resolution adopted by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

Provides statutory authority for operation of not less than 125,000 hospital beds and 17,000 domiciliary beds in the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical system, in addition to the 4,000 nursing care beds authorized by Public Law 88-450.

Provide protection for physicians, dentists, and nurses in the Veterans' Administration, in the event a malpractice suit is brought against them, by permitting the Attorney General to defend any civil action against such medical personnel, and if the Attorney General is unsuccessful and decision is made in favor of the plaintiff, then the Government would bear the cost of meeting this claim. Sections with similiar purposes to paragraphs 2 and 3 above were included as a part of H.R. 168, which was enacted as Public Law 89-311. Reported in House, with amendments, June 8, 1965, House Report No. 450.

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION APPROPRIATIONS

Bills providing for appropriations for the Veterans' Administration are under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Appropriations and are included as a part of the Independent Offices Appropriation Acts. A summary of legislation pertaining to veterans could not be considered complete, however, without reference to the large appropriations which the Congress annually provides for operation of the vast system of veterans' benefit programs.

The chart which appears below will provide a comparison of appropriations for Veterans' Administration for fiscal years 1963 through 1966.

Comparison of appropriations, fiscal years 1963 through 1966

	1963 appropriation [1]	1964 appropriation, Public Law 88-215 approved Dec. 19, 1963	1965 appropriation, Public Law 88-507 approved Aug. 30, 1964	1966 appropriation, Public Law 89-128 approved Aug. 16, 1965
General operating expenses	[4] $161,279,950	$159,750,000	$155,125,000	$160,238,000
Medical administration and miscellaneous operating expenses [2]	13,981,950	14,800,000	14,200,000	13,496,000
Medical and prosthetic research [2]	30,500,000	33,742,000	37,000,000	40,893,000
Medical care [3]	1,048,172,300	1,081,186,000	1,115,935,000	1,191,956,000
Compensation and pensions	3,874,000,000	3,921,000,000	3,963,000,000	4,142,000,000
Readjustment benefits	95,800,000	67,000,000	37,100,000	36,500,000
Veterans insurance and indemnities	32,000,000	30,200,000	13,700,000	9,900,000
Construction of hospital and domiciliary facilities	77,000,000	76,796,000	98,103,000	90,511,600
Construction of Corregidor-Bataan memorial				2,500,000
Grants for construction of State nursing homes				386,000
Grants to the Republic of the Philippines	[4] 350,000	310,000	310,000	25,000
Soldiers' and sailors' civil relief				
Total	5,333,084,200	5,384,784,000	5,423,973,000	5,688,405,600

[1] Includes supplementals.
[2] Separate appropriation for "Medical and prosthetic research" in 1963.
[3] "Inpatient care" and "Outpatient care" consolidated into "Medical care" in 1962.
[4] $150,000 transferred from "Grants to the Republic of the Philippines" to "General operating expenses."

Direct Investments Overseas and Our Balance-of-Payments Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a speech made by Mr. Richard C. Fenton, president of Pfizer International, at the International Economic Affairs Meeting of the National Association of Manufacturers held at the Plaza Hotel in New York City on October 11.

Mr. Fenton pointed out that further expansion of American business activities abroad, particularly with foreign financing, could greatly improve the Nation's balance of payments.

At the same time he warned that the business community may be faced with mandatory controls over its overseas investments unless it cooperates fully with the President's voluntary balance-of-payments program.

One way, "possibly the only way, to solve the balance-of-payments problem in the long run is to actively encourage more American manufacturing companies to venture abroad, minimizing their use of dollars," stated Mr. Fenton.

We should exercise care not to confuse direct investments abroad and the expansion of these investments with the method of financing them. As Mr. Fenton pointed out, U.S. industry may find it necessary to substantially expand its plants abroad in order to remain competitive, but this does not necessarily mean a need for comparable dollar outflow.

Mandatory controls, as Mr. Fenton points out, would be unfortunate because they would tend to hamper business activities abroad.

Let us hope that the voluntary program will prove effective, because in the long run direct American investments are important to the eventual solution of our balance-of-payments problem.

I hope my colleagues will take the time to read Mr. Fenton's discussion of this important problem. It is a most interesting statement.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DIRECT INVESTMENTS ABROAD AND THE U.S. BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

(By Richard C. Fenton, president, Pfizer International)

In the time allotted to me this morning I am going to try to do four things. First, I am going to make a plea to the senior executives of the other 500-odd companies which, like Pfizer, have large investments abroad to make certain that their companies are fully cooperating with the President's voluntary balance of payments program. Secondly, I am going to try to clarify some misunderstandings which I believe have arisen about the meaning and purpose of this program and, in particular, to make clear that direct investments are not the same as dollar outflow. Thirdly, I am going to try to show the true contribution which direct investments are already making to the balance of payments. Finally, I shall urge the importance of increasing and diversifying direct investments abroad while, at the same time, reducing the dollar outflow at least in the next year or so.

First my plea. We all know that during the first quarter there was a very large outflow of dollars in connection with direct investments—and the amount is now estimated at $1.1 billion. This, however, was largely before the announcement of the President's program and much of the outflow was doubtless stimulated by fears and rumors of what was going to be announced. Everyone looked to the second quarter to see the effect

of the program. Unfortunately, since the second quarter figures were announced most of the attention in the press has been devoted to the total of the first half instead of to the second quarter itself. In fact, many of the figures for the second quarter are not too bad. Much short term funds were brought home as had been requested—about $400 million. As regards capital outflow, it appears that the total was below the first quarter's figure, although it is still estimated at a surprisingly large $950 million. Apparently, however, this figure is inflated by two special circumstances, large tax payments in Africa and Asia by oil companies and a special transaction in Canada—totalling together close to $200 million. A clearer picture emerges if we just look at the developed countries, which are the real object of attention in the President's program. Secretary of Commerce Connor announced on September 23, that the data from companies participating in the program showed a decline in outflow to developed countries of $224 million from the first to the second quarter, which is a decrease of 30 percent. On October 4, Assistant Secretary of Commerce Brimmer gave further details which showed that for Western Europe alone the decline from first quarter to second quarter was about $170 million, or one third. Information separately released by the Commerce Department showed a second quarter outflow to Western Europe a little below the same quarter of 1964. It also showed that the inflow of dividends from Western Europe is moderately up this year. Secretary Connor and Dr. Brimmer also gave figures showing that the participating companies achieved a more rapid repatriation of income earned abroad and raised more funds abroad in connection with their foreign investments in the second quarter than in the first. Secretary Connor concluded that "the participating companies have already made important contributions to the improvement we have seen" and Dr. Brimmer that "the results (with regard to direct investments) do indicate that the program is taking hold."

Furthermore, from the point of view of a participating company, I doubt that the second quarter's results are indicative of what we can and will do. In Pfizer's case, after the President's program was announced, we found it very difficult at first to get a grip on our balance of payments on a day-to-day and quarter-to-quarter basis. We knew where we were year-to-year but we had very little control on a short term basis and we had to set up special controls. Some things slipped through in the second quarter which we did not intend and which we have since corrected. Because of our new controls, which were only properly set up towards the end of the second quarter, we have improved our performance in the third quarter and will improve it more in the future. I suspect that many, if not most, companies were in a similar position.

Furthermore, I must say that from my personal discussions with several major companies participating in the program I have received a very definite impression that most companies are cooperating with the program. They are trying to send less dollars abroad, to raise more funds abroad, to export more, to repatriate more income earned abroad; and they have repatriated short term funds. They do intend to make a substantial increase in their overall credit to the balance of payments, which is the basic objective of the program.

Why then am I making a plea? Obviously the reason is that I cannot help being a little nervous about the sheer size of the second quarter's dollar outflows—whatever the explanations may be. Also, I am disturbed by the voices, here and abroad, who still say that the program is not going to work. I have always believed that the program was brilliantly conceived—conceived with an insight on how industry works, which is not too common in government circles. I have always believed that the program would work. Indeed, gentlemen, it must work. The alternatives are not pleasant to contemplate. In the first place, I believe we are very fortunate to have a Secretary of Commerce with such a good understanding of industry and of how we operate abroad. It is already being suggested that the knives are being sharpened for Mr. Connor. We must not let them be used. Secondly, if a voluntary program will not work, a mandatory program will eventually be imposed and I fear it may be one devised with much less understanding of our interests. It might be based on the same misconceptions about our businesses abroad as the 1962 Revenue Act.

Here I would like to make the point that I do not share the view expressed by some that the solution to our balance-of-payments problems is simply to cut Government overseas expenditures for military and economic aid. It may well be that these assistance and security programs require revamping or up-dating but I cannot believe that the interests of the United States and the world will be served by our refusing to continue at least the present level of aid in some form or another. My impression is that the majority of the American people accept the necessity for this financial burden and that it will coninue to be a fact of our economic lives for many years to come.

This being the case, we need policies which will improve our private surplus in the balance of payments, not only in the short run, which was the original intent of the voluntary program, but in the long run as well.

Before I suggest what these policies should be, I must try to remove some misunderstandings. In the first place, in referring to direct investments, I am using these words, I believe correctly, to refer to the total investments of U.S. corporations in their operations abroad. These investments are not entries in a bank ledger and they are not portfolio stocks but they are subsidiary companies, buildings, machinery, inventories, receivables, people, research and development—in short, direct investments are our operating businesses abroad. Secretary Connor has made it very clear many times that we are not being asked to curtail the normal growth of these businesses. We are asked to postpone or cancel what are called "marginal" projects in developed countries—which are presumably those whose payout in balance-of-payments terms is likely to be excessively long—but otherwise the whole emphasis is on reducing the dollar outflow, and enhancing the dollar inflow in connection with direct investments, that is to say in connection with our businesses abroad. We are asked to export more, to borrow more abroad, and to bring more money home, all so that in total we increase our individual contributions to the balance of payments by, hopefully, 15 to 20 percent. Yet, even in statements by some officials and very often in the press, there is reference to a restriction on investments. This is not the point. The restriction is on the dollar outflows in connection with direct investments. For example, in the last weeks much has been made of the estimate by the reporting companies that they may have to increase their capital expenditure abroad by 20 percent in 1965. But this does not necessarily mean that dollar outflows will increase to the same extent. Obviously, much of the increase can be met from local cash flows and local borrowing and this is precisely what the program intends. We need not increase dollar outflows, and we must not do so. Certainly Pfizer will not do so.

Let me give a few illustrations of what I mean from Pfizer's own experience. We have just finished expanding a plant in Italy, a developed country. The total cost of the expansion was over $1 million. All of this investment was financed by our Italian company with no use of dollars. On the other hand, we ordered from other U.S. companies and shipped to our Italian plant about a quarter of a million dollars worth of equipment for the expansion. Furthermore, we calculate that the expansion enabled us immediately to begin shipping additional bulk materials at the rate of over $2 million per year. Here the result of the expansion in the investment is a total plus for the balance of payments.

In another type of case, we are in the process of building a new finishing plant in Portugal, another developed country. Here the local authorities are making it increasingly difficult for us to run our business on the basis of imported finished goods and we face the prospect of either our business being stifled or making the investment in the plant. We have been sending finished goods into Portugal at the rate of about $1½ million per year. Once the plant is completed, we expect to ship about $1 million per year on the average during the first 5 years, in the form of bulk materials. If we did not build the plant at an estimated cost of about $1 million, of which $500,000 will have to be provided from outside Portugal, our finished-goods imports would gradually die and we would have no imports of bulk materials. In this particular case it is hard to say how long the payback is but, assuming our finished-goods imports would be cut by half over a 5-year period, the payback in balance-of-payment terms on the exports alone works out to about 2 years, even if all of the $500,000 required comes from a dollar source—which we shall certainly avoid.

Again, a slightly different case in Britain. There we have just approved the construction of a plant to make one of our chemical products. We have been supplying the market from one of our U.S. plants. Three-fourths of our business is with one customer in Britain and he recently gave us an ultimatum that if we did not manufacture in Britain, he would manufacture the chemical himself or get someone else to manufacture it for him because he wanted to have a complete guarantee of supply within Britain. Again, we are financing the investment entirely without the aid of dollars. On the other hand, our imports of dollars from the investment will come in the form of dividends on the additional profits. Since we would lose most of our exports anyway if we did not invest and since we are financing the investment locally, the extra dividends which result from the increased investment will all be a plus to the balance of payments.

In short, I would like to ask everyone concerned in the government, the press, and in industry to make certain when they write or speak on this subject that they make a clear distinction between the direct investments abroad and the method of financing them—whether by generated cash flow, borrowing abroad or by outflow of dollars.

Now I will try to clarify the very important role that direct investments are already playing in helping the balance of payments. The most important point I want to make is that in measuring the effect which direct investments abroad have on the balance of payments you must include the exports which are generated by these investments. Let me illustrate by talking for a moment again about my own company, Pfizer.

Our range of products extends from prescription drugs to agricultural and animal health products, consumer cosmetics and toiletries, and bulk chemicals required by other industries, sold all over the world where permitted by U.S. law and policy.

We have 24 plants in the United States and 56 abroad in 29 countries. Some of our products are wholly manufactured in a few of our plants in the largest countries abroad, but in no country do we wholly

manufacture everything we sell, and there is always at least some intermediate of some product which has to be imported from one of our U.S. plants. This arises because we undertake production in a country only to the extent that we have to for any one or a combination of different reasons, such as heavy duties on imports or threatened or actual bans on imports or uneconomically high freight costs, or the need to produce somewhat different products from our U.S. products, and so on. Our U.S. international board is a hardheaded one, and they make sure that we invest in facilities only when we have to in order to assure ourselves of the supplies that we can sell at an economic cost. Much of the equipment in our plants has been purchased from U.S. equipment manufacturers; many of the materials we use which are not made by ourselves are imported from other U.S. suppliers. As a result of our business operations abroad, we make profits and out of these profits we pay royalties, service fees and/or dividends depending on the economic or other advantages of choosing a particular route to bring money out of the particular country. From time to time, we make new capital investments to build new warehouses or plants or to expand existing ones, or purchase new equipment in order to become more efficient or to expand output. From time to time we may purchase other companies where to do so fits into our expansion plans. Many of these investment needs can be met from our resources in the same country, depreciation, profits, borrowing from local banks, and so on. In other cases, we have to send the money from outside the country. When this happens, we use other currencies including dollars, and when it is dollars it is because we keep excess cash in dollars. These are dollars which have arisen in the first place from our exports or receipt of dividends, royalties, service fees, and so on. In other words, our operations abroad result today and have resulted for many years in a surplus for the balance of payments of the United States. Since we started in 1951, Pfizer operations abroad have made a net contribution to the plus side of the U.S. balance of payments of about $370 million in spite of building up our substantial assets and operations around the world. Our net contribution in 1964 alone was over $40 million. The major portion of this inflow, that is to say, $270 million out of the $370 million, has come from our exports of U.S. goods and equipment to our overseas plants, most of which exports—and I underline this—would not have been possible without our prior direct investments in those installations. We cannot import finished goods into most countries even today and, even if we could, the finished products required by many countries differ from those we make and sell in the United States. If we do not invest in a finishing plant, we do not export anything from the United States. Similarly, if a plant is filled up to capacity and we can sell more than we can produce, and assuming we cannot import the product into the country, if we fail to expand that plant by new investment we put a ceiling on further exports from the United States of the materials to supply that plant—not to speak of the tremendous morale problem which would be involved. In a case like this, we cannot stop or postpone an investment without losing out to the competition—which may well be local competition or competition from some country other than the United States.

The largest part of Pfizer's contribution to the plus side of the balance of payments is derived from our investments in the developed countries, although our investments in the underdeveloped countries are almost as large as in the developed. This is mainly because we can export more to the developed countries than to the underdeveloped and also because we make more profits in the developed countries and we can repatriate more of these profits. The underdeveloped countries simply do not have enough dollars to pay for all we would like to export to them, so we have to manufacture there more than the markets really justify in order to support our businesses. Furthermore, the underdeveloped countries simply do not have the dollars to pay for the profit remittances we would like to make—when our profits are not eaten up by currency devaluations and inflation. Much of our exports to underdeveloped countries and much of the profits that we do bring home are financed directly or indirectly by AID and do not help the U.S. balance of payments. The plain fact is that if we had to rely for our international business on the underdeveloped countries and did not have the developed countries in which to grow and prosper, our enthusiasm for international business would be considerably diminished. To quite an extent, our business in the underdeveloped countries is justified and even financed by our success in the developed countries.

Now the important point is that we are rather typical of companies operating abroad. The Department of Commerce now recognizes that most companies operating abroad are in credit in their balance of payments. In his statement before a Senate committee on August 3, Secretary Connor noted that the 475 reporting companies alone accounted for nearly half of all U.S. merchandise exports during 1964. Obviously we have to include at least the part of these exports which goes to the direct investments when we consider the balance-of-payments effect of direct investments, just as I did in describing Pfizer's situation. To be fair, we should also include imports into the United States from the direct investments. Unfortunately, the official statistics do not group exports and imports with the direct investments to which they relate. This is probably the reason why the importance of direct investments and their contribution to the balance of payments has until recently been consistently underestimated.

The first of the attached charts [not included in the RECORD] indicates the apparent net effect of direct investments according to the traditional method of grouping the figures, including only repatriated earnings and new dollars for overseas investment. Note that the net inflow shown is $1.1 billion for 1963.

However, it is possible to regroup the figures to show the effects of exports, imports and royalties and fees as well.

Chart 2 [not included in the RECORD], shows the figures for the same year as chart 1 [not included in the RECORD], that is for 1963, because this is the most recent year for which complete data are so far available.

Inflow, comprising earnings, royalties and fees, and exports are shown in the left-hand bar, while outflows, comprising new dollars for direct invesement and imports are in the right-hand bar. Note that chart 2 reflects a much larger balance-of-payments inflow, of $2.7 billion, than does chart 1.

Chart 3 [not included in the RECORD] indicates the balance-of-payments situation as it relates to manufacturing and distributive direct investments only—omitting oil, foodstuffs, minerals, and so forth. This chart is very significant.

As you can see in chart 3 the left-hand bar, comprising earnings, royalties and fees and exports towers $3.7 billion above the outflow bar on the right, which contains new dollars for direct investments and imports.

All the figures I have quoted are from published Department of Commerce statistics with the single exception of the estimate for imports from non-manufacturing direct investments. I do not believe any error on this single point will invalidate the basic conclusions.

Charts for 1962 show similar relationships. Furthermore, there is every reason to presume that a similar situation existed in 1964. Now, if you will note the relatively small proportion of new dollars for direct investment which were required by manufacturing affiliates of American companies in 1963 and remember that many companies, like Pfizer, have found ways to reduce the number of dollars required by their subsidiaries, I think you will agree that the annual return on such new dollars for direct investment is very great indeed.

Manufacturing direct investment in Western Europe alone, which so many people have implied contributes a deficit to the balance of payments, can be analyzed in the same way. Figures taken exclusively from Department of Commerce statistics show that there is, in fact, a balance of payments surplus of $1.2 billion in 1962 and again in 1963.

Now, I would like to deal with one final question. It is clear that if Government expenditure abroad cannot be significantly reduced, the private surplus must be significantly increased if our international payments are to be balanced. How can this be done? It seems to me that the huge contribution which direct investments abroad are already making points the way.

You will remember that only about 500 companies are involved in the reporting system under the voluntary program and this means that only about this number have significant direct investments abroad. I understand, however, that there are about 300,000 manufacturing companies in the United States. It seems to me that one way, and possibly the only way, to solve the balance of payments problem in the long run is not only to give the widest possible publicity to the true meaning of the voluntary program, but in a much more positive way to actively encourage more of these manufacturing companies to venture abroad while they try at the same time to minimize their use of dollars. I would find it hard to believe that there is not at least 1 percent of all manufacturing companies with proven products and know-how which could do a good job of operating abroad, if they knew it was in the national interest that they should go abroad in a serious way. Of course, any initial dollar outflows would be a drain on the balance of payments. But if you include the exports that most of them would probably generate immediately after their installation abroad, I would guess that the turnaround time on these outflows would be very rapid. But the turnaround time must be calculated on the total effect including the exports, and not simply in terms of the profits and dividends. In fact, my suggestion would be that, as a contribution to the long term solution to the balance-of-payments problem, a real effort should be made to find the successful companies in all branches of industry and enlist the support of groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Marketing and American Management Associations to show them how to establish themselves abroad. Here I am speaking not of 500 nor 1,000 nor 2,000 companies but of perhaps 10,000, not a very large number out of the 300,000 manufacturing enterprises.

We would be on much safer ground for the future of our balance of payments if our investments abroad were spread through a much larger number of companies, products, and industries. To get more and perhaps more medium-sized companies interested, however, there would have to be a much clearer and more positive lead from the administration, and an attempt would have to be made to get all interested departments to accept this concept of the total contribution of direct investments to the balance of payments. Furthermore, all the talk of the undesirability of direct investments in

the developed countries of Western Europe and Japan should cease. It has got to be clear to everyone that it is in the national interest that direct investments in Europe and Japan should be encouraged (while minimizing the use of dollars) for the positive contribution that they make to the balance of payments as well as for other reasons. It may be more important in the long run for the United States that the lines should be kept open to direct investment in the European Common Market, including France, than that tariffs should be reduced.

In conclusion, I believe that the achievement of a balance in our balance of payments is absolutely vital as well as urgent. It can be achieved in the short term if all of us cooperate with the President and Secretary Connor in their current program. It can be achieved in the longer term if those of us who already operate abroad develop our businesses more efficiently, constantly bearing in mind the interests of the balance of payments and, further, if more companies who are successful and efficient here at home, who at present do little or nothing abroad, will venture and invest and go abroad to operate, particularly in the competitive developed world. For balanced the international payments of the United States must be, if we want to continue, as I believe we do, as the leader of the free world. To be a leader we must be financially strong internationally as well as domestically.

Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965

SPEECH
OF
HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, July 29, 1965

The Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8310) to amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act to assist in providing more flexibility in the financing and administration of State rehabilitation programs, and to assist in the expansion and improvement of services and facilities provided under such programs, particularly for the mentally retarded and other groups presenting special vocational rehabilitation problems, and for other purposes.

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Chairman, I thank the gentlewoman from Oregon for her kind comments. It has always been a pleasure to work with her, and I am sure that all of us are grateful for her leadership and vision.

Mr. Chairman, I rise in enthusiastic support of this bill. It represents the culmination of many years of effort, in which I have been proud to participate, and in which I have been proud to follow the leadership of our colleague from Oregon.

The many reasons for the adoptions of this legislation have been advanced by its principal sponsors and I wish only to utilize this time to urge its adoption and to congratulate the committee for its work. This legislation represents much needed extension and expansion of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, whose contributions are familiar to all of us and worthy of our continued support and enthusiasm.

We cannot take pride in our national goals unless we implement provisions which will take care of those who, for many and varied reasons, are unable to compete with their fellows. This is not to say that they cannot—if given help, and it is for this reason that we should support the bill before us today.

Again, I am proud to support this legislation and to urge its passage.

Activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 1st Session, 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ALAN BIBLE
OF NEVADA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I submit to the Senate a report of the activities of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. This presentation provides in full a report in detail of the committee's activities for that period of time.

However, before I do this, may I extend to my colleagues on this committee my appreciation for their helpfulness and assistance in our work. I believe that they are deserving of the gratitude of the entire Congress, the people of the District of Columbia, and the people of the entire country for the hours they spend in tending to the business of the Nation's Capital City while carrying on their other major activities incident to their service in the Congress. May I further express my deep appreciation to my subcommittee chairmen who gave of their time and energy; namely, the very effective and hardworking senior Senator from Oregon [Mr. MORSE], who is chairman of the Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety Subcommittee; the distinguished junior Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. MCINTYRE], whose energies and devotion to committee matters have been invaluable to our committee as chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee; and the capable junior Senator from Maryland [Mr. TYDINGS], who has served as the committee's chairman of the Business and Commerce Subcommittee, during his first year as a Member of the Senate. To the other committee members, the junior Senator from New York [Mr. KENNEDY], whose service as former Attorney General for the United States made his work most valuable to the committee; the junior Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROUTY], whose long and effective service was particularly useful to the committee; and to the junior Senator from Colorado [Mr. DOMINICK], whose experience in the House of Representatives and in the legislature of his home State has done much to assist the committee with its many problems. I wish to express my sincere thanks for the hours they gave to our committee.

I would also like to express my deep appreciation for the cooperation I received personally as committee chairman from the Honorable JOHN MCMILLAN, chairman of the House Committee on the District of Columbia, and the individual members of his committee. Likewise, I wish to commend the cooperation and assistance that the staff members of the House District Committee have extended to the staff members of my committee during this session of Congress.

During this session of this Congress, the full committee considered a number of important bills. As in the 88th Congress, the committee continued to push legislation that would provide more effective law enforcement in the Nation's Capital. As part of the committee's overall study of the crime problem, the committee gave careful and thorough consideration to the House-passed crime bill, H.R. 5688, which proposed changes in the complex and controversial Mallory and Durham rules.

The increased crime upsurge in the District of Columbia, pushed by a trend that, at its present rate, will make 1965 a record crime year, resulted in a call by the committee for emergency measures. The District of Columbia Commissioners responded by putting into operation police saturation patrol techniques, additional scout cars, and investigators, an increase in nonpolice school crossing guards leaving regular duty men for crime prevention work, a review of present assignments of police officers to administrative, clerical, and technical duties, looking to a possible takeover of some of these positions by nonpolice personnel, implementation of two-way radio communication for footmen, and Senate and House passage of S. 1719, authorizing overtime pay for members of the Washington Metropolitan Police Department, the White House Police, and the U.S. Park Police, in addition to the Washington Fire Department.

Additionally, the committee, believing that crime represented the District's foremost local problem, continued its in-depth examination of the need for strengthening the District of Columbia Criminal Code in 9 days of hearings in April, May, July, and August 1965. It heard 36 witnesses update hearings held in the general field of a District of Columbia omnibus crime bill, such hearings having been started in the 87th and 88th Congresses.

After careful study of various crime measures before the committee, H.R. 5688, as it passed the House, was amended substantially and reported to the Senate where it passed with a minor amendment. Title I of the Senate-passed version of H.R. 5688 dealt with the modification of the Mallory rule. Under its provisions, standards and safeguards were written in for in-custody interrogation of persons arrested on probable cause. In addition to providing these safeguards for an accused during a period of detention, the Senate version also spelled out the aggregate period of time that law enforcement officers would be able to legally detain an accused for interrogation.

In addition to making this change in existing law, the Senate amendments to H.R. 5688 also included the following:

Title II amended existing law so as to require an accused in a criminal case to give notice of an insanity defense.

Title III expanded existing law so as to provide more extensive procedures for the detention of material witnesses to criminal offenses.

Title V made certain changes in the maximum and minimum sentences for crimes of violence and other criminal offenses in the District of Columbia. Also, this title amended the law relating to indecent publications. At adjournment of Congress, this bill was pending before a Senate-House conference.

S. 1719, authorized overtime pay for members of the Metropolitan, White House and U.S. Park Police Departments for additional hours worked in excess of the basic 40-hour workweek. The Washington Fire Department was also included.

Under the provisions of S. 1719, now Public Law 89–282, members would be paid overtime when working first, on special designated assignments; second, during off-duty days; and, third, on second and subsequent court appearances.

In reporting this legislation, the committee felt that paying overtime for hours worked in excess of a 40-hour week would make more police officers available for duty on the streets during periods when street crimes are at their highest peak.

S. 1320, another crime bill, was favorably reported by the full committee to the Senate. S. 1320 clarifies, as well as strengthens, certain of the criminal laws of the District of Columbia; also, it broadens and conforms to the Federal immunity statutes the immunity statute of the District of Columbia which is applicable to certain civil proceedings relating to disorderly houses. The bill provides for the corporation counsel of the District of Columbia to represent the District in prosecutions involving violations of acts relating to licensing and regulation of certain professions—Public Law 89–347.

As another important legislative measure, the committee provided extensive study of a home rule bill for the District of Columbia. In the 89th Congress two home rule bills were introduced in the Senate—S. 268 and S. 1118. The committee updated previous hearings on both of these legislative proposals and heard from numerous witnesses. S. 1118 was reported by the committee in amended form, and was passed subsequently by the Senate. Such bill provided in some measure for self-government for the citizens of the District of Columbia. The bill as it was approved by the Senate made provision for the election of the following: a city mayor; a city council of 19 members—5 to be elected at large; a school board consisting of 14 members; and a nonvoting delegate to the House of Representatives.

The bill also provided that the Congress would retain full residual, ultimate and exclusive legislative jurisdiction over the District of Columbia. In addition, the bill empowered the President to veto any act of the local government where such act adversely affects a Federal interest.

In order to meet the fiscal requirements of the city government the bill provides authority for a regular annual payment by the Federal Government to the District of Columbia to be computed by means of a flexible formula. It was the committee's view that a formula method would provide a more equitable basis for measuring the Federal responsibility to the Nation's Capital as it would provide a built-in incentive to utilize local taxes to meet local needs. At the same time, local residents are assured that the Federal Government will automatically recognize its obligation to provide additional revenues that are needed to meet legitimate increased expenditure requirements. At adjournment, the Senate had before it a House-passed charter commission version of the Senate home rule bill.

Also in the 89th Congress the committee continued to meet its obligation to develop a comprehensive and effective transportation system for the National Capital region. The committee, after careful study, reported H.R. 4822. This legislation as it was reported by the committee became Public Law 89–173. Such legislation provided for the development of a transit program for the National Capital region, in furtherance of the objectives of the National Capital Transportation Act of 1960. The bill authorized the National Capital Transportation Agency to design, engineer, construct, equip, and to take such other actions necessary to provide for the establishment of a system of rail rapid transit lines and related facilities for the mass transportation of persons within the District of Columbia and between the District and points in Montgomery County, Md., and Arlington County, Va.

The proposed rapid rail system would be limited largely to the District of Columbia. However, there would be one extension into Arlington County, Va., to serve the heavy Federal employment concentration at the Pentagon, and a short extension into Montgomery County, Md., in order to reach a suitable terminal location. The total system would be 24.9 miles long, with double track throughout, and would include 20 stations. Approximately one-half—13.1 miles—would be in subway, 7.5 miles would utilize a portion of existing railroad rights-of-way, and the balance would occupy other exclusive rights-of-way.

The estimated capital cost of constructing this system is $431 million, exclusive of interest requirements, and would be financed as follows:

	Million
Federal contribution	$100
District of Columbia contribution	50
Public sale of revenue bonds	281
Total system cost	431

The system would be designed and constructed by private engineering firms under contract with the Federal Government.

The system will be operated by private transit companies, or other private parties under contracts with the Agency. The Federal Government would retain control over essential matters such as fares and safety standards but would not be involved in day-to-day transit operations.

The full committee, during this session, also provided careful study to the increasing backlog of cases in the District of Columbia Court of General Sessions. In order to help the court remedy the backlog problem, the committee favorably reported S. 2263. Under the provisions of S. 2263 the number of judges assigned to the court of general sessions was increased from 15 to 20. In addition the bill provides that two of the judges in the court of general sessions would serve on a full-time basis in the traffic branch of such court. The Senate passed S. 2263, but during this session no action was taken on the bill by the House.

H.R. 11487, a major District of Columbia revenue-producing bill, was considered by the full committee during the last days of this Congress but there was insufficient time to provide the consideration it required. The bill would first, increase District of Columbia income tax revenues; second, increase the District of Columbia tax on motor vehicle fuels from 6 to 7 cents per gallon; third, increase the borrowing authority of the District for highway construction from $50,250,000 to $85,250,000, an increase of $35 million; fourth, authorize the District of Columbia Commissioners to abate the unpaid portion of any tax when, in their judgment, the amount of money involved would not warrant the cost of collection; and, fifth, authorize the District of Columbia Board of Commissioners to participate with Maryland and Virginia authorities in comprehensive planning for transportation facilities for the National Capital region.

The District Commissioners advised the committee that if the major highway building program was to continue in the Disrtict of Columbia, additional revenues, the earmarked gasoline tax increase and loan authority for highway construction, would be essential.

Additional consideration of this broad measure by this committee will continue in the early stages of the 2d session of the 89th Congress.

The 1st session of the 89th Congress was a busy one for the Judiciary Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia.

The subcommittee favorably reported and the Senate passed S. 1611, a bill designed to transfer from the U.S. district court certain administrative functions of a local nature and convey such functions to the court of general sessions or appropriate District of Columbia agencies. The functions transferred from the jurisdiction of the district court relate generally to docketing judgments, recording liens, filing trademarks, trade names, and issuing marriage licenses.

In the domestic relations field the subcommittee reported H.R. 948, which eventually became Public Law 89–217. This bill had the beneficial purpose of liberalizing the District of Columbia law relating to divorce, legal separation, and

annulment of marriage. The bill as it was finally enacted into law brings the District's divorce and annulment laws into closer conformity with the laws of Virginia and Maryland.

The Judiciary Subcommittee also acted on several other legislative proposals, all of which had the intended purpose of assisting the various law-enforcement agencies of the District of Columbia. These bills were passed by the Senate and are as follows:

First. S. 1319 authorizes a work release program for defendants sentenced by the courts of the District of Columbia. Under this legislation, selected offenders will be eligible for release from prison confinement at specified times to enable them to obtain or engage in gainful employment.

Second. S. 1715 made it a felony criminal offense for inmates of penal and correctional institutions to assault the employees of such institutions. The effect of this legislation will be to provide District correctional and juvenile confinement employees the same felony statutory coverage with regard to assaults on their persons as Federal penal and correcttional officers are provided under U.S. law—Public Law 89–277.

Third. H.R. 66 provides authority for the Board of Parole of the District of Columbia to discharge a parolee from supervision prior to the expiration of the maximum term for which he was sentenced. The authority of H.R. 66 permits the Board of Parole to terminate supervision of a parolee where the Parole Board in its discretion determines that a parolee has made a proper adjustment in the community and no longer is in need of supervision—Public Law 89–24.

S. 1317 and H.R. 647 were also reported by the subcommittee. S. 1317 authorizes the District Commissioners to impose monetary penalties for the handling and collection of dishonored checks and money orders—Public Law 89–208.

H.R. 647 provides for the substitution of trustees under deeds of trust in the District of Columbia by means of a written instrument entered into by all parties or their successors in interest, notwithstanding any provision of the deed of trust to the contrary.

The bill provides that before any such instrument is valid, notice of the appointment of the new trustee, bearing the signatures under seal of the parties, and acknowledged by them, shall be recorded in the Office of the Recorder of Deeds.

The subcommittee reported to the Senate S. 1321. This bill amends section 501(e) of title 16 of the District of Columbia Code so that a plaintiff, in a civil action which allows for attachment of the defendant's property before judgment, may be allowed by the court, when the property has less value than the claim against the defendant, to post bond in an amount equal to twice the value of the property attached rather than twice the amount of the claim. When this provision is invoked, only that specific property may be levied upon instead of the general property of the defendant—Public Law 89–113.

This session of the Congress was also an important one for the Business and Commerce Subcommittee of the Senate District Committee.

The subcommittee held hearings and reported two measures dealing with urban renewal in the Southwest redevelopment area.

The first, S. 1314, which passed the Senate on September 30, 1965, grants the District of Columbia the right to close streets in urban renewal areas upon the written consent of the private owners of the remainder of the property. This bill has the purpose of simplifying street-closing procedures in connection with urban renewal activities. Under existing law, two separate hearings are required to be held on proposed street closings, the first when an urban renewal plan for a particular area is taken up for public consideration, and the second when the specific street is proposed to be closed. The provisions of S. 1314 dispense with the necessity of the second street closing hearing when a street closing is embodied in an urban renewal plan, and there has been a public hearing on such plan.

House Joint Resolution 397 passed the Senate on October 18. This resolution was designed to clear title to certain properties in the Southwest redevelopment area used by a number of railroads under the Union Station Act of 1903. The resolution settled outstanding ownership questions by authorizing the District of Columbia to convey title to the Redevelopment Land Agency so that these parcels could be developed. Additionally, that portion of the Southwest Freeway which utilized rights-of-way across designated redevelopment land was conveyed to the District of Columbia Government for $82,000—Public Law 89–317.

The Business and Commerce Subcommittee also held hearings on S. 1316, a bill which would permit the District of Columbia to enter into joint contracts with other local governments in the National Capital region for the purchase of supplies and services. This measure passed the Senate on October 1, 1965. The committee, in favorably acting on such legislation, felt that substantial savings in procurement, production, and service costs might be effected through the increased purchasing power of the various governments acting cooperatively. Under the procedures of this bill the District of Columbia Government would be the clearinghouse and purchasing office under the joint contracts, but the participating jurisdictions would share the additional administrative costs.

Hearings were held but no final action was taken by the committee in two additional important and significant legislative proposals.

The Business and Commerce Subcommittee held 4 full days of hearings on various pieces of legislation concerned with amending the Safety Responsibility Act of the District of Columbia, and also providing coverage of uninsured motorists. Four bills dealing with this broad and difficult subject were considered by the subcommittee and one bill, H.R. 9918, was reported favorably to the full committee.

Under H.R. 9918 a motorist registering his automobile in the District must include uninsured motorist coverage in his insurance policy, or, in lieu of this coverage, pay into an unsatisfied judgment fund. The latter provides the source through which District residents not having a registered motor vehicle in the District of Columbia may obtain compensation when injured by an uninsured motorist. H.R. 9918 is essentially a combination of the approach to uninsured motorist coverage now in effect in Maryland and Virginia.

Finally, the Business and Commerce Subcommittee held hearings on H.R. 10274, a bill to amend the Chancery Act of 1964, to permit chancery uses in low density residential areas in buildings used for chanceries between 1958 and 1964, even if such chancery use was then contrary to District of Columbia law or regulations if the property owner had no notice that such use was unlawful. Considered late in the session, this matter was still under consideration at adjournment.

The Fiscal Affairs Subcommittee acted upon a number of measures as follows:

First. Senate Joint Resolution 5, a resolution naming the bridge across the Washington channel of the Potomac River on Interstate Route 95 the "Francis Case Memorial Bridge"—Public Law 89–203.

Second. House Joint Resolution 195, authorizing the District Commissioners to promulgate special regulations for the American Legion National Convention to be held in the District of Columbia during the summer of 1966—Public Law 89–25.

Third. H.R. 4338, authorizes the Veterans of Foreign Wars to rent or lease any part of their Memorial Building at 200 Maryland Avenue NE., for office purposes only, to any agency of the Federal or District of Columbia Governments, or to any nonprofit organization, and would require the VFW to pay real estate taxes on that portion of the building so rented or leased—Private Law 89–1.

During this session, a number of bills were considered by the Subcommittee on Public Health, Education, Welfare, and Safety. The committee, after holding extensive hearings, reported H.R. 8126 to the Senate. This bill amends the minimum wage law of the District of Columbia which became operative in 1918, to provide a minimum wage of $1.25 an hour for all persons employed in the District of Columbia with the exception of employees employed in a bona fide executive, administrative or professional capacity or in the capacity of outside salesmen—as such terms are defined and delimited by regulations or the Commissioners—and employees engaged in the delivery of newspapers to the home of the consumer. Provision is made for adjustment in such minimum wage rate to make allowances for special conditions, circumstances, such as the existence of facilities and services customarily furnished by em-

ployers and of gratuities customarily received by employees. Wage adjustments may also be made in the case of learners, apprentices, handicapped workers, and students.

Several other bills were considered by the subcommittee and are as follows:

First. H.R. 1778, amending the act to create a Board for the Condemnation of Insanitary Buildings in the District of Columbia relating to taxes resulting from such condemnation—Public Law 89–326.

Second. H.R. 5597, relieving physicians of liability for negligent medical treatment at the scene of an accident in the District of Columbia—Public Law 89–341.

Third. S. 1817, amends the District of Columbia public assistance law to clarify the categories of federally aided assistance recipients.

Fourth. S. 2212 authorizes the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to establish and administer a plan to provide for the care and protection of children through public day care services, and to provide public assistance in the form of foster home care to certain dependent children.

Fifth. H.R. 3314, a bill to protect the health and safety of the people of the District of Columbia and the welfare of their issue by requiring a laboratory test for syphilis before the issuance of a marriage license.

Statistical data of action by the Senate District of Columbia Committee during the 1st session of the 89th Congress

Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations referred to committee	110
Number of bills, acts, resolutions, and nominations reported to Senate	33
Number of bills, acts, and resolutions on which hearings were held	47
Number of hearings held by subcommittees on Senate bills	49
Number of hearings held by subcommittees on House bills	18
Number of hearings held by full committee on bills and nominations	47
Number of hearings held by full committee in joint session with House committee	0
Number of bills which have passed both Houses and are still awaiting President's signature	0
Number of bills which have become public law	14
Number of studies and investigations	1

Annual Report of Your Congressman, Lloyd Meeds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LLOYD MEEDS

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MEEDS. Mr. Speaker, as the Congressman from Washington's Second District, I am privileged to work for constructive legislation that will benefit the Nation and my State.

The creative programs we have passed into law this year take their inspiration from our traditions, from the complexity of the problems facing us, and from the hearts and hopes of Americans everywhere. We will soon adjourn this dynamic 1st session of the 89th Congress. Now I would like to talk with my constituents about the enacted legislation of particular importance to the Second District of Washington State.

EDUCATION

As a member of the Education and Labor Committee, I work in the development of all education legislation. The accomplishments of 1965 have been widely recognized as the most significant since Congress first established land-grant colleges in 1862.

First. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides funds for programs which are developed and administered by our local schools. The central purpose of this act is to improve the quality of schooling in low-income areas where children are often educationally disadvantaged. In this way, we are investing in our children's potential so that as adults they will be able to give their best to America.

All public schools can receive assistance for textbooks and library materials. The Elementary and Secondary Act also encourages local schools to establish special programs. For example, if the Edmonds School District wanted to create a children's remedial reading course, Federal funds might help to promote such a project.

Second. When we were working for the Higher Education Act, we were helping to make college a reality for all qualified high school graduates. This act offers loans, scholarships of $200 to $1,000, and Government backing of private loans to students and parents. Lack of money should not prevent a qualified student from securing a college education. In addition, we have expanded the highly successful job programs which help students to work their way through college.

The Higher Education Act will assist colleges in meeting the classroom shortage and in furnishing public services, such as adult education and speech and hearing centers. The act also contains a provision for graduate fellowships to supplement the abilities of those now teaching or planning to teach in our grade schools and high schools.

Third. Our April 29 earthquake was but one of several major disasters crippling the United States during 1965. The School Disaster Assistance Act, similar to a bill I sponsored, will help our schools to meet future emergency expenses.

Fourth. As one of the sponsors of the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities, I hope that this new endowment can be useful to groups in our area. The Anacortes Summer Arts Festival, the Snohomish County Little Theater, the Port Townsend Summer School of the Arts, and others could perhaps share in the funds that will be administered by the Washington State Arts Commission.

SOCIAL SECURITY AND SENIOR CITIZENS

First. When Congress enacted the Social Security Amendments of 1965, we were responding to a basic fact of life: our elderly people have more frequent and more expensive medical costs than any other group in the United States. And older citizens must often live on low fixed incomes. Medicare provides a certain amount of hospitalization, and a second program of voluntary medical insurance can be secured for $3 a month. The act also includes a 7-percent increase in social security benefits.

Second. The Older Americans Act recognizes that 18 million citizens in the United States are past 65 years of age and have special problems. This constructive legislation creates a new Administration on Aging; $50,000 has been authorized for Washington programs for our elderly people, and these funds could be of use to such local programs as the Bellingham and Everett Senior Activity Centers.

NATURAL RESOURCES

First. Washington State is famed throughout America for our lakes, rivers, and Puget Sound. But now we face the threat of pollution. The Water Quality Act underwrites State-Federal action to promote local pollution control and to establish adequate clean water standards.

Second. Senator JACKSON and I cosponsored a bill to remove the legal obstacles which for many years have blocked equitable financial participation in the Lummi diking project near Bellingham. This bill is now law.

Third. We all remember the bad floods last winter. Congress has made $21 million available for rebuilding Pacific Northwest highways and forest roads which were damaged by those floods.

Fourth. New legislation calls for the creation of clean air standards. We are moving now to control industrial smoke and automobile exhausts which injure our health.

Fifth. In 1961 the Washington State Legislature passed a law regulating billboards. The Federal Highway Beautification Act of 1965 is not as strong as our 1961 State measure. Before the House voted on the Beautification Act, I made sure that it would not weaken or overturn Washington's stricter regulations. The new national law insures effective control of billboards near interstate and primary highways in rural areas. It also seeks to have junkyards near these highways moved or screened from sight.

FISHERIES

First. The Anadromous Fisheries Act will invest $25 million to help conserve salmon and other fish that swim upstream to spawn. It is my feeling that fish farms need a proving ground. This legislation, combined with State of Washington action, could provide such an experimental farm in the Second District.

Second. The International Pacific Halibut Commission is located in Seattle, but it is housed in a very old building. Senator MAGNUSON, Representative ADAMS, Representative PELLY, and I successfully sponsored legislation that will modernize the Commission's facilities and promote more efficient conservation of our halibut resources.

Third. Since 1956 over 150 loans to commercial fishermen in Washington

State have been made to help replace or repair fishing vessels. Senator MAGNUSON's bill has extended the authority of the Secretary of the Interior to make these loans.

BUSINESS AND LABOR

First. We are now in the 53d month of continuous economic expansion, and the excise tax cut, passed this year, is helping to sustain this momentum. Taxes which are being repealed on household appliances, TV sets, cameras, entertainment, sporting goods, and other items will amount to nearly $54 million in Washington State during the next year. Both consumers and business will benefit, especially by the reduction of excise taxes on automobiles and telephone calls.

Second. Today there is a demand for skilled workers. Shipbuilders, for example, are badly needed in Washington State. Congress has extended and expanded the Manpower Act, legislation which stimulates local job retraining and specialized skills programs, such as the excellent project at Peninsula Junior College. In addition, we have acted to provide Government insurance for private loans made to vocational students.

Third. There has been a lack of comparability between private industry wages and civil service salaries. A new pay raise for postal workers and other Federal employees will help remedy this condition. I voted for this pay raise, but voted against any salary increase for Members of Congress.

Fourth. Our small businesses are vital to the national economy. This year Congress approved extra funds to help small firms hit by floods, storms, and other disasters. Action was also taken to increase by 300 percent the amount the Small Business Administration can lend to "local development corporations."

FARM

First. The Omnibus Farm Act seeks to insure our dairymen of a fair return for their investments. Another beneficial feature of this act contains a cropland retirement section that will reduce farm surpluses. This provision seeks to retire 40 million acres of farmland so that it can be converted into other uses, such as wildlife refuges, forests, and water storage areas. I am enthusiastic about the provision which compensates farmers for land they release for hunting and fishing.

Second. New legislation provides matching grants for rural water and sewage facilities and increases by $250 million the amount of loans insurable by the Farmers Home Administration. Recently, for example, the FHA made a $544,000 loan to the Cross-Valley Water Association in Snohomish County.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

First. The overwhelming majority of Americans back our firm policy in Vietnam. This year Congress on two occasions voted funds to finance our commitments in southeast Asia. In recent months, the Communists have suffered military and diplomatic setbacks. I agree with President Johnson that an honorable peace settlement must uphold freedom in Vietnam.

Second. One of the brightest moments came this year when we voted funds for the Peace Corps. Two hundred and eighty-two volunteers from Washington State are serving overseas in the cause of good will, progress, and freedom. One young man, Vern Hild of Marysville, was among several Peace Corpsmen receiving special commendation for a rescue at sea during a violent Philippine storm.

Third. In the West we have always admired the man who could do a good job, regardless of whether he or his parents came from Sweden, Norway, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, or wherever. The Immigration Reform Act allows highly trained people with skills we need to make their home in America. Reuniting families is another object of this humanitarian legislation. This act contributes to a stronger United States while, at the same time, protects the jobs of our workers.

VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

First. Congress has approved an increase in service-connected disability payments, and the amount varies from $1 to $50 with the degree of disability. This act also authorizes the Veterans' Administration to construct more hospital beds, and it offers greater benefits to disabled veterans with children in school.

Second. A long-overdue measure will now provide an average 10.4-percent increase in military pay. The largest increase, 17.3 percent, goes to enlisted men with less than 2 years' active duty. For soldiers in combat zones this act provides free first-class postage and higher pay.

LAW ENFORCEMENT

First. With the Voting Rights Act of 1965 we will be able to enforce more effectively the 15th amendment to our Constitution. The freedom to choose our representatives and other officials is fundamental to democracy. But without the right to vote there is little freedom of choice. The Voting Rights Act honors the American belief that citizenship is founded on natural rights.

Second. To prevent crime we need more efficient law enforcement. Recognizing this need, Congress has passed the Law Enforcement Assistance Act, a measure which authorizes grants to our local police to undertake special projects, such as police academies and scientific detection studies.

Third. Congress has moved to control the illegal traffic in "goof balls" and other depressant-stimulant drugs, over 50 percent of which, in the past, have been manufactured and sold illicitly. The new law allows only doctors, pharmacists, and companies to handle these drugs.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

In 1965 Congress has enacted additional legislation that will make our communities a better place in which to live. In order that our local Government agencies have information and assistance about these programs, we have arranged a Community Development Conference to be held in Everett on November 6, 1965. The conference will be attended by local officials from throughout the Second Congressional District.

First. In my August newsletter, I reported how the Housing and Urban Development Act will strengthen our communities and reinforce our prosperity. Appropriations have been made for college housing, FHA home loan insurance, water and sewer facilities, and other features. Earlier this year, for example, a large Federal loan was made to Western Washington State College to construct a new dormitory.

Second. The purpose of the Economic Development Act is to promote the national interest by encouraging free enterprise. This act will invest public funds in areas of high unemployment and will lead to efficient planning and use of economic resources. In this way, the counties with higher than average unemployment can attract industry and jobs. The city of Port Angeles, now planning water and sewage facilities, could make use of this act as well as the Housing and Urban Development Act. These measures may also assist the urban renewal plans of Anacortes.

Third. In recent years, Washington State has mounted a determined effort to combat mental illness. Congress has adopted legislation underwriting some of the costs of staffing our community mental health centers and of training teachers to educate handicapped and retarded children.

LOOKING AHEAD—WHAT IS TO BE DONE

First. An inconsistent and outmoded policy faces pilots and boaters who cross the Canadian border on weekends and holidays. They often have to pay as high as $60 in customs fees. I have introduced legislation to abolish these unfair charges, and the response from the Second District has been heartening.

Second. The Senate has passed, and the House is considering, a bill to construct a third powerhouse at Grand Coulee Dam. We need this powerhouse if we are to assure the continued industrial growth of Washington State.

Third. We hope to get final House approval for the legislation sponsored by Senator JACKSON and myself to establish a national historical park on San Juan Island at the site of the famous Pig War.

Fourth. Northwest industries are facing a crisis that has been getting worse for 20 years. Washington does not have enough railroad freight cars to ship our products—particularly plywood—to markets throughout the United States. Legislation to overcome the boxcar shortage has been blocked repeatedly. But now, only final House action is needed on a bill cosponsored by Senator MAGNUSON and myself. This legislation will encourage the railroads to purchase new boxcars and to speed the return of existing empty cars to the Northwest.

Fifth. Congress will be considering a measure to extend the GI bill of rights to our cold war veterans. The original GI bill helped me and thousands of others to get through college. This opportunity should be offered to servicemen who may be called upon to sacrifice their jobs, to leave their families, and even to give their lives for our country.

Sixth. We must assure the jobs and profits of small mills. I am continuing

to meet with officials of the Small Business Administration and the Forest Service and with local businessmen in order to find new ways of assuring an adequate supply of raw materials for our forest products industries.

Seventh. A project on which there is a "must" priority is the North Cross-State Highway. Senator MAGNUSON, Senator JACKSON, and I are working to get the necessary funds to complete this vital and scenic road.

MY RECORD AND OUR RESPONSIBILITY

The key to effective representation is attendance and participation during the debates and voting. In 1965 the House of Representatives had 201 rollcalls. I was present and voting at 199, an attendance record of 99 percent.

The honor of working for you in Congress demands more than just being present and voting. There must be a partnership in public affairs. This year I have made 11 trips home and have met with people in every county of the Second Congressional District. It is always a pleasure and a great help for me to confer here and at home with businessmen, labor officials, workers, veterans, educators, mayors, county officials, dairymen, students, loggers, fishermen, and interested citizens. Your letters are greatly appreciated, and I trust you have found my reports to be informative.

Reporter Bill Prochnau, of the Seattle Times, has termed the 1st session of the 89th Congress as "the most productive in decades." This enacted legislation will benefit people in Washington State. We have made these accomplishments because we all share the responsibility for a stronger and wiser America. With your help, I am continuing to work for the United States, for the Second District, and for you.

Tribute to Karol Hommon—Miss Alaska 1964

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ERNEST GRUENING
OF ALASKA
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, earlier this year, on October 11, Miss Karol Hommon, Miss Alaska for 1964, lost her life in a tragic accident when she slipped and fell to her death from Mount Sugarloaf, which is near North Hampton, Mass.

Karol's untimely demise shocked her fellow Alaskans. Her warm and vibrant personality will be missed by all who came to know and to love her. She brought honor to Alaska when she competed in the 1964 Miss America Pageant. This year she had just begun her college career at Smith College.

A tribute to Karol has been written by Mr. Robert A. Adams, a resident of Anchorage.

Under unanimous consent I place this poem, entitled "Karol Hommon—1964 Miss Alaska," in the RECORD at this point in my remarks:

KAROL HOMMON (1964 MISS ALASKA)

I

Karol Hommon, Alaska's queen,
Through winter's snow and summer's green
Brought everyone delight.
Her smile was radiant as a clear day's
Most expansive sky,
And her sweet voice—Ah.
(The mem'ry of it lingers on
To become the echo of a song
Within our hearts.)
An angel walked among us for awhile.

II

I do believe she walks with God.
And if our jealous God permits a queen
To reign over one of "His many mansions,"
One day, perhaps, we'll meet again—
To see our dear sweet Karol, and hear
From her own sweet lips how happy she is,
And how happy she has always been.

—ROBERT A. ADAMS.

U.N. Has Grassroots Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, there are those who would argue that the U.N. does not have the support of the American people, that the people distrust international cooperation through the U.N.

Nothing could be further from the truth, and the visit of Pope Paul to the United Nations served as an occasion to show the support for the U.N. among American people.

One such responsive expression is the following editorial by Bernard Casserly and news article from the Catholic Bulletin, the newspaper of the archdiocese of St. Paul, which I insert under leave to extend my remarks:

PAPAL U.N. PRAISE UNIQUE

Was there ever such an occasion?

The earthly head of a church almost 20 centuries old stood before the diplomatic representatives of more than 100 of the sovereign nations of the world in the great assembly hall of the United Nations. His purpose: to speak for all the people of the world who seek peace in praise of the work of the 20-year-old world organization, and to urge the nations represented there on to greater efforts to secure that peace.

We do not discount the drama and importance of the rest of Pope Paul VI's visit—the first by any reigning pontiff to the Western Hemisphere—but it all must take second place to the pontiff's ardent plea for peace. Journalists and historians will analyze the effects of the papal plea in the journals of today and the histories of tomorrow. But no one can deny the expressions of admiration and expectation voiced by the head of the largest religious body on earth for the world organization, of which he said: "The peoples of the earth turn to the United Nations as the last hope of concord and peace."

Pope Paul's panegyric reached its peak when he described aspects of the U.N. as the "reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth." Speaking of the U.N.'s efforts to organize the brotherly collaboration of peoples, he said, "in this way a system of solidarity is set up, and its lofty civilized aims win the orderly and unanimous support of all the family of peoples for the common good and for the good of each individual.

"This aspect of the organization of the United Nations," he said, "is the most beautiful; it is its most truly human visage; it is the ideal of which mankind dreams on its pilgrimage through time; it is the world's greatest hope; it is, we presume to say, the reflection of the loving and transcendent design of God for the progress of the human family on earth—a reflection in which we see the message of the Gospel which is heavenly become earthly."

As one of many Catholic publications which has never hesitated to express its convictions that the United Nations—despite its weaknesses—is man's chief hope for peace, we cannot help rejoicing at the Holy Father's fulsome praise. But we fear his generous words will not change the hearts of that vocal American minority which dreads the exchange of ideas in the world parliament on New York's East River.

We expect to see no public bonfires of those little seals of suspicion which appear so often on our mail—the stickers which read: "Get the U.N. Out of the United States." But we hope that avowedly Catholic spokesmen will temper their opposition to the U.N. in the light of Pope Paul's historic address on Monday.

If they follow their usual lines of attack, these die-hard opponents will claim the Holy Father was not really praising the U.N. but what it ought to be. Admitting that the Pope seeks always to improve man and his organizations, we wonder how the bitter-end antagonists will explain away these words of the Holy Father to the U.N.:

"We bring to this organization the suffrage of our recent predecessors, that of the entire Catholic episcopate and our own, convinced as we are that this organization represents the obligatory path of modern civilization and of world peace.

"We would almost say that your chief characteristic is a reflection, as it were, in the temporal field, of what our Catholic Church aspires to be in the spiritual field: unique and universal. In the ideological construction of mankind, there is on the natural level nothing superior to this.

"Gratitude to you, glory to you, who for 20 years have labored for peace. Gratitude and glory to you for the conflicts which you have prevented or brought to an end."

What more can an editorialist add? Little, perhaps, except to recommend that you take time to read the full text of Pope Paul's remarks as they appear elsewhere in this issue. Do not let the memory of the Holy Father's spectacular visit to our shores fade until you have digested his address to the United Nations General Assembly. Those words, after all, were the main purpose of his remarkable journey.

POPE PAUL HAILS U.N. AS SOLE GROUP CAPABLE OF UNIVERSAL COMMON GOOD

VATICAN CITY.—Pope Paul VI in a formal letter complementing his peace address to the United Nations said that the U.N. is the sole organization capable of providing for the universal common good.

The Pope presented the letter to United Nations Secretary General U Thant at the U.N. reception following his October 4 address to the General Assembly. The letter is an apostolic brief, the name given a formal letter of lesser weight than a papal bull but bearing the imprint of the seal of the Pope's ring. It bears the date October 4.

An Italian version of the Latin text of the apostolic brief was made public here by L'Osservatore Romano, the Vatican City daily. Following is an English translation:

A messenger of the gospel of peace, we crossed the ocean for the meeting we so strongly desired with this distinguished gathering of the United Nations. Through others and in a different way we could well have addressed ourselves to you, members of this organization, and unfolded our thoughts to you.

But we harbored the desire to see you and speak to you personally in order to express with the reality of our actual presence that esteem, deeply rooted in our soil, which we have both for you and for that work to which you dedicate your activities.

You constitute an assembly of peace with the objective of promoting and protecting among the nations which you represent, with equal rights of voting, harmony in peace, security and mutual collaboration—and these against the menaces and dangers of violence and war which threaten constantly.

No system other than yours can exist which is capable of providing for the public well-being, in fact of concern to the entire human race; a system founded on respect for law, for just liberty, for the dignity of the person, [dedicated to] the abolition of the tragic folly of war and the injurious furor of abusive power. The structural form of so great an edifice erected by you could certainly be improved, but never could it be destroyed without a resulting danger of the most serious damage.

"So lofty is the gift of peace that even within the limit of earthly and transistory things nothing can be regarded better" [St. Augustine, "The City of God," 19, 11].

Continue with your activity, diligence, and patience to work for such an inestimable good of human society, for the progressive growth of so useful an enterprise worthy of loving and diligent care. We are not unaware of the fact that your path, directed toward such high peaks, frequently passes through difficult and bitter ways. All these efforts are well worthy of our affectionate attention, our applause, of our encouragement.

In the name also of the Fathers of the Second Vatican Ecumenical Council gathered together in Rome, we bring you a message of peace, of good and comforting words. Be sure that in your activities to promote peace with justice, the Catholic Church, wishing you well, is close to you with its heartfelt understanding, with its spiritual help and unceasing concern for the desired successful achievements. Nothing is closer to her heart than to light the flame of brotherly love in the hearts of men and to feed that flame with all the support of which she is capable.

May the God of peace keep you and the noble work to success of which you devote your generous efforts under His continual protection.

Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOSEPH S. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CLARK. Mr. President, during the week of September 12 to September 18, 1965, more than 3,000 jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries gathered in Washington to take part in the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law. As a result of this historic conference, in which it was my privilege to participate, members of the legal profession from all over the world have committed themselves to increase their efforts to bring about the rule of law in the international community.

In order that readers of the RECORD may be better informed about the achievements of this conference, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an informal report on the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WASHINGTON WORLD CONFERENCE ON WORLD PEACE THROUGH LAW

In a magnificent demonstration of capacity to agree on a worldwide basis, more than 3,200 of the leading jurists, lawyers, and law teachers from 121 countries worked together for a week, September 12–18, 1965, at the Washington World Conference, considered over 200 proposals, and approved nearly 100 of these as parts of a mammoth work program to strengthen international law rules and international legal institutions to advance the cause of world peace. That so many law leaders from all parts of the world representing nearly all creeds, languages, forms of government, traditions, and customs could sit down at such a world conference and agree upon what must be done to make law a major factor for world peace demonstrates the commitment and dedication of the legal profession to the rule of law for the world community. The parade of plans and hopes, ideas and institutions which were presented at the Conference by participants from all over the world and then considered, approved or rejected, indicates how many are the agreements and how few the disagreements on what must be done to build a world ruled by law.

The Conference approved many towering ideas, but at the same time it decided to start at the bottom and build upward rather than from the top down. For example, the Conference approved the idea of a world judicial system but it then concretely approved a treaty creating neighborhood courts for the decision of minor disputes between two or more nations as the best, and a modest, beginning toward that world judicial system. The thought of the participants was that by creating the habit of going to court on minor matters on a neighborhood basis the habit of using courts instead of force to decide disputes would become established as a habit of nations and they would be encouraged to submit their major disputes to the courts under the rule of law. Another major advance was the approval of the idea of a world law code. But here again in the more modest action was approval of the first of many volumes of the code. The first volume is to contain those treaties which have the most worldwide acceptance as of now. Another concrete proposal which was approved was the World Bank's Convention setting up conciliation and arbitration rules and procedures for a world dispute center on foreign investments.

At plenary sessions, luncheons, and the banquet some 150 distinguished speakers, addressing large audiences, emphasized the imperative need of action by the legal profession to advance the rule of law internationally. These speakers included the President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the International Court of Justice, the President of the United Nations General Assembly, and chief justices, judges, and ministers of justice from 59 nations. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg, Richard M. Nixon, Edward W. Kuhn, president of the American Bar Association, Attorney General Nicholas deB. Katzenbach, Senator JOSEPH CLARK, Henry R. Luce, Gen. David Sarnoff, and many other great leaders addressed the Conference. Prime Minister Wilson, of England, King Constantine, of Greece, and most of the other heads of state sent messages of greeting and support to the Conference. The opening day was observed throughout the world as the first World Law Day. At special Conference World Law Day ceremonies, addresses were delivered by the Honorary Chairman, Chief Justice Kisaburo Yokota, of Japan, the Chairman, Harold E. Stassen, and Lord Denning of England.

The Chief Justice of the United States, Earl Warren, in a landmark inaugural address laid before the Conference an excellent summary of the facts which indicate to him that we of our generation have the capacity to create enough new law and new legal institutions to make law a major factor in world affairs. The Chief Justice said:

"Achieving and maintaining a rule of law strong enough to regulate action of nations and individuals in the world community is no more dreamy, impossible or impracticable than was the idea of splitting the atom, or putting a man on the moon, or sending a missile to Mars a few years ago. I believe we of our generation can translate the centuries-old dream of a world ruled by law from dream into reality. In part, my belief is based upon the imperatives of our day which make this a necessity to save mankind from nuclear holocaust. In part, my belief is based upon the fact that there is more law and judicial institutions today, nationally and internationally, than ever before in the history of mankind. Given this knowledge and reliance and taking note of the necessity that we succeed in order to survive, I would like to comment upon factors we possess which should enable us to move forward in our quest for a world ruled by law."

He then cited the following: (1) We know more about law internationally and nationally than any other generation; (2) more and better law exists today within each nation; (3) more international law exists; (4) international judicial bodies have grown in number and usefulness; (5) extension of international law to the individual has developed a larger number of defenders and supporters of world law; (6) traditional international law concepts are being altered to encompass the history, traditions, customs and needs of newly independent nations; (7) heads of state are increasingly using world law in their dialogue and contacts in their conduct of foreign relations; (8) the peoples of the world are increasingly aware of what law can do for peace; (9) the legal profession is becoming organized to work cooperatively on a worldwide basis; and (10) the growing cooperation among judges.

President Johnson reaffirmed our Nation's "continuing dedication to the rule of law" saying: "We believe that is the surest road to a fruitful and secure peace."

He also said: "Law is the greatest human invention. All the rest give him mastery over his world. Law gives him mastery over himself."

Commending the jurists and lawyers at the Conference for their initiative and leadership, he concluded: "If others join us, then the time may yet come when you and your colleagues will be honored as pathfinders toward the final armistice in man's war against himself."

The substantive work of the program was carried on primarily in panel sessions which discussed the following topics: "Existing and Proposed International Courts," "Space Law," "International Law in Domestic Courts," "International Communications," "International Trade and Investment," "Arbitral Tribunals," "Human Rights," "International Judicial Cooperation," "Disarma-

ment," "Industrial and Intellectual Property" (i.e., patents, copyrights, and trademarks), "Creative Research," "Education in International Law," and "Expanding Structure of International Law: Peacekeeping, General Principles, and International Organizations." For each of these topics a work paper summary was prepared by one of the world's leading experts in which basic problems and trends were described and recommendations made for research and action. After the work paper had been presented other panelists summarized prepared papers or commented informally on the topic. Participants were given the opportunity to speak from the floor after scheduled speakers had made their remarks.

At these work sessions the role of adjudication in the resolution of international disputes was delineated; suggestions were made for the improvement and expansion of international law and international legal institutions; and recommendations were made to continue studies on the possible usefulness of regional and specialized courts. Panelists on international law in the domestic courts emphasized the contribution that domestic courts could make to international law and dealt with the fundamental principle that international law is part of the law of the land. Speakers on international communications stressed the need for law to govern an expanded global satellite system. The transnational trade panel urged the development and adoption of procedures for the effective resolution of investment disputes; a model international code was recommended. Work paper summaries were written for both commercial arbitration and arbitration between states, with emphasis on the improvement of procedures. Panelists on human rights pointed out the need to improve procedural machinery and protect rights by substantive declarations, agreements, laws and treaties. The panel on creative research in international law stressed the importance of viewing international law from a universal rather than a national viewpoint and endorsed the International Law Manual project of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. And the panel on the expanding structure of international law emphasized the need to strengthen the United Nations. Chief Justice Warren presided over special sessions attended by the 254 high court judges from 103 nations and other Justices of the U.S. Supreme Court. They discussed cooperation among members of the high courts of the world to further world peace under law, future exchanges of opinions and the need for a World Judicial Conference at which judges could get to know each other and exchange ideas and experience. They stressed that the Washington Conference was the first worldwide meeting ever held of national high court judges and urged further meetings as most beneficial for the rule of law nationally and internationally.

The above is but a brief sketch of a few of the outstanding suggestions, ideas and proposals which emerged from the speeches, panel papers and discussions in which distinguished jurists, lawyers, and legal scholars made so many valuable recommendations for advancement of the rule of law. In addition, some of the center's committees presented reports and held meetings to discuss their future programs. The center plans to publish a volume which will include the papers, addresses and summaries of some of the informal comments presented at the panel sessions.

Worldwide attention was focused upon the Washington World Conference through celebration of the first World Law Day in more than 100 nations. World Law Day was proclaimed by President Johnson, and other heads of state, Governors of States, and more than 700 mayors and city councils. Some of the latter proclamations were done jointly by the U.S. cities and their so-called sister cities abroad. The holding of the first World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Documents was a rather unique first for the Conference. Heading the historical documents on display in this exhibit was the original of the 1225 Magna Carta from England and the originals of the Declarations of the Rights of Man from France. Many other originals of ancient law documents were also forwarded by other nations for display. The originals of these great law instruments of other nations were displayed at the National Archives of the United States along with the originals of our Declaration of Independence, Constitution, and other great law instruments. Never in all history had so many of the great law instruments from all over the world been displayed at one time under one sponsorship. The leading law book publishers and suppliers of services to lawyers participated by displaying their books and services. This unprecedented display of the instruments of mankind's great law heritage gave great inspiration to those working through the Conference to develop a program to substitute law for force as a decision mechanism internationally. Many expressed the hope that a similar exhibit would take place at future world conferences.

The outbreak of war between Pakistan and India seemed to lend urgency and emphasis to the quest at the Conference for a sound path to world peace through law. Throughout the week leading jurists and lawyers conferred and labored to reach common ground on how to fill in the gaps that exist in the world's law structure. And these law leaders did achieve much common ground. It is accurate to report, however, that they were chiefly interested in developing concrete and specific plans and programs to advance the rule of law for the world community. Over and over again, speakers said all agree that a world ruled by law would be peaceful but what is needed most is plans to get beyond that idea to specific law rules and legal institutions so such a world will come into being quickly before nuclear holocaust becomes humankind's fate.

A 292-page work paper summarizing international law and experience with international legal institutions was given to all delegates. An 850-page looseleaf document entitled "Law and Judicial Systems of Nations" was also given to many of the participants. This volume summarized the facts about law, lawyers, judicials systems, and legal education in 110 countries. It also contains a partial directory of leading members of the legal profession of these countries, bar associations, and law schools. Due to the great expense of preparing and printing this volume it was released at the Conference to foreign registrants, charter and sustaining members of the Center only. Both of these documents are unique in that such information has never been compiled in this form before. In essence, those attending the Washington Conference had the most complete summary of law in the world ever presented to any group at such a meeting. This enabled them to take an overview of law in the world, its strengths and weaknesses nationally and internationally, and gave them a background from which they could move forward with confidence in approving or disapproving the many ideas and proposals laid before them. This looseleaf volume will be constantly updated as a basic work document of the World Peace Through Law Center and as a directory of leading jurists and lawyers of each nation.

That so large and diverse a group of outstanding jurists from the four corners of the earth could meet and agree on a program to advance world law is in and of itself a tremendous accomplishment. In essence the Conference delegates represented all elements of the world community. That they agreed on so many specifics should enable rapid advances to be achieved on many aspects of world law. The importance of the Conference participants as leading jurists within their own nations should cause the Conference agreements to have a great impact upon public opinion and leaders of nations.

The program, planning, and coordinating committees are entitled to tremendous credit in so planning and executing the program as to lead to so much agreement. Many have inquired about the manpower which carried out this mammoth Conference. Above all the Conference was a joint enterprise of the lawyers of the United States. It indicates what they can do when they get organized to do a job well. Some 400 lawyers served on 50 Conference committees. The planning committee of 60 bore the main brunt of the work for it met monthly for over 1 year to hammer out policies, program, and details and met daily throughout the Conference. These lawyers came from all over the United States to these planning meetings at their own expense. In fact, no lawyer from the United States received any expense reimbursement at or prior to the Conference.

The many compliments on how all parts of the program operated smoothly, and on time, are properly received by members of the coordinating committee who saw to it that all speakers were present, all equipment working and all arrangements were properly carried out. In fact, they have developed a system that is a marvel to behold as it really works. There were 352 law students from 58 law schools who served as escorts or interpreters and aids to the distingished jurists from abroad. Some 150 U.S. lawyers (and in many instances their wives) also acted as interpreters in nearly every language and dialect. In many instances, U.S. lawyers and judges arranged special events such as dinners and receptions for the jurists and lawyers of other nations. There were 209 newspaper, radio, and TV reporters who registered in the press room of the Conference, not counting the more than 100 reporters who accompanied President Johnson when he delivered his address. The paid staff of translators, interpreters, typists and other employees for the Conference numbered over 100. Of the 3,200 registrants over 1,000 were from abroad. While Congress was in session Vice President HUBERT HUMPHREY and more than 200 Senators, Members of the Congress, and their assistants registered as participants and attended one or more functions of the Conference.

Many of the distinguished visitors were guests of their country's ambassador during their stay in Washington, and most of the ambassadors attended the Conference. Nearly every embassy had a reception in honor of their guests. The president of the Bar Association of the District of Columbia and Mrs. Paul F. McArdle gave a reception for all delegates. The president of the American Bar Association and Mrs. Edward W. Kuhn gave a reception at historic Anderson House. The Chief Justice of the United States and Mrs. Earl Warren gave a reception at the U.S. Supreme Court at which they were assisted by the other Justices and their wives. The attendance for this reception was so great that the receiving line filled the many front steps of the beautiful Supreme Court building and extended out to the street. The Secretary of State and Mrs. Dean Rusk and the Attorney General and Mrs. Nicholas deB. Katzenbach gave a reception at the State Department. The American Society of International Law and the American Association of Law Schools gave a reception for teachers of law. Many other social events took place. Those arranged by the ladies committee included a boat trip to Mount Vernon, a tour of the White House, an

evening at the National Gallery of Art, sightseeing tours of Washington, and coffee hours each morning.

Another important fact is that the lawyers of the United States financed this Conference by raising over $500,000 from foundations, corporations, and individuals, the latter including some 250 law firms who gave from $50 to $5,000 toward this budget. Ford Foundation gave $150,000 toward expenses of foreign judges. Major expenditures were for simultaneous translation equipment (all sessions were in Spanish, French, and English) and Conference personnel, traveling and hotel expenses of foreign judges unable to pay their own way (so as to insure that all nations could be represented), expenses of experts, printing, and mailing. It is good to report that the Conference ended up in the black financially.

The announcement by the executive committee of its decision to set up headquarters of the World Peace Through Law Center in Geneva and maintain there a world law library and a world law information clearinghouse for Center members is a giant step forward toward making law more available and thus more used and usable throughout the world.

At the final plenary session of the Conference a work program to advance a world rule of law was adopted. This document identified and recommended research projects which should be made and encouraged the support of certain principles, institutions, and educational action. It also pointed out significant developments in world law since the Athens World Peace Through Law Conference in 1963. As stated above, over 200 proposals were presented and about one-half of these are incorporated in the work program. Others requiring further study were noted for future consideration.

The proposals with respect to such things as courts of human rights on continents other than Europe, where they already have one, a multilingual legal dictionary and scores of other law subjects should focus enough public and legal attention on these needs to force essential progress toward fruition of ideas into concrete law rules and institutions.

The World Peace Through Law Center hopes that scholars the world over will take the initiative in making these needed studies. It hopes to aid and encourage this essential research, particularly in the law schools of all nations. The Center itself will urge its committees to make useful studies and reports and will seek other means to finance and carry out these research proposals. Already many world law projects are being sent to the Center from all over the world.

The Conference closed with a declaration of faith in world order under law which proclaimed the ties between universal concern over war and effective procedures for the peaceful decision of disputes, the responsibility of members of the legal profession to improve the means of settling disputes; recognition of the critical nature of many current disputes; and urged that only by the application of the rule of law can these objectives be achieved. In this declaration of faith the participants declare that they—

"1. Reaffirm the Declaration of General Principles for a World Rule of Law adopted by the first World Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens, Greece;

"2. Pledge our continuing active support of the World Peace Through Law Center, created at Athens, and its global work program;

"3. Pledge our continuing, devoted effort with each other and within our respective nations and legal organizations, to achieve the objectives of strengthening and expanding world law rules and world, as well as regional, legal and judicial institutions; and

"4. Declare our unshakable faith that, whatever transient disputes there may be, a just world order under law can be achieved, and that, with patient determination and hard work, it will be achieved."

By every yardstick of measurement the Washington World Conference was a tremendous success. It had inspiration, information, participation, and hospitality in abundance. Its firsts include World Law Day, World Exhibit of Law Codes and Historic Law Instruments, and the World Judicial Conference. It was by far the largest world conference of the legal profession in all history. Another World Conference will be held in 1967 probably in Geneva due to conditions making the first site, New Delhi, difficult. In the meantime the great emphasis by the World Peace Through Law Center will be upon concrete progress on the global work program and the next Conference. Membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is open to all members of the legal profession. Regular membership in the World Peace Through Law Center is only $10 per year, charter membership is $50, and sustaining membership is $100. Members receive a monthly bulletin, can serve on one of the Center's 95 committees, receive research pamphlets and, if charter or sustaining members, receive the "Law and Lawyers of Nations," the looseleaf directory which will be kept up to date on a rather constant basis by the appointment of editors in each nation. All members are listed in the directory along with their addresses.

The foregoing demonstrates that the legal profession is indeed organizing itself to make a major contribution to mankind's future. This very successful program to strengthen law rules and legal institutions should indeed in time succeed in speeding the day when law will replace force as the controlling factor in the fate of humanity.

Above all the worldwide dialog and friendships generated among law leaders of nations makes this program a tremendous factor for world peace. These leaders agree with Chief Justice Warren that the dream of a world rule of law is within man's capacity to achieve. They are moving realistically to translate that dream into concrete reality.

Outlook: Hunger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LYNN E. STALBAUM

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STALBAUM. Mr. Speaker, there is an increasing awareness that we are facing a critical world situation because of inadequate food supplies in the less developed countries. The Washington Post has published an outstanding editorial on this subject. They rightly point out that if this crisis is to be averted the major effort will have to come from the less developed countries themselves, although American agricultural production can play a vital part.

An attack on the world hunger problem has strong bipartisan support and interest. Therefore, I place the Washington Post's fine editorial in the RECORD:

OUTLOOK: HUNGER

Concern over the effect of the diminution of American farm surpluses upon mounting world food needs is causing a welcome and overdue reexamination of national policy. Whatever the future availability of additional food from the United States, patently there must be very much greater emphasis upon expanded local food production in the needy countries themselves.

World needs are staggering. Half the world's people now suffer from some degree of hunger, according to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization. Merely to maintain present inadequate dietary levels will require the doubling of food supplies by the year 2000, when population is expected to reach 6 billion. In critical areas population is outstripping food, as Malthus predicted. Per capita food production in Latin America has declined 5 percent in the last 5 years. Population growth there is 3 percent annually.

In dietary terms needs are even starker. Research now shows a correlation between protein deficiency and mental development. Damage sustained during the critical 1–6 age span is irreparable later. There is reason to think that this factor alone may account for much of the lethargy observed in some underdeveloped countries.

If there is to be any real improvement, a first requirement will be to persuade food-deficit countries to abandon their infatuation with industrialization as a quick and exclusive formula for development. Thanks in part to Marxist notions there has been a tendency in some countries to regard a steel mill as more important than adequate investment in agriculture. That is part of the difficulty in India as well as in many Communist countries.

For their part, Americans will have to recognize that shipment of their own surpluses abroad is only a partial and temporary answer to the problem. This realization may come hard to persons whose charitable instincts are affronted by the paradox of superabundance here and empty bellies elsewhere. Even though the gift or sale of food for local currency helps solve an American economic problem and may relieve some immediate hunger, it seldom contributes much productive capacity in the needy countries. In the absence of expanded local storage and distribution facilities, it sometimes merely aggravates the overall problem of postponing the reckoning.

So long as surpluses have dominated our consideration it has been difficult to focus on the more basic problem. In 1965–66 some $3.5 billion is appropriated for the food-for-peace program; but this year only $212 million is available for all forms of aid to agricultural production abroad, including technical assistance and loans from local currency. Happily, the emphasis is changing to encourage far more attention to farm technology in Latin America and now in India.

In this connection Senator GEORGE MCGOVERN, first director of the food-for-peace program, recently introduced a bill that deserves widespread support. His International Food and Nutrition Act would provide funds to purchase food for shipment abroad but, more important, to improve storage and distribution facilities and strengthen productive capacity in needy countries. This would be a useful complement to President Johnson's suggestion for a national strategic food reserve. Lord Boyd-Orr's idea of a world food bank also could well be looked at anew.

Whatever is done, American production obviously will play a vital part. Soybeans and fish meal, produced either here or abroad, are among the cheapest sources of proteins. With new hybrid wheat and corn the capacity for expanded American production is enormous, and balance will be imperative to avoid the creation of embarrassing new surpluses. We shall have to continue to donate large quantities of food for children's programs abroad while assisting other countries to increase their domestic

production and finding better means of helping them bridge the gap between need and ability to pay.

Stress on agriculture alone will not suffice. Birth control, education, rural development and industrialization all are necessary counterparts of more attention to farm technology and local food production. But the lesson of this century is that none of these other measures will succeed without primary stress on expanded food supplies. To meet the food needs now looming will necessitate changes in thinking and direction of effort altogether as radical as any revolution the world has ever known.

American Society of Traffic and Transportation, Inc., Memorializing Capt. A. C. Ingersoll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON
OF WASHINGTON
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, on August 30, 1965, the tragic passing in the prime of his career of Capt. A. C. Ingersoll took away from the inland water carriers and, indeed, from the whole transportation industry one of its most articulate and forceful spokesmen. I considered "Connie" Ingersoll a personal friend as did almost all others concerned with the long-range needs of this country in transportation. For we knew him not as a partisan advocate but as a man who took the broad view of what was best for the public. I ask unanimous consent that the resolution of the Missouri Chapter of the American Society of Traffic and Transportation, Inc., memorializing Captain Ingersoll be printed in the RECORD. This is a fitting tribute to a true transportation leader.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF TRAFFIC AND TRANSPORTATION, INC., MISSOURI CHAPTER

Whereas Capt. A. C. Ingersoll, Jr., a valued founder member of the American Society of Traffic and Transportation and a member of the Board of Governors of the Missouri Chapter, was called to his eternal reward on August 30, 1965; and

Whereas Captain Ingersoll recognized the need for the establishment of high standards of knowledge, technical training, experience, conduct, and ethics required in the performance of our duties in the field of transportation and distribution; and

Whereas Captain Ingersoll contributed unselfishly of his time and resources in promoting the American Society of Traffic and Transportation, both nationally and statewide; and

Whereas our society and our chapter have suffered the loss of his counsel, courage, and inspiration: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Missouri Chapter, American Society of Traffic and Transportation, in annual meeting assembled at Columbia, Mo., this 23d day of October 1965, hereby extends to his bereaved family our deepest and sincere sympathy in their loss; and be it further

Resolved, That this, our first annual meeting and seminar, be designated "The Captain A. C. Ingersoll Conference" in his memory; and be it further

Resolved, That these resolutions be made a part of the minutes of our proceedings and that copies be forwarded to his widow, Mrs. Carolyn Ingersoll, the Honorable OREN HARRIS, chairman, Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, U.S. House of Representatives, and the Honorable WARREN G. MAGNUSON, chairman, Committee on Commerce, U.S. Senate.

Respectfully submitted,

CHARLES J. BRITTAIN,
GEORGE K. BENNETT,
Committee.

This Land of Plenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN
OF MISSISSIPPI
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech:

THIS LAND OF PLENTY

(Speech by Congressman JAMIE L. WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, to the Mississippi Poultry Improvement Association Convention, Biloxi, Miss.)

It is a real pleasure for me to be here with you today. One of nine members of the committee which handles all defense appropriations, I could talk of Vietnam, of Panama, and the Dominican Republic. One of the few members who handles appropriations for domestic public works, I could repeat the argument I made several years ago in successfully overriding the President's veto of the public works appropriation bill on the second try, the only time this has ever been done. Instead, I shall talk about labor and industry's biggest customer, the people's best and most economical supplier, our greatest dollar earner in world trade, the key to continuing prosperity and—when neglected—cause of depression, American agriculture.

Born and reared on the farm, my ambition was to practice law. With a 1-year detour to teach school, I was in the Mississippi Legislature at 21, was licensed to practice law, began practice as the junior member of the law firm of Denman, Breland & Whitten, and was elected district attorney of the 17th District (five counties) when 23. I served in that position and practiced law until elected to Congress in 1941.

You may well ask how I got back so close to agriculture. That is easy. In 1944 my successor as district attorney ran against me for Congress and told the truth on me. He said I had served 2½ years in Congress and had not made a single speech for the farmer. Though I had voted consistently for fair treatment of agriculture, I had not spoken for I felt others knew more about the subject than I.

After this campaign, in which I was victorious, I set out to get on the Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture. This I did and have now served 15 years as chairman of that subcommittee. Though I also serve on the Appropriations Subcommittee for National Defense and the one for domestic public works, my greatest challenge comes from the fight each year to get over to an urban Congress, and to an urban-oriented public, the importance of a sound, healthy agriculture to the rest of our economy.

AGRICULTURE IS OUR BASIC STRENGTH

During this period, I have witnessed one of the greatest paradoxes of modern history. I have seen the increasing contribution made by the American farmer to prosperity in the United States and to the abundant supply of food for a hungry world. At the same time, I have seen decreasing public understanding of agricultural problems and less and less public appreciation of the role of American agriculture in our economy. I have seen better fed, better clothed, and better housed people questioning whether the American farmer should participate in the "good life" which he has had a major part in creating. I have seen organized efforts to weaken and even eliminate those farm programs which have made possible the major contribution of agriculture to the American economy. I have seen the American consumer "bite the hand that feeds him" time and time again without ever realizing that he was thereby endangering the basis for his own well-being.

Yet our farmers have written one of the greatest success stories in history. The efficiency of American agriculture has become the envy of the rest of the world and has helped to place the United States in the forefront of international affairs. The abundance of food and fiber provided by American agriculture has made this country the largest contributor of food and economic assistance to the less fortunate nations of the world; and our agricultural producers have made possible the highest standard of living in the United States of any nation in history.

We have consistently increased the quantity and the availability of the good things of life, while our life expectancy has constantly increased. As machines, electricity, fertilizers, pesticides, and other chemicals have replaced manpower on our farms, 92 percent of our people have been freed from farm labor to provide the 1,000 and 1 things which make for our high standard of living.

In 1962 we had approximately 78 million automobiles and commercial vehicles and, of course, we have many more now; the rest of the world had an estimated 62 million. We had an estimated 60 million television sets; the rest of the world had around 69 million. We now have approximately 2.6 million miles of paved and surfaced highways; the rest of the world, exclusive of the U.S.S.R., has 1.4 million miles; and so it goes.

Ours is the only nation where the cost of food averages only 18 percent of individual income. United Nations reports show the average for certain other countries as follows:

	Percent
Russia (estimated)	50
Ceylon	50
Great Britain	28
Italy	43
Nigeria	70
South Korea	54
Japan	44
France	31
Yugoslavia	45

A few months ago, desiring to compare farm costs under law with those which labor obtains under various laws, I requested the Library of Congress to supply me with information on "the gross increase in cost of living due to minimum wage laws and the right of labor to organize and to strike."

I received a nine-page reply. The information supplied in the nine pages, however, was contained in the second sentence, which read as follows: "Unfortunately we find it impossible to reduce these phenomena to measurable terms."

Thus, I cannot provide you with facts and figures. However, you know and I know that

as long as we have minimum wages and the right of labor to organize and to strike, to increase their share of the consumer dollar, as long as industry has the right and ability to set its margin above cost, just so long must we have support prices for agricultural commodities, our basic raw materials, the basic requirement of life.

It is equally important that we oppose any policy, the results of which would be to break up sizable and economic farm operations into small and uneconomic units which would result in higher cost of essential commodities to the consumer, and possibly their elimination. Such a course would result in a drastic lowering of our standard of living. If we should take such action it would be just about as sound as to require the manufacturing of automobiles by hand.

Department of Agriculture reports indicate that about 27 percent of the Nation's producers (those with annual gross sales of $10,000 or more) account for some 80 percent of the U.S. agricultural production. These nearly 1 million commercial farmers are the ones to which the consumers must look for the dependable and plentiful supply of high quality and low cost food and fiber.

Within the next decade or two, unless we continue to increase the efficiency of our farm production and provide the economic incentive to induce young and efficient producers to remain on the farm, food surpluses in the United States will likely disappear and the consumer will be faced with possible food shortages and much higher food costs. The 1959 census shows that some 17 percent of all farmers in the United States were 65 or older. An additional 22 percent were 55 to 64 years of age. By 1970, nearly half of the farmers will be 55 years of age or over.

Despite the fact that surplus quantities of certain commodities have been produced in recent years because of the efficiency of agricultural production, it is important to note that supplies on hand are sufficient to meet domestic needs for only a short period of time in the event of a national emergency. For example, the 900 million bushels of wheat now on hand would meet domestic needs and dollar exports for about 1 year or, if necessary, they would meet domestic needs alone for nearly 2 years if exports were discontinued. The 1.2 billion bushels of corn on hand represent only a 3- to 4-month supply for domestic use and export. The 13.6 million bales of cotton in stock would meet the normal annual domestic demand of 9 million bales, plus 1 year's export supply. For dairy products, the 5.2 billion pounds is only 5 percent of a full year's supply.

My friends, with so few people on the farm, our job in the Congress and in other legislative bodies is to get over to all Americans that it is their supply of food and fiber that we deal with; it is their market we must protect. We must not advocate any program of scarcity either for ourselves or for our neighbors.

If we are to help the underprivileged peoples of the world, we will keep producing our bountiful supply of food and fiber and keep them offered, for dollars, on the counters of markets of the world for what they will bring.

With the fire which could upset the world already burning in Vietnam, it is unsound for the U.S. Department of Agriculture to pay American farmers not to produce food and fiber; to hold U.S. cotton off world markets; to cut down U.S. acreage, thus promoting increased foreign production at a time when we need dollars so badly; to advocate programs which would tend to break up large, economic farming operations into small and high-cost ones.

I pointed out to the House during its recent consideration of the 1965 farm bill the fallacy of creating scarcity by paying farmers not to produce. At that time I stated:

"Now is a poor time for this Congress to come in with a bill the purpose of which is to pay the producer not to produce, to cut down supplies on hand when the world may be on fire. May I say, at this time, when you are perhaps on the ragged edge of a downturn in our financial condition, by this bill, you are likely to be setting off not a recession but an actual depression. Price is one thing and volume is another; and if you cut down the farm volume, you are cutting down the farm producers' purchasing power to purchase from you folks and your constituents in the cities who manufacture machinery and equipment.

"Let me give you a little homely illustration. There is a story told about the good king who had the welfare of everybody at heart and it hurt him to see anyone do without what he wanted because of lack of money. So this kind king, knowing little about economics, decreed that plenty of money should be printed and everybody should be given all the money that they wanted. With all this money from the king in their pockets the people all quit work; no one produced; and in 2 years everyone was ragged and hungry.

"Mere money may look all right for the farmer—but neither he nor the rest of us can forgo production, distribution, supply and business activity.

"Money may take care of the farmer's immediate problem but it is not going to put groceries on your tables."

THE NATION'S STAKE IN AGRICULTURE

According to recent figures, our gross national income is approximately $491 billion per year, of which $89.4 billion goes for food. Just think what would be our situation if an additional $49.1 billion of our gross income had to go for food, leaving that much less with which to purchase the products of industry and labor—as would be the case if it took 28 percent of our income for food as it does in Great Britain. And if it took 50 percent of our average income for food as it does in Russia, we would have $157.1 billion less for purchasing industrial and other goods and services.

As I recently told the American Society of Agricultural Engineers at Cornell University. Agriculture is our largest industry. It employs 12 times the number of people in the steel industry, 9 times the number in our automobile industry, and twice the number in the transportation and public utility industries. In addition, it supports directly another 10 percent of our nonfarm population which supplies the farmer with his needs, and processes and markets his products.

It is interesting to note that three times as many people are engaged in the processing and marketing of farm products as in the production of commodities.

Agriculture is a major dollar earner in world markets and, despite the fact that the Department of Agriculture has ignored the law requiring us to sell cotton at competitive prices to maintain our foreign markets, the sale of farm products plays an important role in solving our balance-of-payments problems.

Agriculture is one of the major markets for the products of labor and industry. It uses more steel in a year than is used for a year's output of passenger cars. Agriculture uses more petroleum products than any other industry in the country. It uses more rubber each year than is required to produce tires for 6 million automobiles. The inventory of machinery and equipment for the farms of our country exceeds the assets of the steel industry. Agriculture uses enough electricity to power the six New England States.

Urban workers benefit directly from this rural demand for machinery, equipment, supplies, and the other items used on the Nation's farms. Significant changes in this demand, therefore, have a direct effect on business and employment in urban areas. According to the new input-output study recently completed by the Office of Business Economics, every dollar of agricultural products that is delivered for final demand requires about 78 cents in the products and services of nonagricultural industries.

Agriculture is the principal source of our new wealth. It is the main supplier of basic raw materials which support all segments of business and industry; about 65 percent of the basic raw materials used in industry come from the farm. Reliable estimates indicate that each dollar of wealth taken from the soil generates $7 of income throughout the rest of our economy.

THE WORLD'S STAKE IN AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

Aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, probably the foremost problem in the world today is hunger. Approximately half of the world's 3 billion people suffer from malnutrition and the World Food Congress was told in 1963 that around 10,000 persons die every day from starvation.

India had a food crisis in 1963. I should say an accentuated food crisis since that vast subcontinent has a year-round hunger problem; so do many other areas in the world, mostly the underdeveloped ones. Moreover, hunger probably will grow more and more intense with the passage of time. The world's population increase is almost unbelievable. Each year births exceed deaths by almost 60 million.

As Senator GRUENING, of Alaska, said in a speech in 1963:

"Two grim specters beckon mankind toward oblivion today. One offers instant and wholesale death by nuclear means. The alternative guarantees eventual starvation when the human population exceeds the food supply."

American agriculture will become increasingly vital in the future as the world's population explosion creates even larger demands for food and fiber. This alarming population expansion can be fully appreciated when it is realized that the population of the world, which reached the first billion by the year 1830, took only 100 years, 1830 to 1930, to reach 2 billion and only 30 years, 1930 to 1960, to reach 3 billion. It is expected to exceed 6 billion people by the turn of the century. The population growth in the United States is more than keeping pace with world expansion. U.S. population increased from 13 million in 1830 to 123 million in 1930 and 179 million in 1960. It is expected to reach 340 million by the year 2000.

Also, the efficiency of American agriculture is a most important and practical weapon in the struggle with communism. The failure of Communist agriculture, a failure which is chronic and deep-seated, has tremendous implications to the hundreds of millions constantly plagued by hunger. The Communist inability to produce efficiently and abundantly plainly tells them—if they get the message—that there is little hope along the Communist road. If they follow this path, as they are being urged to do every day, all they have to look forward to is more starvation and misery.

In my opinion, this contrast between our systems, the contrasts in agriculture, should be used to the fullest. I cannot think of any better answer to Communist propaganda. As Don Paarlberg, of Purdue University, in his book "American Farm Policy," said:

"Agriculture represents our greatest absolute advantage over the Communist world."

OUR FUTURE IS BRIGHT

Recently, in addressing the Mississippi Rivers and Harbors Conference at Jackson, I pointed out that Mississippi can and does look forward to a prosperous future. A few years ago the executive vice president of the

American Bell Telephone Co. told me that in a speech to a large civic club in New York City he said that if he were a young man he would move to Mississippi or South Carolina, for he believed those States had the brightest prospects for economic development of any States in the Union. I truly believe him to be right. We all take pride in our industrial development, largely initiated under that outstanding Mississippi Governor, the late Honorable Hugh White, and carried forward by each succeeding Governor on down to our present Governor, the Honorable Paul B. Johnson, who is doing a splendid job. However, with all of this development, I believe all will agree that we have only scratched the surface.

I sometimes wonder if we Mississippians fully appreciate our many assets. We are prone to compare our standing and influence in national affairs with Illinois, California, New York, and other States far more populous and wealthy. In fact, we do compare favorably, notwithstanding our relatively limited wealth and few people, about 2 million, or approximately as many as South Chicago. No State has made more rapid advancement or can look forward to more complete development; nor have the people anywhere applied themselves to a greater degree to meeting their problems. We all regret some unfortunate occurrences—few though they be—which we have had in some sections of our State. The sum total of all these unfortunate occurrences in our State over a period of years, however, is less than the number which have occurred in many sections of the country on one weekend.

We have only 5 Members, a little over 1 percent of the total of 435 Members of the U.S. House of Representatives, as compared to the 38 Members from California, 24 from Illinois, and 41 from New York. Our Senators have 2 votes of the 100 in the Senate, or 2 percent of the membership there. However, because of your continuing support through the years, both our Senators and my colleagues in the House, with their long length of service, are most influential on the Committees on Appropriations, Judiciary, Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Armed Services, Agriculture, Rules, and others. As I stated before, I am right at the top of the House Committee on Appropriations, where I serve on the Subcommittee on Public Works, the Subcommittee for Defense. In addition, I have served for many years as chairman of the Agriculture Subcommittee on Appropriations. These assignments, certainly, have been a great help in securing the cotton and poultry laboratories at Mississippi State; the weed control, ginning, chemical, and physiological labs at Stoneville; and the sedimentation laboratory at Ole Miss. They have helped, too, in getting special attention to our watershed programs, which are so important to the hill areas of our State, to flood control in the Mississippi Delta, to Jackson and East Jackson. They have resulted in needed attention to the Meridian area, and to harbor development at Greenville, Pascagoula, and Vicksburg, not to mention their worth in funds for rivers and harbor development and for soil conservation.

Although Mississippi's 4 or 5 Members out of the total of 435 in the House of Representatives cannot run the country, do not discount our influence in nearly all areas, which, because of our positions, exceeds our numbers many, many times over.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR FLOOD CONTROL

Agriculture's claims and responsibilities for the use of water are second to none, for agriculture provides our food, clothing, and shelter, the basic necessities for life.

This year our Committee on Appropriations recommended and the House of Representatives approved the following amounts for projects of the Corps of Engineers in Mississippi:

Jackson and East Jackson	$1,500,000
Okatibbee Creek Reservoir	2,400,000
Tombigbee River and tributaries, Alabama and Mississippi	400,000
Sardis Reservoir	70,000
Enid Reservoir	80,000
Arkabutla Reservoir	70,000
Grenada Reservoir	80,000
Greenwood	300,000
Upper auxiliary channels	50,000
Main stem	500,000
Tributaries	950,000
Big Sunflower River, etc	700,000
Yazoo backwater	2,400,000

The following funds will be provided for studies by the Corps of Engineers:

Big Black River	$87,000
Pascagoula River Basin	230,000
Pearl River Basin, Miss. and La	230,000
Tombigbee River at Columbus, including Luxapalila Creek	50,000
Town Creek at Jackson	26,000
Total	623,000

WATER FOR INDUSTRY—WONDERFUL MISSISSIPPI

Today, where other sections of the country are literally crying out for water, while they almost pray for rain, we in Mississippi are spending our time and our efforts on projects for flood control, for watershed protection and for flood prevention.

There are some 4¼ million acres in the Yazoo Valley protected by the main line Mississippi River levee system, extending from the hills near Memphis to above Vicksburg, a distance of 272 miles. These levees, which are to grade and section, and the Mississippi River channel improvement program which insures the integrity of the levee system, have permitted rapid development of this vast area.

On the Mississippi River proper, navigation continues to increase, with the port of Greenville reporting 1,233,197 tons of traffic in 1964, and the port of Vicksburg reporting 1,382,785 tons for the same year.

The so-called Yazoo headwater project, extending from the vicinity of Yazoo City northward along the Yazoo-Tallahatchie-Coldwater system, is about 68 percent complete. The regulation provided by the Arkabutla Reservoir on the Coldwater River, the Sardis Reservoir on the Little Tallahatchie River, the Enid Reservoir on the Yocona River, and the Grenada Reservoir on the Yalobusha River, supplemented by extensive downstream improvements, provides major benefits to about 1,200,000 acres of land. These four reservoirs also are providing major recreational opportunities at a very large rate, with total attendance in 1964 reported at 4,321,030.

Construction is underway, and will be continued, on levees along the main stem of the Yazoo River and along its tributaries. The program of protection from the various smaller hill tributaries entering the delta is coordinated with the work of the Soil Conservation Service in the adjacent hill area.

The Yazoo backwater project, designed to benefit about 600,000 acres of land from Mississippi River overflow, is moving well along, with some 10 miles of levees either complete or under construction, and with a flood gate, costing about $3.1 million, under construction at the mouth of Steele Bayou. The Sunflower River and tributaries project, as envisioned and originally authorized in 1944, is essentially complete. This involves some 600 miles of channel improvement. The further improvement of 110 miles of Steele Bayou and its tributaries, as found justified by studies for the Mississippi River and tributaries report, is now under construction.

The survey report to determine the feasibility of 9-foot navigation on the Yazoo River, from its mouth to the vicinity of Greenwood, has been completed by the Vicksburg district and is now under review by higher authority in Washington.

There is no comprehensive interagency basin study underway in the Tombigbee River Basin, but there are two projects of great interest in that area.

One is an extensive channel improvement project intended to protect agricultural lands against the small but frequent localized floods which do a great deal of damage to crops on tributaries of the upper Tombigbee. The improvement will consist of clearing and snagging, channel enlargement, and the construction of new channels and cutoffs for a total of 466 miles along 22 tributary streams in 9 counties in northeast Mississippi and several counties in northwest Alabama. It is estimated that the overall project will cost approximately $27,500,000 and that the total annual benefits will amount to over $2,500,000. Since benefits from this project will be felt largely in the vicinity of the streams improved, local citizens are required by the authorizing legislation to pay a part of the cost of construction as well as to comply with other conditions of local cooperation.

The other project of widespread interest in the upper Tombigbee basin is the much-discussed Tennessee-Tombigbee waterway, which would extend from Demopolis at the junction of the Tombigbee and Black Warrior Rivers in Alabama up the Tombigbee River and through the divide between the Tombigbee and Tennessee basins to the Pickwick Reservoir on the Tennessee River, an overall distance of 253 miles. Joining the Tennessee River with the Tombigbee River would create an entirely new transportation artery connecting much of the interior of the United States with the eastern gulf coast, cutting waterway distances dramatically between many points. The waterway would stimulate business and industry along its course through northeast Mississippi as well as along the waterways it connects and would benefit all area producers and consumers of commodities suitable for movement by barge.

Construction of the waterway would be a tremendous undertaking, involving improving 168 miles of the Tombigbee River by dredging and constructing four dams, building a 45-mile-long canal with five locks, building a high dam with a lock at the end of the canal, and making a 27-mile-long cut through the dividing ridge. The latest approved estimate of the cost, based on 1958 prices, is $281 million. Because of the magnitude of the project, it has been studied and restudied both before and after its authorization in 1946. The District Engineer at Mobile is now studying it again to determine its economic feasibility on the basis of present-day construction costs, interest rates, and savings in transportation costs. The study should be completed early next summer.

Mississippi is greatly blessed in the richness of her water resources. Much has been done to control and develop them and much more is being done. It is up to us, her citizens to see that the development progresses in a wise and timely fashion so as to contribute most to the wealth and beauty of our great State.

CONCLUSION

During my years in the Congress I have seen the position of agriculture in the legislative halls grow weaker and weaker as the rural population has declined; and I have learned how much more difficult it has been to pass sound farm legislation with a decreasing number of Representatives of rural areas in Congress. I have continuously faced the difficulties involved in providing adequate appropriations to finance our agricultural programs, with a national policy of giving less attention to agriculture while expanding appropriations for urban programs of all types.

In a recent speech to the National Agricultural Chemicals Association, I pointed out that farm purchasing power is probably more

essential to the national economy than is that of labor and industry, since it is the supplier of raw materials. A breakdown in income from agricultural production and the resulting decline in farm purchasing power could set off another depression, just as it has triggered other depressions in the past.

As I said earlier, aside from the possibility of nuclear conflict, the world's foremost problem today is hunger. Certainly we should never promote a program of scarcity. It is unsound to pay American farmers not to produce food and fiber; to limit American commodities offered in world markets; to reduce our reserves on hand and cut U.S. acreage while promoting increased foreign production at a time when we need dollars so badly. Cash instead of labor, cost and risk may look good to the farmer, but neither he nor the rest of us can forego the production, supply, distribution, and the business activity resulting from American farm production. The maintenance of agricultural efficiency, including the incentives to keep young and able people on the land, is necessary to prevent possible food shortages and much higher food costs in the next decade or two.

With so few people on the farm, our job in the Congress and in other legislative bodies is to get over to all Americans that it is their supply of food and fiber that we deal with; it is their market we must protect. It is up to all of us to get these facts over to the American people, that our Nation may continue to enjoy the highest standard of living ever known to man, that we may truly remain the land of plenty.

Carl Albert

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we can be justly proud of our majority leader, CARL ALBERT. During this session of the Congress, he has been one of the busiest men in the free world. Though weighted down with the tremendous burdens, CARL ALBERT has always been attentive to the wishes of his colleagues. A whisper in the ear during debate, a phone call from those at the bottom of the seniority ladder on either side of the aisle has always received his earnest attention. CARL ALBERT has never been too busy to meet the constituents of colleagues or friends. CARL ALBERT is a leader of great understanding and deeply humility. In his leadership role, he has been sustained by dignity, a sense of humor, devotion to this great institution of Congress and an abiding faith in the destiny of our country. CARL ALBERT is completely devoted to the principles and ideals that made this Nation great. CARL ALBERT has played a leading role in our Nation's economic, educational, spiritual, and military growth.

Some years ago Khrushchev, of Soviet Russia, boasted that he would bury America in the field of economic competition. Khrushchev has been buried politically forever by his own Government because he failed in his feeble effort to outproduce the United States. Under the leadership of men like CARL ALBERT we are winning the economic war. We are in the 57th month of a continued increase in our gross national product. We have created 6 million new jobs. We are winning in Vietnam and our space program is advancing rapidly. His lovely wife, Mary, has sustained and encouraged CARL during this momentous and historic session as always. She is a South Carolinian of whom we are proud. Until next session of this Congress, Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for them some rest and the very best always.

Polish Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, on November 11, 1918, an armistice was signed which formally ended World War I. On this day 47 years ago, the German occupation forces were expelled from Poland and the Polish Government reinstated in Warsaw.

This important date in history is remembered by Polish-Americans and free Poles the world over as Polish Independence Day. It is a time when we should all stop and remember the courage displayed by the people of this beleaguered nation, the strength they have shown, and the suffering they have endured since 1918.

In terms of change, the years since World War I seem to us to be an eternity. Another and even greater war shook Poland and the very foundations of the world, strengthening those forces which were set in motion by the first war and which have shaped the world of 1965. Freedom and tyranny, democracy and totalitarianism emerged as the two great opposing forces.

The annals of modern Polish history record the struggle for independence and the devotion to freedom of a strong and courageous people. Because of her strategic geographical location, Poland has necessarily been involved in the great power struggles and has had to endure onslaughts from both sides. And because she has resisted and refused to submit easily to foreign domination, her people have been subjected to greater suffering beyond the battlefield.

Invaded and occupied by German Nazi forces, the battles waged by freedom-loving Poles in Warsaw and elsewhere remain an inspiration to opponents of oppression. Those who protested the postwar occupation by the Red army and the establishment of a Soviet puppet regime were brutally silenced, but they were not forgotten.

Only the sudden arrival in Warsaw of Moscow's highest officials and the threatening advance of Soviet troops prevented an upheaval in 1956 as dramatic and tragic as that which took place in Hungary a few weeks later. Since then, any slight relaxation of Government control has resulted in great rumblings of protest and dissatisfaction with the existing order and an expressed desire for freedom from Kremlin control.

Thus, this day is doubly significant for our Polish-American population—on the same day that the United States pays highest tribute to the thousands of American veterans who have given their lives for the cause of democracy and freedom, we also think of freedom for the captive nations of Europe.

Although this date of Polish independence cannot be celebrated in Poland itself, we in America can rededicate ourselves to the goal of a free Poland and a free world.

Let us never forget that the desire for liberty, freedom of choice, and self-determination is a spark not easily extinguished. We must remember and commemorate November 11, 1918, with the faith that Polish freedom will not become a thing of the forgotten past.

National Security Seminar

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MACGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, recently I was asked to give the keynote address before the National Security Seminar in Duluth, Minn., sponsored by the Duluth Chamber of Commerce and conducted by the Industrial College of the Armed Forces. The objective of this seminar, as with similar meetings, is best stated by Lt. Gen. August Schomburg, Commandant of the Industrial College. He says:

The objective of these seminars supports the thesis that the people of the United States have a right to know all the information about our military economic posture that is consistent with national security; a right to know and understand national and international issues; a right to receive an up-to-date, factual analysis of the threats to our security and the security of the rest of the free world; a right to understand communism, its meaning, objectives and techniques in the basis ideological conflict.

I am inserting my address to the seminar at this point in the RECORD:

ADDRESS TO NATIONAL SECURITY SEMINAR, DULUTH, MINN.

The United States today is embarked on a unique and challenging mission. To preserve individual freedom we are developing ways and means of arresting the Communist goal of world domination through subversion. In the sixties, the new aggression is called wars of national liberation. We see this threat to our national security in two forms:

In the Moscow version, the Communist goal can be attained either by wars of liberation, which Kremlin leaders have stated they will continue to support, or by peaceful revolution.

In the more militant Peiping version, violence is the only means. It is this Peiping version, subversion terrorism, which now involves us in our first and foremost case—South Vietnam. But despite their differ-

ences, the end goal of these methods is the same, and the threat is real and it is widespread.

Meeting this challenge of lower spectrum warfare, and on a worldwide basis, is something relatively new for the military services and the other executive branches of our Government. Admittedly the United States does not know all of the answers, but we are making a tremendous effort to find them and to put together a team of political, economic, psychological, and military specialists to cope with this subversion. Our rightful aim is to give the people of the countries plagued by revolutionary subversion, and especially the Vietnamese, the opportunity to determine their own future or to find their own place in the sun.

The leaders of our country have made it unmistakably clear that we will not be pushed out of South Vietnam. I fully agree with this resolve, but, for your sake, I would like to express it in a somewhat different manner.

I have spent some time in the Orient with over 2 years in Burma and adjoining countries in World War II. My Army assignment was intelligence and guerrilla work with native forces. I like these people, and I do not think there is anyone who has the right to force his form of government or economic system upon them. To my mind, as freedom-loving people, it is our responsibility to insure that they, too, are free; free to determine their own form of government, their economic system, their destiny. We should not try to recreate them in our own image, but to resolve to assist them to the extent that they can determine their own future and establish a secure society of free people.

We should bear in mind that all of the military services consider the first and fundamental objective is for them, working with other U.S. executive agencies such as the State Department, the Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Information Agency, to assist friendly nations in preventing subversive insurgency or in suppressing it at a low stage; that is to say, before it gets to the advanced or active state of insurgency such as is evidenced today in South Vietnam. This is being done in many countries around the world, but it does not make many headlines. I will confine my remarks to Vietnam, rather than recite examples of these successes. Vietnam is the spearpoint, the testing ground, the full-blown pilot project of the new Communist aggression.

The implementation of our overseas internal defense policy there is coordinated through the mechanism of the country team. This simply means that the Ambassador or senior State Department representative is charged with coordinating the activities of all other U.S. agencies in the country. The nature of insurgency is such that it requires counteractions based not only on military means, but fully coordinated actions pertaining to economics, politics, psychology, and the entire social structure.

As a matter of logic, it can be said that because of the landbased nature of counterinsurgency, the Army must furnish the predominant number of people and skills to carry out this task. Counterinsurgency is a responsibility of every man, unit, and activity in our Army.

The Army philosophy has been very well stated by Gen. Harold K. Johnson, the Chief of Staff. He has on many occasions emphasized three basic facts:

"1. We will most likely be involved in this type of warfare for a long time to come.

"2. These missions aren't exceptional, or something outside the real task of the Army, and they are not to be reserved for a small group of specialists.

"3. In consideration of these facts, counterinsurgency, or 'stability operations,' has become a third principal mission of the Army, going hand in hand with the mission of being prepared for conventional or nuclear warfare."

Counterinsurgency is the whole range of military, political, economic, and psychological actions taken to prevent or defeat subversive insurgency. Its ultimate aim is to create a free and secure society under a popularly responsive and stable government. Counterinsurgency is a form of war and not a technique of war, as are psychological operations and unconventional warfare.

We have now found it necessary to supplement our basic advisory structure with large numbers of ground forces. I emphasize supplement, as these additional resources do not substitute for our advisers with all elements of the South Vietnamese military. Our advisory efforts with the Republic of Vietnam Armed Forces, RVNAF, must go on.

Militarily, South Vietnam is divided into four tactical corps zones. With each of these corps headquarters of the ARVN, or Army of Vietnam, there is an American advisory team which includes advisers to the commanders and various staff sections—intelligence, personnel, operations, logistics, etc. These people live and work with their Vietnamese counterparts assisting and advising them in their job of pacification and in the elimination of the Vietcong underground, guerrilla and hard-core units.

In each of these corps areas, there will be two or three ARVN divisions which also have U.S. advisory teams assigned to work with them. Additional advisory teams are working with the regiments and so on down to the battalion level.

There are also separate battalions of rangers, airborne, and Marines which likewise have advisory teams working wtih them. The U.S. Navy is similarly working with the Vietnamese Navy, the junk fleet, and river patrol to assist and advise them. The Air Force is doing a comparable job wtih the Vietnamese Air Force. Thus, the principal job of U.S. personnel in Vietnam has been, and still is, that of an adviser. That is, to help them fight their own war.

Politically, South Vietnam is further subdivided into provinces of which there are a total of 45. On the military side, the province chief is referred to as the sector commander. As the sector commander, he also has a group of American advisory personnel working with him on such problems as intelligence and counterintelligence to identify and eliminate the Vietcong internal structure, also on such matters as psychological operations, public safety, education, health, and sanitation, and other problems related to the psychological and sociological well-being of the people in the province. Obviously, in addition to their military background, these advisers must be qualified in a wide and varied field of activities. On the military side, the sector chief also directs the operations of the regional forces and popular forces in his area, and in some parts of the country may also command regional Army of Vietnam units. It is therefore quite apparent that the advisers to the province chief, or sector commander, must be a "Jack of all trades."

Each of the provinces, or sectors, is further subdivided into districts, or subsectors. Some provinces have as few as 2 districts while some have as many as 11. All told, there are 242 districts. Since last spring, specially organized teams have been assigned to work on this level. Today, about 180 have such advisory teams. Their activities are comparable to those of the sector advisers, but they are often located in remote areas, bringing them into even closer association with the people of the area, which is really the heart of the problem. It is often said that the job of counterinsurgency is to win the hearts and minds of the people. The assignment of subsector advisory groups is a relatively recent innovation, but these advisors are down at the grassroots levels working and living with the people. Here lies the salvation of South Vietnam; it is considered by all concerned that it will pay extremely high dividends.

Operationally, the Government of Vietnam carries out its pacification program or rural reconstruction, by what is referred to as the "oil spot" concept. This is the utilization of Army of Vietnam units to clear an area of Vietcong, that is generally a city or urban area, then the clearing operation spreads into surrounding areas. Meanwhile, other Government and military forces will move into the previously cleared area to continue security operations by developing intelligence and counterintelligence to indentify the Vietcong organization, to establish law and order, conduct civic-action type activities, and improve the living conditions of the people. As the clearing and securing operations spread out into additional areas, other governmental agencies are moved into the secured area to assist in the development of sound government, improve the economic conditions, and generally win over the people to the Government of South Vietnam.

We are putting into practice many of the lessons learned in the successful campaigns to defeat Communist-supported subversive terrorism in the Philippines and in Malaya. An essential element in each of these campaigns was a decentralization of the central government, a program of giving villagers and lesser government officials throughout the countryside a greater voice in the decisionmaking process by which they were governed.

While we preach the advantages of decentralization abroad, we are stressing a tendency toward increased centralization of the decisionmaking process in our own government. This centralization has a great many virtues in that it makes any organization absolutely controllable from the top. As long as the decisions made at the top are sound, and as long as the methods of execution are left to subordinates, things will go well. The weakness of such a system is due to the frailty of individuals—any individual. Those decisions are orders and to an increasing degree, people below do not question those orders. As a result, there is no real check on the correctness of the decision at the top. This eventually has the result of the top echelon believing itself to be omniscient, and the people below losing their ability to think for themselves.

In any large organization, governmental or private, the creative ability of the organization is dependent upon disciplined imagination of all the individuals in the organization and organized effort, rather than on the inspiration of a small group. We live in an era of rapidly changing technology, and it is impossible for any one person or even any one group to keep abreast of all the possibilities of these changes. In large organizations, particularly, it is necessary for the majority of the people in the organization to be able to innovate and create new methods of doing new things, based on knowledge and the opportunity for subordinates to develop and use new tools, new methods, and new ideas. Policy should be centralized at the top, but the people below must feel that their imagination, their ideas, the techniques they develop to carry out the policy, must be up to them. Otherwise, there will be stultification, blind obedience, lack of interest, and all the other evils that go with an organization of people who are not permitted to think for themselves.

It is very difficult for a top echelon to lay out a sound policy, the goals and the objectives of the organization, and encourage and inspire subordinates to carry out those policies. It too often happens that the top people want to direct the execution of their own policy, and this kills the initiative below. This results in a slow death of the effectiveness of the organization.

Since the continuing strength of any organization rests upon free exercise of individual initiative and ingenuity, we must not stifle the voice of dissent. It is never easy to draw a proper line between the legitimate exercise of the right to disagree and the unlawful act of undermining an organization or a government. The recent rash of draft card burnings may offer a case in point.

Unfortunately, agitators who have inspired draft card burning in colleges will soon shift their attention to high schools. Their plan is to dissuade high school students from registering from the draft when they reach draft age. You must remember that burning or otherwise destroying a draft card is a Federal crime. You may think it should not be a crime. Or you may think that the penalty of up to 5 years in jail or a fine of up to $10,000 for committing this crime is unnecessarily severe. It is your right to disagree, but not to disobey. It is even your civic duty to act on your convictions in trying to repeal or change the law, but not to participate in or encourage its violation.

It is a healthy sign when youth disagrees with its elders, but survival often means trusting people you don't agree with. I didn't always agree with my commanding officer in World War II, but luckily I reserved my right to express my disagreement until a time when my life and those of my fellow soldiers was not in danger.

You may believe the draft law to be unnecessary, unwise, or unjust. But the U.S. Supreme Court in 1918 declared the Selective Service System to be constitutional. Of equal importance is the 1919 decision of the Supreme Court on the matter of agitation. At that time, Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said: "When a nation is at war, many things that might be said in time of peace are such a hindrance to its efforts that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight, and that no court could regard them as protected by a constitutional right." Of course, we are not formally at war with the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese, but formal declarations of war appear to be passé. What is important today is the spirit of these Supreme Court decisions.

We have had too many people in high office imply that there is something inherently and constitutionally right about unlawful activities. There are those in leading academic institutions and in highly placed positions in the civil rights movement who argue that progress can only come through a flaunting of the law. They sincerely believe that you must shock people to effectively call attention to injustice. They cite as historical examples of their thesis the French Revolution and the American suffragette movement.

But the French citizens revolted against an oppressive, unfeeling, dictatorial government. There is no analogy to our present Government of and by the people. And we have established by law the equality of both sexes. We have legislatively pronounced and enhanced the dignity and equal worth of each individual, regardless of the circumstances or location of his birth.

In short, we are a self-governing society, enjoying the fruits of freedom under law, and prospering under a system of justice according to law. The exercise of the right of freedom of speech, and the right to peaceably assemble and to petition the Government, must not be subverted into a license to undermine that very Government.

I have been deeply interested in civil rights and individual liberties. As a Congressman, I have taken pride in my role in the draftsmanship and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The first amendment to the U.S. Constitution prevents Congress from making any law abridging the freedom of speech. In addition, it guarantees "right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances." Those who would speak out freely in bitter dissent of our policy in Vietnam should consider the degree to which they are prolonging the conflict and increasing the casualty lists by giving encouragement to the Communist-supported forces who oppose us. Those who assemble to advertise their grievances must remember the constitutional limitation on their rights; an exhibitionary demonstration which adversely affects the rights of others at a point far removed from the seat of government does not clothe any exhibitionist in a first amendment right. We must be vigilant to protect and preserve the legitimate exercise of constitutionally guaranteed freedoms, but equally, we must reject the subverted use of these privileges.

Human progress is based on a combination of rebellion of thought and obedience to authority, and we must guard against a blind extreme of either. The main function of active dissent is to keep the people in power at the top from getting arrogant or soft and complacent. The main function of respect for law is to pull together to get things done once we have decided what to do. It is clear that the United States has decided to stay in Vietnam until the job is done.

Fifth Annual Meeting of Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLIFFORD P. CASE
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CASE. Mr. President, the Episcopal Society for Cultural & Racial Unity, a nationwide organization of bishops, priests, and laity of the Episcopal Church, headquartered at 5 Forsyth Street NW., Atlanta, Ga., recently held its fifth annual meeting in Jackson, Miss. In view of the gunning down of the Selma, Ala., based ESCRU field representative, Jonathan M. Daniels, on August 20, and the serious injury sustained by a Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Richard Morrisroe, I was deeply concerned at the time that adequate steps be taken to insure the safety of the participants in the meeting. I urged the Department of Justice to take all appropriate measures to this end, and I am happy to report that the conference proceeded without incident.

Among their activities were firsthand inspection in the delta of church work and voter registration projects. ESCRU has made a fine record in encouraging progress in the field of civil rights and all human rights for all Americans. The executive director of ESCRU, the Reverend John B. Morris, is one of the most respected priests of the Episcopal Church. The assistant director, the Reverend Albert Dreiseach, Jr.; one of the field representatives, the Reverend Malcolm Boyd; and the director of the southern field service, the Reverend Henri A. Stines, are all experienced priests of the Episcopal Church with full-time responsibility in the field of civil rights and in bringing about cultural and racial unity.

Mr. Frederick H. Sontag of Montclair, N.J., who has since been named consultant to the national board of ESCRU in recognition of his long-time work in the field of civil rights, has called to my attention the fact that originally the conference program included a talk entitled, "Selma, a Continuing Ministry of Presence," by Jonathan Daniels. Before the conference was held, the tragedy at Selma occurred. In a sense the conference became a living memorial to Jonathan Daniels. I am glad that New Jersey Episcopal priests, laymen, and laywomen had a share in these sessions.

Record of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JAMES J. HOWARD
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, it is my honor to serve in Congress as the Representative of more than 500,000 persons who live in the Third Congressional District of New Jersey which is comprised of Monmouth and Ocean Counties.

As a former schoolteacher and school principal, I am a strong believer in homework and report cards. For that reason I plan to contact almost every person in my district through the mails and ask them to write me and grade the work we have done in the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The people who have given us the privilege of serving them in Congress certainly should be provided with a full report of our activities.

The 89th Congress has been referred to as the "Education Congress" because of its legislation in this field. Basic to our democratic way of life and to our national future is the principle that every American child is entitled to as much education as he wants and can usefully absorb. I am sure most of my colleagues will agree that ability to learn, rather than ability to pay, must be the standard of educational opportunity.

As a freshman Member of the House, it was my good fortune to be assigned to the House Committee on Public Works as well as several of its important subcommittees. I say fortunate because this committee assignment is not only extremely important for my district but it also has given me the opportunity to learn under some of the most able men in this great body.

I sought an assignment to the Public Works Committee because its scope of operations, I felt, deals most directly with the needs of my district. For instance, the Water Quality Act of 1965, which I was proud to cosponsor, is aimed at ending pollution in the streams and rivers throughout the Nation. The people of my district are vitally concerned about water pollution and they have expressed overwhelming support of this measure.

Another measure which was sponsored by the House Public Works Committee

and approved by the Congress was the omnibus rivers and harbors bill. This bill included approval of a $8 million inlet across the Sandy Hook Peninsula. Another item included in this bill should help alleviate the problems of the obnoxious weeds along the Metedeconk River in Ocean County. Congress voted a $5 million study of this problem which has harmed fishing, swimming, and other outdoor sports in many areas of the Nation.

Those residents of the shore area who suffered financial damage during the 1962 storm can attest to the importance of an insurance program which would cover losses caused by such a disaster. I introduced a bill in the House which instructs the Federal Government to investigate how such an insurance program can be operated. That bill is now law. My bill will determine whether the Federal Government can assist private insurance companies in providing such insurance protection at a reasonable cost.

Mr. Speaker, the first session of the 89th Congress has accomplished much. As the New York Times said in a recent editorial:

The 89th Congress, nearing the end of its 1st session, has been the best Congress since World War II.

President Johnson, in describing this first session of the Congress, said:

From your committees and both your Houses have come the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of this Nation.

From those who oppose the work of the Congress we hear the term "rubberstamp." Mr. Speaker, if these people mean we were rubberstamps when we approved such legislation as medicare, then I urge all of my colleagues to plead guilty. This legislation affects more than 61,000 people in my district and I was glad to give it my support.

I might add, Mr. Speaker, that those who hurl the rubberstamp charges must disagree with other legislation we passed such as the excise tax cut, the Immigration Act amendments and the voting rights bill. I, for one, feel confident that the people who elected me to office would be greatly disappointed if I became sensitive to rubberstamp charges and opposed these worthwhile and necessary programs.

At this point I place in the RECORD a list of major bills which I supported and which were approved by the 1st session of the 89th Congress. In doing so I feel it will give my more than half million constituents an opportunity to study the legislation we have passed and comment on what they feel also should be done in the 2d session of the 89th Congress:

Medicare and social security amendments: Provides hospitalization, surgical, and nursing home care for persons 65 years and older, financed through the social security system: increases social security benefits, retroactive to January 1, 1965, and makes other liberalizing changes in social security law.

Elementary-secondary education: Provides Federal grant program to improve elementary and secondary education under local control, with bulk of aid for school districts where there are large numbers of children from poverty-stricken families.

Excise tax reduction: Provides excise tax cuts totaling $4.7 billion on various consumer items such as appliances, telephone service, autos, and so forth; eliminates most Federal exises by 1969.

Omnibus Housing Act: Expands current urban renewal, public housing programs, extends FHA loan insurance program, encourages urban planning and beautification in housing; provides new rent supplement program for certain low- and moderate-income families.

Voting rights: Strengthens machinery for guaranteeing right to vote to all citizens by prohibiting poll taxes, literacy tests; provides for Federal registrars in States where less than 50 percent of potential voters are registered or voted.

Public works and ecoonmic development: Provides expanded program of grants and loans to communities for public works, development facilities, and other projects intended to aid economically depressed areas.

Water pollution control: Expands water pollution control program, grants for waste treatment plant consrtuction; strengthens Federal enforcement authority to clean up our rivers and streams.

Department of Housing and Urban Affairs: Establishes a new Cabinet-level department to administer programs affecting the 70 percent of our population that now resides in metropolitan areas.

Omnibus farm program: Improves and extends feed grain, wheat, dairy, and cotton programs, encourages cropland retirement, bolsters farm income.

Immigration Act amendments: Abolishes discriminatory national origins quota system over 3-year period; establishes a 170,000 annual limit on immigrants, special preferences given to relatives of American citizens.

Appalachian regional development: Authorizes comprehensive State-Federal program to assist in the development of the economically depressed, 11-State Appalachian region.

Manpower development and training: Extends and expands manpower training program to assist unemployed in learning new skills to qualify them for better jobs.

Higher education: Authorizes expanded 5-year program to assist colleges and universities to improve educational opportunities; provides student loan and scholarship to aid needy students.

Economic opportunity program: Increases authorization for antipoverty program, makes other improvements in the operation of various parts of the war on poverty.

Military pay increase: Provides an average 10.4-percent pay increase for some 4.2 million uniformed personnel of the Armed Forces, effective September 1, 1965—2.7 million on active duty, 1 million reservists, 500,000 retired.

Regional medical centers: Authorizes 3-year program of Federal grants to plan and develop a series of regional medical programs to fight heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

Arts and humanities: Creates a National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities to assist and foster broad cultural programs in art, music, films, ballet, and so forth.

Health professions education: Extends and expands program of construction grants to medical, dental, and other similar educational institutions; establishes new program of scholarship grants for needy students, increases student loan program.

Presidential continuity: Adopted proposed amendment to the Constitution to establish procedure to permit Vice President to become Acting President if the President is unable to perform his duties; provides for filling the vacancy of the office of Vice President.

Congressional organization: Created a joint committee to study the organization and operation of Congress and to make recommendations to improve and streamline the work of Congress.

Health research facilities: Provides for extension of program to construct health research facilities; establishes three new Assistant Secretaries of Health, Education, and Welfare to administer expanded programs in this area.

Community health services: Extends programs for public health services providing vaccinations, immunization, other preventive treatment of diseases, migrant health clinics, and grants to States for general health services.

Mental health services: Provides for initial staffing grants for personnel serving in community mental health centers.

Drug controls: Expands Federal control over certain depressant and stimulant drugs to reduce the illegal use of these dangerous drugs that affect the central nervous system.

Older Americans: Establishes new Administration on Aging in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to develop programs to assist the aged.

Juvenile delinquency: Extends present law to assist communities in the development of new programs to prevent or control juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Water resources development: Extends and broadens research program of converting saline water; another new law provides grants to States for the coordination of water resources planning and development; another new law establishes a grant program to assist in development of water supply and sewage disposal facilities in rural areas; a separate program was authorized to plan a water supply system for the northeastern part of the country.

Air pollution: Establishes machinery for controlling motor vehicle air polluants, accelerates air pollution research program, creates new program to find methods of disposing of solid wastes.

Highway beautification: Provides for gradual control over billboards, signs, and so forth, along Federal-aided highways of the interstate and primary systems; offers incentive grants for improvement of scenic areas along such highways.

Federal pay: Provides salary increase for Federal classified and postal employees, attempting to achieve more equitable relationship with pay of employees in private industry; makes other fringe benefits in pay and overtime allowances.

High-speed rapid transit: Authorizes 3-year program of research and demonstration projects for development of high-speed intercity railroad transportation.

State technical services: Establishes new 3-year program of Federal-State-local-technical cooperation to provide technical service centers to disseminate findings of scientific and technological importance to commerce and industry.

Retired Government employees: Provides for cost-of-living increases in annuities to retired employees of Federal Government.

Vocational training: Expands vocational rehabilitation program to aid disabled persons; another new program provides Federal loan insurance to high school graduates to finance tuition at business, trade, technical, and other vocational schools.

The Sale of Wheat to the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, some of the proponents of increased East-West trade have been busy urging that we sell wheat to the Soviet Union without any

political strings attached. Among other things, they have argued that the Soviet Union has been displaying a much more moderate attitude, which would be further encouraged by a show of generosity on our part.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I insert into the RECORD three items bearing on this subject.

The first item is an article captioned "Kosygin Admits Bread Shortage," in the New York Herald Tribune for October 1, 1965. The second item is an excerpt from a broadcast on Vietnam by Radio Moscow on October 13, 1965. The third item is an article, captioned "North Vietnam Leads Cuba in Missile Bases," which appeared in the Washington Star on October 21, 1965:

KOSYGIN ADMITS BREAD SHORTAGE

(By Stuart H. Loory)

Moscow.—Bread, the food which is more important than practically any other in this country, may be in short supply here this year, Communist Party chief, Leonid Brezhnev, has hinted.

In an unexpected lecture on the state of agriculture, Mr. Brezhnev told the party's policymaking Central Committee Wednesday the party and government "envisage further improvement in supplying the population with bread both qualitatively and quantitatively."

This was the first indication this year that the admittedly disastrous grain harvest would result in any need to improve the bread supply. It had been widely thought that with the 9 million tons of wheat purchased abroad during the summer, the successors to former Premier Khrushchev had taken adequate steps to guarantee an uninterrupted supply of bread to the population.

In 1963, Mr. Khrushchev had to buy about 12 million tons of wheat abroad, and he moved too late in the year. As a result, bread was in short supply during the winter of 1963–64. It now appears that his successors may have to buy almost as much wheat as he did.

Mr. Brezhnev's statement was a hint that this summer's wheat-purchasing efforts had already failed to meet the goal of enough bread for the population during the coming year.

The indication came in a somewhat pessimistic progress report on the results of the sweeping new farm program adopted at the last Central Committee meeting in March.

The one factor neither the party nor the state planners could do anything about—the weather—ruined harvests in the virgin lands of central Asia, Siberia, and in some Volga River areas.

At the same time, the party chief charged, bureaucrats continued to starve agriculture in an attempt to meet plan goals in industry.

"The tendency has not been overcome to improve other affairs, to 'balance' the figures at the expense of agriculture, to infringe on the interests of the collective and state farms," he said. "And this happens despite the absolutely clearcut decisions of the March plenum of the Central Committee.

FURTHER AID PLEDGED IN ANTI-IMPERIALIST FIGHT

(NOTE.—Excerpt of radio broadcast, Moscow in English to South Asia (Aleksandr Kushnir commentary) Oct. 13, 1965.)

[Soviet Union] not only denounces America's dirty war in Vietnam but also effectively helps the Democratic Republic of Vietnam's Government to build up its defensive capacity. Soviet weapons are being used against the piratical American aircraft which bomb North Vietnam and they will continue to be used for this purpose.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Oct. 21, 1965]

NORTH VIETNAM LEADS CUBA IN MISSILE BASES

(By L. Edgar Prina)

There are now more Soviet-built surface-to-air missile installations of the so-called permanent type in North Vietnam than there are in Cuba, according to lastest U.S. intelligence estimates.

About 30 SAM bases are operational or nearly so in North Vietnam compared with 25 in Communist Cuba.

Most of the sites in Vietnam ring the capital city of Hanoi. A smaller number defend Haiphong, the big port through which, it is believed, the big missiles, their radars and other equipment pass after their arrival by sea aboard Soviet-bloc ships.

Some military sources believe it is unlikely that the buildup of missile sites in North Vietnam, which has been taking an increasingly heavy pounding from U.S. Navy and Air Force planes, has been completed.

In addition to the 30 "permanent" SAM sites, an undetermined number of mobile surface-to-air rocket launchers are operating against our pilots.

The United States has acknowledged publicly the loss of five aircraft to missiles from these mobile launchers. U.S. forces claim to have knocked out two launchers—called "mobile" because they can be moved and set up at a new site within 24 hours. The latest success was scored on Sunday by five Navy jetplanes flying off the carrier *Independence* in the South China Sea.

It is believed that Soviet technicians probably work at the mobile launcher sites as well as at the SAM bases. Because it is the policy of the Johnson administration to downplay the extent of the military aid Moscow is giving to Hanoi and the reluctance to kill Russians lest the war expand, official information on U.S. attacks on such targets has been skimpy. There was no mention of any personnel on the ground being killed or wounded in Sunday's strike which demolished a missile launcher 52 miles northeast of Hanoi.

Meanwhile, American aircraft losses to enemy ground fire appear to be increasing. Earlier this week, the total since the U.S. air campaign began last February was put at 111. The Communist Chinese claim that more than 600 have been shot down.

Gen. John P. McConnell, U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff, said recently that our losses were proportionately greater in Vietnam than they were during World War II but less than in the Korean War.

The Record of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BERNARD F. GRABOWSKI

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GRABOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, it has been a great privilege to have served as a Member of the 89th Congress. It is no exaggeration to say that this Congress has made for itself a notable place in American history. Resting to a very large degree upon the consensus established by President Johnson and the Democratic Party this Congress has been able to pass legislation, both foreign and domestic, which has been long overdue. In a great sense this has been a "housekeeping Congress."

Since the end of World War II of necessity, a large share of our productive capacity and national energy has been poured into the cold war—the defense of the free world. As a consequence we put aside many domestic needs. We delayed many programs in education, urban renewal, transportation, housing, cultural affairs, communications, health, and conservation. Now we are able to turn our attention toward the Great Society.

In this session we enacted legislation in the broad area of social security. We increased the benefits themselves. We passed medicare, and we extended additional funds to medical research and medical and dental education.

In the field of education we passed for the first time in history, aid to elementary and secondary education. We broadened Federal assistance to higher education and we made a striking contribution to our cultural development by creating the National Foundation for the Arts and Humanities. This Foundation will redress the balance with the development of the sciences which has been a necessary part of our national defense posture.

In many ways this Congress will be remembered as the "Urban Congress." We took formal recognition of the fact that the United States has moved from the agrarian society of Thomas Jefferson to the urban society of Lyndon Johnson. We raised to Cabinet status a new department of the Government—the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In this same field we passed an Omnibus Housing Act. We also took action in one of the most vital areas of our needs: mass transportation. Despite a well developed highway program we are well aware that one of the most pressing needs of our urban society is the development of an extensive, fast moving, safe, efficient, and low fare system of public transportation. To those of who live in the vast megalopolis developing between Rhode Island and Virginia this is of greatest urgency.

Our hard-working First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, nudged us into taking a good look at the Nation's growing ugliness. Under her inspiration we passed the Highway Beautification Act. We also took a hard look at our growing problem of water pollution. The rivers, the streams, the lakes of America have been a part of our national heritage. But in an industrialized society we have allowed them to be filled with refuse. The Water Resources Act and the numerous conservation acts we passed will, within 10 years, restore their pristine beauty.

Yet this Congress was realistic. Despite overall prosperity and the expansion of our gross national product we took a hard look at the "Other America." We now recognize that an affluent society unfortunately creates its own poor. There are those who simply fall below the net of economic well being. The reasons why are many, varied, and complex.

Our War on Poverty may well be but a beginning, but it is a good beginning.

Two pieses of legislation can be called "Acts of Conscience." One is the historic Voting Rights Act. In this we offered the power of the Federal Government and the authority of the Constitution to guarantee that every American may exercise his birth right—to cast freely a secret ballot. Secondly, in the amendments to the Immigration Act we returned to this country's proud, traditional role as the haven of the oppressed. Because of this the Statue of Liberty stands a bit taller.

Let us bear in mind that we were able to appropriate the moneys for these extensive housekeeping tasks, and yet reduce taxes. We will pay the bills of the Great Society out of the growing abundance of an expanding gross national product.

In foreign policy we have worked toward strengthening the U.N. as an effective forum for world opinion and as a peacekeeping agency that rises above East-West conflict. The Congress has authorized the funds to be contributed to the U.N.'s subsidiary agencies which are devoted to international economic and social development such as the World Health Organization, the World Bank, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and the U.N. Special Fund. We have consistently upheld President Johnson's hand in his threefold program:

First. To contain Communist aggression.

Second. To assist the economic and social development of other free nations.

Third. And to foster organizations of international cooperation among sovereign nations of the world.

In Vietnam we face the naked sword of Communist aggression, this Congress has provided the sinews of war.

It has been my privilege to place before this House a number of pieces of legislation. These include legislation to provide for orderly succession to the Presidency when the President is disabled; a bill to provide for a bipartisan committee to study our election system at every level; a bill to provide an exemption from the draft for persons serving in the Peace Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America; a bill to provide that teachers may deduct additional educational expenses from their Federal income taxes; a bill to provide the benefits of the GI bill to veterans of the cold war. I have also offered a concurrent resolution asking the five States which border on New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont to restrict the sale of alcoholic beverages to those persons 21 years or older.

As the New York Times put it, the "89th Congress has been the best Congress since World War II." At last the Nation has had the benefit of the work of a modern-minded Congress that addressed itself to the needs of a complicated society entering the last third of the 20th century.

The Colorado River: An Invaluable Water, Power, Recreation, and Conservation Resource for the Entire Pacific Southwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL
OF CALIFORNIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD two letters to the editor of the Los Angeles Times which have appeared in recent editions of that southern California metropolitan newspaper.

These letters illustrate the vitally important role that the Colorado River has come to play as a water, power, recreation, and conservation resource for the millions of citizens who live in America's great Pacific Southwest region.

The letters follow:

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times, Oct. 11, 1965]

BRIDGE AND MARBLE CANYON DAMS ON COLORADO FAVORED BY READER

The proposal to build Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams along the Colorado River has been attacked on several occasions in the letters to the Times column by well-intentioned individuals who have not reached bedrock in their grasp of the facts.

Highways have made it possible for millions of us to see the Grand Canyon because they were built despite similar objections that they would desecrate the beauty of the canyon. The dignity of my soul and the rejuvenation of my spirit have been enhanced because these roads were built.

These dams and the lakes they create will not "violate" the Grand Canyon. True, impounded water will border a portion of the national park. Rather than to destroy or pervert, however, this lake will provide access for millions to a beautiful area of the park which is now almost totally inaccessible.

A recent 2-day symposium at UCLA on ground water developed the theme that storage capacity in surface reservoirs has less value than underground storage. Fissure and sandstone storage at Lake Powell actually add to the value of that reservoir. The Colorado River water percolating into the walls of Glen Canyon will be retrieved whenever the water level in the lake drops to the point where it will flow back out again.

Statements from opponents of progress regarding the price of power completely miss the point about the value of hydroelectric power for peaking purposes.

There is an economy in avoiding the construction of coal fired or atomic reactor steam generation capacity. Steam generators do produce low-cost power but only if they are utilized at a high load factor (practically all of the time). The hydroelectric power generated by these two dams would command a supplementary power peaking price.

In the economy of the Southwest, there is a need for more hydroelectric generating capacity to couple with the advantages of steam power generation.

If Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams existed today and some group were to propose that they be unwatered, you can be sure the fishing and recreation groups would not be sitting on their hands.

RICHARD A. SMITH.

FALLBROOK.

[From the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times]

RANGE OF ELECTRIC NEEDS CITED IN SUPPORT OF DAMS ON COLORADO

Because southern California depends so heavily upon the Colorado River and because our ability to earn a living will require continued development of that stream's natural resources, I should like to support the opinion of Richard Smith, of Fallbrook, in his recent letter to the Times that dams at Bridge and Marble Canyons are needed. The need for low-cost energy increases as the demand for electric service by industries, food producers, and homes increases.

Low-cost energy can be obtained by the combinaiton of large baseload steam-electric plants which are being built today, using oil, gas, coal and nuclear fuels, and by peaking plants such as the hydroplants on the Colorado River.

The demand for electrical energy on large utility systems varies from a low, during the early morning hours, to a high around 6 p.m. of about 2½ times the low. This large variation in electrical demand cannot be supplied economically by steam-electric generators alone. The use of hydroelectric peaking plants to meet the large variation in electrical loads is essential to optimize the benefits from a well engineered power system.

The Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams, with their low-cost hydroelectric power, will be a tremendous asset to the Southwest. The influence of these new installations to hold down power bills will create more jobs. Money saved on industrial electrical bills lowers product prices, permits higher salaries and, of course, reduces living costs all round.

In addition to these practical, economic advantages, the new dams will smooth out the now uncontrolled and almost inaccessible streambed of the Colorado River at those locations and create lovely lakes which millions of average American families can enjoy on summer weekend vacations.

PHILIP CORRIN,
President, Colorado River Association.

October 28, 1918: Czechoslovakian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, 47 years ago, on October 28, 1918, the independent Republic of Czechoslovakia, comprising Bohemia, Slovakia, and Ruthenia, was established by the peace treaties which ended World War I. The creation of Czechoslovakia freed the Czech people from foreign domination for the first time in 300 years.

Under the outstanding leadership of Thomas Masaryk and Eduard Benes, the new Czechoslovak Republic built a liberal and progressive democracy and instituted far-reaching land reforms, a system of social insurance, special guar-

antees to protect the rights of minority groups, unionization and rapid industrialization.

Then came the betrayal of the Czech people and their nation in the cowardly appeasement at Munich.

The young Czech Republic fell under the heel of Nazi totalitarianism and soon became an important and tragic victim of the Soviet Communists.

On June 7, 1948, after a bloodless coup and sham elections had cemented Communist control, Eduard Benes resigned his position as the second President of the Czechoslovak Republic.

The Republic was dead.

October 28 will mark the anniversary of the proudest, happiest day in Czech history.

It is indeed tragic that while people of Czechoslovak descent in America commemorate this independence day, it is not observed in Czechoslovakia.

It is tragic that Czechoslovakia, which enjoyed a brief but vital period of freedom, remains under Communist domination and has even become a Communist showcase and model satellite.

I believe, nonetheless, that within the hearts of the captive Czech people there still beats the same love of freedom and liberty which inspired and charted the early course of the Czechoslovak Republic.

I join all Czechoslovak-Americans today in paying tribute to the indominatable Czech spirit of freedom.

In observing this independence day, we reaffirm our trust that the Republic of Czechoslovakia may again take its place among the free nations of the world.

Jerry Ford

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this is a great Congress. The 80th Congress was a great Congress. Future leaders abounded in the 80th Congress. President Johnson, the late President Kennedy, former Vice President Nixon, and many others served in that Congress with honor and distinction. A young man who served in that illustrious group—and also marked for leadership—was JERRY FORD, the distinguished and able minority leader of this House.

JERRY FORD, in this Congress, has been the epitome of statesmanship. He has fought as an American and has placed the welfare of his country ahead of partisanship and personal ambition. He has offered constructive opposition and has made possible, by his cooperation, some of the greatest achievements of this Congress.

JERRY FORD could have stayed on the sidelines and criticized when America's destiny was being shaped in southeast Asia. Mr. Speaker, JERRY FORD supported our Vietnam policy and helped mold the united backing necessary for a winning team which has halted Communist aggression.

Minneapolis Urban Renewal Success

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, while many cities across the country are experiencing serious problems with their redevelopment projects, Minneapolis Gateway Center is a remarkable success. Although less than a quarter of the project was finished in 1964, that part paid more taxes in that year than the entire Gateway area did in 1958.

Metropolitan magazine, a publication for city administrators and planners, has recognized this success and devoted four articles in its July 1965 issue to describing Minneapolis. Knowing that my colleagues are also interested in studying successful renewal efforts, I am inserting an excerpt from one of these articles:

CITIZENS ARE CITY SHAREHOLDERS

Each citizen of Minneapolis is a city shareholder because the city is his business; he owns it through his voting privilege, and through common ownership of all the city's facilities.

The concept of citizens as investors in the city is a worthy analysis based on investigation of the Minneapolis case. In urban renewal, urban design, culture, and pleasant living, private money has teamed with public funds to make an investment for the corporate good.

During the last decade, $235 million in private investment was made to rebuild the city's heart.

Northstar Center is an outstanding example. Described as a downtown superblock, it is a privately developed $25 million complex of three buildings connected by ramps with two other blocks of buildings. One of these, the 180-room Northstar Inn, has parking for 1,000 cars.

Property for Northstar was acquired and the complex developed wholly with private funds by Baker Properties which manages it.

Parking garages downtown with over 6,000 stalls are privately operated for a profit. Most are owned by Downtown Auto Park, a corporation set up by downtown businessmen because they felt they could do the job more cheaply than the city could.

Lyman Wakefield, vice president of the First National Bank, who also serves as Auto Park president without pay, says they have proved it. One example: Auto Park recently acquired land for a parking garage, paying $23 per foot. Fifteen years before, the city recommended a garage at the same site and proposed to pay $45 a foot.

This is in sharp contrast to the experience in acquiring Northstar Center land. Without powers of eminent domain, Baker Properties paid dearly to the last holdout for the final parcel. Significantly enough, Baker's current project, Capital Center in St. Paul, is being built on land acquired by the Government through urban renewal channels. Leslie Park, spokesman for Baker, admits the difficulties of land acquisition are the reasons why.

Don Knutson, president of Kuntson Enterprises, developers of Gateway Center, says categorically, "It can't be done privately. Gateway involved 201 separate parcels—1 small piece had 23 owners."

The housing and redevelopment authority acquired and cleared the land at Gateway for $360,000. Private enterprise already has invested $45.5 million and projects a total investment of over $80 million. According to Bob Jorvig, dedicated director of the authority, "Though development of the cleared land is in the hands of a private corporation (Knutson Enterprises), they had to bid for it, guaranteeing at least 50 percent development."

Gateway is Minneapolis' well-publicized success. More quietly the city is pioneering a new kind of in-town commercial renewal.

"It is a self-help program for local commercial areas that are not physically gone but economically obsolute," explains Larry Irwin, director of the Minneapolis Planning Commission.

"The program is an experiment in urban design, ala the Kevin Lynch studies at Harvard," he says. "It's based on what the people of the city want; what they relate to. It may be something gaudy instead of pastoral."

The city makes certain promises for public works improvements, offers design services and a market analysis of population of the area, spendable income and shopping habits. Any action is up to local merchants.

Whether this approach will work or not, remains to be seen. Lately, on an evening, Mr. Irwin has found himself at neighborhood luaus and German beer festivals plying his line of friendly persuasion.

Downtown Minneapolis has one unique example of private investors becoming overenthusiastic and the need for public funds, constructively applied to "bail them out."

Several years ago a real estate research study showed that 1,400 additional hotel rooms would be necessary in the core of Minneapolis by 1970. Private money rushed in and built 2,400 rooms. Now the city is adding a convention hall annex to the old auditorium which is undergoing complete remodeling.

These facilities will vie for convention business to fill up the hotel rooms and bring in "foreign" capital from other cities and help maintain Minneapolis' favorable balance of payments.

Minneapolis has a penchant for culture. Compared to the city's midwestern surroundings it seems almost too self-conscious. The Minneapolis Institute of Arts, in celebrating its 50th anniversary this year, claims to be, "more than a museum * * * a truly meaningful part of the community."

If rival cities knew the drawing card of the city-built $2.5 million Tyrone Guthrie Theater, they would quickly invest in a similar home for a live or repertory theater in their communities.

Public Works Director Hugo Erickson calls the University of Minnesota, now spilling over to the west bank of the river, "an integral part of the life of the city."

Henry Rutledge, of the Northwestern National, calls it a "large and growing business. Dr. Wilson, its president, is keenly aware of the University's part in the whole community."

With such a glowing picture of life in Minneapolis and the sweetness-and-light cooperation of the diverse sectors of the community, diagnosticians and market pundits may well advise citizen shareholders to keep all their eggs in the Minneapolis basket.

The 89th Congress—A Republican View: Was Rational Debate Possible?

SPEECH
OF
HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD
OF WISCONSIN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in reporting to my constitutents at the close of this 1st session of the 89th Congress, I must say that after the major defeat which occurred in the last election, my primary task both as a member of the minority and as chairman of the conference of all 141 minority party members has been to battle to keep two party government alive and the Congress independent. I hope the battle has not been lost.

Certainly it is clear that the battle was and continues to be necessary. The President's majority leader of the Senate, MIKE MANSFIELD, Democrat, of Montana, acknowledged the deep need for such a battle when he confessed the serious deficiencies contained in the laws passed by the Congress during this first session. He called on the second session to "spend less time on new legislation and more time correcting oversights in legislation we have just passed."

Speaking to a Democratic caucus of his Senate colleagues recently, Senator MANSFIELD said that the Congress "must tighten up the hasty enactments" and that it must eliminate from these recently enacted laws "a number of gaps and any number of rough edges, overextensions and overlaps."

This is a startling admission from the lips of the President's majority leader in the U.S. Senate. But the implications to be drawn from this statement and, more importantly, from the record that gave rise to this remarkable confession go much deeper that the spectacle of a Congress that has acted too hastily and too much as a satellite of the President.

In essence, Mr. Speaker, this is just one more symptom of an affliction that is becoming widespread in our society. This affliction stems in large measure but not exclusively from the overwhelming dominance of one political party both in its control of all key governmental units and in its ability through the sheer power it controls to dominate all facets of the communications media.

This has led, wittingly or unwittingly, to a situation in this country where much more than the Republican Party is the loser—the real loser is the fundamental underpinnings of representative government—in short, the process of rational debate on public issues. I intend to demonstrate that this is fast becoming the rule rather than the exception through example after example of what went on during the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

But, before that, Mr. Speaker, I would like to develop exactly what I mean in a little more detailed examination.

Under our representative government, it has been traditionally the practice that the people adhere to the laws that they, in effect, have given themselves. The process through which the people evolve their own laws is a twofold process: they elect Representatives to Congress to represent their interests and to evolve in a formal sense the laws that will govern the people, but the people themselves also participate directly and indirectly in this evolution through communications with their Representatives, through public statements, letterwriting campaigns, and a host of other activities.

The elements contained in this twofold process can, in the final analysis, all be lumped together under the heading of "public discussion."

This process is faltering in America.

Meaningful discussion and public debate are losing ground to superficial but effective appeals to emotion and passion. Yes, we use more words than ever in what appears to be public discussion. But, in many instances, the profusion of words tends to hide rather than reveal the truth. The unfortunate tendency, fanned by a too-powerful Central Government, is to label particular positions "good" or "evil" even before public debate on their merits has begun.

A good example of this is the recently enacted medicare legislation. There was little tolerance displayed for discussing the prudence of the particular solution proposed. Anyone who attempted to debate the specific aspects of the solution were automatically classed as calloused, reactionary, and, in general, against old people.

Nothing could be further from the truth as evidenced by the fact that a substantial portion of the legislation that was finally enacted was in fact the Republican alternative advanced and developed by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. BYRNES].

Yet the general impression conveyed to the great majority of citizens, was that Republicans in seeking to debate the provisions of medicare were in fact opposed to the enactment of any form of aid to our elder citizens for medical and hospital costs. This, of course, was not the case. Republicans sought to provide a solution that would not penalize young people and low income people through an oppressive payroll tax that taxed the first dollar of earnings. We recognized what Senator ROBERT KENNEDY, Democrat, of New York, later voiced as reported in the New York Times, that "we'll have to go to the general revenue for funds; we can't raise social security taxes." He pointed out:

> Social security benefits are inadequate and they should be doubled.

But he apparently recognized what Republicans have attempted to convey for a long time, that the oppressive payroll tax penalizes those who can afford it least. Social security was meant to be a retirement fund and, if confined to that, the system could handle its obligations without undue stress. Whether it can also handle other exceedingly costly benefits such as hospital care without imposing intolerable burdens on low income citizens is highly doubtful.

In an atmosphere of rational discussions, this would have been recognized and a more equitable and workable solution than finnacing hospital costs through a regressive payroll tax would most probably have been found.

The same kind of atmosphere prevailed in the evolution of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Unlike the other party, Republicans in their 1964 platform recognized that voting rights is the key to all other civil rights. The platform called for "such additional administrative or legislative actions as may be required to end the denial, for whatever unlawful reason, of the right to vote."

The other platform made no mention of voting rights.

Republicans in the House and the Senate introduced voting rights legislation in the last session before the administration even decided to present a bill.

The administration bill, when presented, provided a remedy for discrimination only in 6 Southern States and Alaska and in 37 counties in certain other States—including 1 county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine—a clear substitution of one form of discrimination for another.

Recognizing this, Republicans attempted to improve the administration legislation by providing a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The result? Loud charges and denunciations of Republicans as being against voting rights legislation.

Even the highest officeholder in the land contributed directly to this process when he said, on July 10, that the Republican substitute "would have seriously damaged and diluted the guarantee of the right to vote for all Americans."

No debate on its merits; just a flat denunciation.

The process I have described of labeling positions good or evil without any meaningful public debate on their merits often leads to a reluctance on the part of responsible citizens to engage in rational and meaningful debate on controversial issues.

Obviously, Mr. Speaker, no one likes to place himself in the position of debating whether to adopt an evil policy.

The consequence is that the evil policy is automatically excluded from the discussion process.

And whole segments of opinion are systematically suppressed.

The respected columnist, William S. White, writing in the Washington Post deplored the atmosphere that is beginning to pervade this country. He deserves quoting:

> In short, a widely pervasive rhetoric among chic politicians and commentators is evolving a geometrically impossible figure. In their view of politics there is a right line—which, of course, is bad. There is then a central area in this absurd parallelogram—but there isn't any left line at all. In this wonderfully simplified arrangement everybody who is not a bad fellow on the bad right is simply a good fellow at the center; a "moderate," as the saying goes. Nobody remains to be on the left; because, like the right, the left is a term toward which the national mood is not kind.

White said that the Republican Party "in an institutional sense" is the principal victim of "this distortion of semantics and of definition, simply because it shelters more true conservatives and relatively more ultraconservatives than does the Democratic Party."

He goes on:

But if the situation is unfair to the great bulk of the Republicans as men and women innocent of the slightest taint of far-right extremism—not to mention to millions of conservative Democrats—it is much more unfair to something more basic. This something which is being victimized is the inherent right of the people to a system of political discussion which at least in its definition of terms is intellectually just to all the participants, and not merely overly kind to one set of them.

A political dialog based upon oversimplified rubbish is not worthy of adult minds. Nor will it in the long run foster wise and grownup decisions on men and issues.

Mr. Speaker, the atmosphere which Mr. White describes is becoming more rather than less prevalent in this country. And it is evident not only in public policy areas dealing with domestic matters but in foreign policy considerations as well.

A particularly flagrant example occurred earlier in the year with regard to our actions in Vietnam.

In the example to which I refer, the majority leader of the U.S. Senate was quoted by the UP as having charged GOP leaders with "demanding an alternative more suitable to Genghis Khan or to the Communists than to the United States."

One would expect, Mr. Speaker, that the minority leader of the House had called on the President to launch a preemptive nuclear attack on the Soviet Union or Red China rather than to call merely for a better use of our air and sea power against more significant military targets in North Vietnam.

Because this example would serve as a useful case study of the kind of suppression of rational debate to which I refer, under unanimous consent it will be included in the RECORD at the end of my remarks. This case study will include my initial statements of June 14 and June 21, early statements by Minority Leader GERALD FORD, the intemperate remarks of Senator MANSFIELD and Senator CHURCH on the floor of the Senate, and my reply of July 16 to the Senate majority leader.

Mr. Speaker, an isolated instance of this kind could be overlooked if it were merely an isolated instance. But it is much more than that. It is merely one of the countless examples one could cite of the studied refusal of an overwhelmingly dominant party to engage in rational debate on the important issues of our time.

Subsequent events have vindicated the House minority leader's call for rendering the SAM missile sites ineffective before they became operational and before American pilots were lost.

Yet, the mere suggestion by the House minority leader that this country take certain actions—which as a matter of fact it later was compelled to take—called forth, not reasoned discussion of his proposal but abuse and denunciation.

Mr. Speaker, this is one aspect in the foreign policy area of the suppression of rational debate. There are certainly others. And, as we have seen they abound on the domestic level as well.

My remarks today in my report to my constituents was meant to deal primarily with the domestic issues that were hastily enacted by the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

It has been said that this Congress will go down in history as the outstanding example so far of a Congress that has wilfully given up its power to the Executive and that performed almost exclusively as a rubberstamp for the Executive.

In my remarks to this body on March 1, 1965, I said:

The Congress of the United States exists to serve the citizens of the United States—not the executive branch of the U.S. Government. This body is a full partner in the process, not a poor relation.

* * * * *

I do not say that Congress should, or Republicans should automatically oppose every request of the Executive. I do say that Congress should, and I pledge you that every Republican will carefully weigh every such request.

We have heard the Chief Executive speak to the Congress and tell us of his plans and programs for the Nation. We know that many of his party in the Congress will support all of these as a matter of course. We know that the sheer mathematics of political reality means that most will pass.

We also know, however, that there is danger that it will be only mathematics, and not political morality, that will guide many of these passages.

And so it was, Mr. Speaker. Sheer mathematics and an abrogation of its duties and responsibilities in this first session led to the passage of so many pieces of legislation without due reflection, without full hearings in committee and without sufficient debate on the floor that the President's own majority leader in the Senate was moved to call for a slowdown and a reevaluation of what had been hastily enacted.

What were some of these hastily enacted pieces of legislation that were steamrollered throughout the Congress?

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act, of which Democratic Congresswoman EDITH GREEN, of Oregon, said during debate on the floor of the House:

Today it seems to me we have in the House a determined effort to silence those who are in disagreement.

The bill was faulty, among other reasons, because it was reported out of committee in great haste. The Wall Street Journal noted that the committee "under prodding from an impatient White House * * * deliberated all of 20 minutes." The handling of this piece of legislation was called a mockery of the legislative process by Democratic Congressman PUCINSKI, of Illinois. At least 10 of 25 amendments were rejected on the floor without discussion due to the gag-rule limitation on debate.

The bill to repeal section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act was railroaded through a cowed and subservient Congress. No amendments were permitted on the floor of the House. An amendment which the Senate committee later adopted as germane—the religious conscience clause—was excluded from consideration in the House because it was said to be nongermane as were several other amendments designed to protect the rights of individual workers.

The Appalachia regional development bill was railroaded through the House without so much as a comma being changed because the word from downtown was to enact it without change.

The arts and humanities bill was forced through the Education and Labor Committee after about 15 minutes of consideration, reporting a bill the minority members had seen for the first time that day after the majority railroaded several significant amendments with no deliberation through the committee.

The Highway Beautification Act was considered by the Public Works Committee on July 20, 21 and 22. The hearings were then adjourned with the understanding that the complex proposals should be studied further and acted upon early next year. With no warnings, hearings were reopened on September 3 and 7, while the committee and its staff were absorbed with the Omnibus Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control Act. The act was debated and passed by the House on October 7 with the final vote being taken well after midnight. At one point in the proceedings the House voted 121 to 84 to allow but 8 minutes of debate on five separate amendments.

The voting rights bill was considered by the Judiciary Committee. Administration forces on that committee methodically rejected all significant amendments offered by Republicans. On the House floor the same general attitude prevailed. With the exception of the Cramer amendment to prevent election irregularities, any significant amendment offered by a Republican was blindly voted down.

Mr. Speaker, these are some examples. There are many more. Again, referring to my March 1 remarks when the handwriting on the wall could already be seen, I emphasized:

We Republicans stand ready to work with all of our colleagues in the Congress to assure that the voice of the American people still may be heard at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue.

And we warn all of our colleagues that, unless the legislative branch stands for something more than a rubber stamp, it is not Republicans who will be a minority—it will be the entire Congress, dwarfed and dragooned by a great and overbearing executive branch.

And so it is the Congress that is becoming, as one political scientist tells us, something like the House of Lords in the British system with little intrinsic importance and even less real power.

We have heard a great deal, Mr. Speaker, in this last session of Congress about the great American consensus that is being fashioned at the hands of our President. But our experience in the past 12 months should make clear to everyone that the great consensus of the great planned society really boils down to a great conformity.

And conformity precludes the exercise of rational debate which is one of the basic ingredients not only of a free society but of a representative government.

By precluding rational debate on measures which are to be enacted into law one obvious byproduct is that many inequities and defects will result because majority Members fall into the habit of taking everything the administration proposes on faith and by direction and because minority Members lack the votes to effect any changes or to force real deliberation.

It has been said that it is better to debate a problem without resolving it than to resolve a problem without debating it.

One obvious example which illustrates the results of resolving a problem without debating its ramifications fully flowed from the legislation which increased benefits for social security recipients. By not exploring all of the ramifications of its actions, the Congress inadvertently caused the termination or reduction of the pensions of tens of thousands of veterans.

The added social security payment meant a reduction of the income of these veterans. One hard-pressed constituent, for example, wrote:

> It just isn't right to increase his (her husband's) social security $73.68 a year and cut his (veterans) pension $300 a year.

No, it is not right but that is the price the little guy pays for a Congress that lets itself become a subservient arm of the executive.

And that is by no means the whole bill. That particular veteran and thousands like him are paying a lot more than the visible cut in his pension.

He is paying a national sales tax that will all but wipe out his 7-percent increase in social security benefits even if his veterans's pension is restored to full value.

That sales tax is inflation.

Inflation cuts the purchasing power of the dollar and for those, like this veteran, who are on fixed incomes, a few cents knocked out of the buying power of the few dollars he receives each month means a great deal.

And inflation is caused, among other things, by ill-advised Government policies that pump huge amounts of borrowed dollars into the economy.

Appropriations in this last session alone amounted to $119 billion. And the war in Vietnam has not been adequately financed yet.

This is $36 billion more than was appropriated by the last session of Congress under the Eisenhower administration. Add to the $119 billion, $7 billion in backdoor spending authorized by this Congress already and $5 to $7 billion still needed for the war in Vietnam which will be requested next January, and a more realistic picture of what this Congress has spent unfolds.

Where do we go from here, Mr. Speaker?

Some have said that this was a "do everything Congress."

Well, in terms of outspending every other Congress in history, it was.

In terms of injecting itself into practically every aspect of our citizen's lives, it was.

In terms of encroaching on the rights of the States and localities, it was.

In terms of a hundred other areas and actions of the Federal Government, it was.

But one major columnist has pointed out that in another sense the 89th Congress so far has been a "do-nothing Congress."

It did nothing to curb or stop the rise of serious crime in America.

It did nothing to stop the irresponsible spending of billions of dollars of taxpayer's money as the purchasing power of the dollar steadily weakened.

It did nothing to halt the reckless misuse of union power in the industrial field.

It did nothing to curtail the abuses that are going on abroad in the foreign-aid program.

It did nothing about trading with the enemy.

It did nothing about a lot of other top priority items in the domestic field and in foreign policy.

Mr. Speaker, the record I have outlined of the 1st session of the 89th Congress which only treats selected highlights demonstrates, in my view, clearly and unequivocally the ill effects of a representative system of government that is heavily out of balance.

The traditional checks and balances of our system of government—the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government—were designed to serve as the brake system which would prevent the unchecked use or abuse of power under our system of government.

But as the historical record indicates, the brake system can only work when it is vitalized with the brake fluid of two strong and independent political parties.

When a heavy imbalance exists as is the case today, the whole system begins to break down.

All Americans, Democrats, Republicans, and independents have a vital stake in a restoration of a strong two-party system in this country.

Mr. Speaker, even with no chance of countering the mathematical superiority that faced us in this first session, Republicans were not idle.

Alternative proposals were offered to major bills proposed by the administration and although systematically rejected in most instances, a cohesive effort was made by Republicans to institute a public dialog and present their case in meaningful and rational terms.

The distinguished minority leader (Mr. GERALD R. FORD) has made an outstanding contribution in outlining much of the Republican record in his observations on the 1st session of the 89th Congress.

Republicans offered sound proposals, had some impact on legislation and executive actions, presented a cohesive front, reorganized the Republican conference, issued timely position papers and always attempted to be constructive in their alternatives. Their own initiated proposals and their criticism.

REPUBLICAN ALTERNATIVES

For six of the major bills proposed by the administration and passed in this session, there were alternative proposals supported by a majority of the House Republicans. In every case the Republican alternative dealt more adequately with the problem without unnecessary extension of Federal power.

VOTING RIGHTS

The administration's bill on voting rights (H.R. 6400), as originally introduced, provided as we have seen, a remedy for discrimination only in six southern States and Alaska, and in 37 counties in certain other States, including one county each in Arizona, Idaho, and Maine. These strange results were achieved by language which limited the application of the bill to places which used literacy tests or tests of moral character for voters and in which fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in the 1964 election.

Republican House members and Republican Senators introduced voting rights legislation before the administration got around to deciding to present a bill.

The basic difference between the administration proposal and the major Republican alternative, the Ford-McCulloch bill (H.R. 7896), lay in the fact that the Republican bill provided a remedy for unconstitutional discrimination wherever it occurs and regardless of the device used to achieve discrimination.

The administration bill wiped out literacy and other tests wherever fewer than 50 percent of the voting-age population voted in 1964. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not disturb nondiscriminatory qualifications for voting established by States.

The administration bill required Federal court approval of any new voting laws passed by the States to which it applied. The Ford-McCulloch bill did not restrict State authority to enact new nondiscriminatory voting laws.

The administration bill, as originally introduced, approved of the poll tax, providing that Federal examiners would collect it in areas in which they operated to register voters. The Ford-McCulloch bill directed the Attorney General to initiate a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the poll tax.

MEDICARE

The medicare bill, included in the Social Security Amendments of 1965, is an amalgamation of the administration proposal and a Republican alternative offered by Representative JOHN BYRNES, of Wisconsin (H.R. 7057).

In contrast to the bill originally proposed by the administration early in the session, the Byrnes bill provided a system of insurance for the elderly.

First. Covering all medical expenses, not just hospitalization.

Second. Offering voluntary rather than compulsory coverage.

Third. Financed by a combination of general tax revenues and premium payments by the insured, avoiding the regressive social security tax.

ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL AID

The administration's bill to aid elementary and secondary schools (H.R. 2362), presented as a measure to assist poverty stricken children, is in fact the first general aid to primary and second-

ary schools passed by the Congress. Under this bill, $2.1 million will be granted by the Federal Government to Westchester County, the wealthiest in New York State, for the education of children from poor families. Sunflower County, Miss., with median family income only one-fifth that of Westchester County, will receive only $745,000 for the education of children from poor families.

Republicans sought to make it a bill which would do what it professed to do: aid poor children without undue Federal control of State, local, and private schools.

The Republican effort was directed toward, first, channeling Federal funds only into areas of need within each State; second, recognizing differences in financial ability and need among States; third, concentrating the program upon the needs of deprived children; and fourth, reducing the discretionary authority of the U.S. Commissioner of Education.

A Republican approach to the problem of expanding and improving elementary and secondary schools was incorporated in H.R. 6349, offered by Representatives WILLIAM AYRES, of Ohio, and THOMAS CURTIS, of Missouri, and others. This bill relied chiefly on the device of tax credits for individuals who pay for schools through State and local taxes directly or indirectly as well as for those who incur expenses for students in higher education. This bill would have diverted $3 to $5 billion annually from the Federal Treasury and made it available for additional support for education at the State and local level.

In addition, H.R. 6349 provided $300 million annually to the States for the education of deprived children aged 3 to 7. Unlike Project Head Start under the poverty program, which provides uneven summer schooling for some deprived children, this bill proposed a systematic national effort to give preschool education to children who need it.

APPALACHIAN REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT ACT

The administration bill (S. 3), which became law, provided for an Appalachian Regional Commission with authority in 360 counties in 10 States to plan the expenditure of funds for various public works, particularly highway construction, in a region that includes many severely depressed areas.

The Republican alternative, offered by Representative WILLIAM C. CRAMER, of Florida (H.R. 4466), would have extended Federal assistance to all economically depressed areas throughout the Nation instead of to a single region. Unlike the administration bill, which provides aid to prosperous as well as depressed areas in the region to which it applies, the Cramer bill proposed to limit aid to places suffering economic distress and high unemployment.

The Public Works and Development Act of 1965—Public Law 89-136—is, like the Cramer bill, a measure intended to assist depressed areas throughout the Nation. It raises serious problems of duplication and conflict with the Appalachian Regional Development Act.

CABINET DEPARTMENT DEALING WITH URBAN AFFAIRS

The administration bill establishing a new Cabinet agency, the Department of Housing and Community Affairs (H.R. 6927), was defective in many respects. It did no more than confer a more prestigious title on certain existing agencies. It brought together in the new department less than one-third of the Federal Government's housing activities and only a minor fraction of Federal activities and funds aimed at assisting States and municipalities to solve the problems of metropolitan areas. As passed by the House of Representatives, it made no provision for the continued existence of the Federal Housing Administration, a defect which Republicans sought to correct and which was finally remedied in conference.

The Republican alternative, offered by the gentlewoman from New Jersey [Mrs. DWYER] (H.R. 5173), and several other Republicans, would have created an agency in the Executive Office of the President to deal with metropolitan area problems. This agency would have been a center of coordination and information for all Federal programs and activities relating to urban areas.

HOUSING

The administration's housing bill (H.R. 5840), as originally presented, offered a scheme of rent supplements for families whose incomes were above the levels set for public housing tenants. Under this plan, some families with an income of more than $11,000 in some places would be eligible to have a part of their rent paid by the Federal Government. Beyond this, the bill provided largely for a continuance of existing Federal housing programs.

A Republican substitute, offered by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey (H.R. 9501), sought to modify existing housing policy in several important respects:

First. By giving residential redevelopment in urban renewal a higher priority.

Second. By stimulating rehabilitation of existing sound housing.

Third. By utilizing existing privately owned rental housing for low-income tenants.

Fourth. By lower interest rates on loans for college housing and housing for the elderly.

Fifth. By providing new FHA mortgage financing for veterans.

Many of the features of the Widnall bill were incorporated in the measure which was enacted.

REPUBLICAN IMPACT ON LEGISLATION

In spite of the fact that Republicans in this Congress hold only one-third of the seats, there were occasions when the Republican minority exerted an important influence on legislation.

A 7-percent increase in social security benefits was approved—a proposal which Republicans made in 1964, but which was voted down in the last Congress by Democrats acting on White House orders.

The repeal of Federal excise taxes—a step which Republicans have advocated for many years and which was called for in the Republican platform of 1964—was accomplished this session. In 1964, a Republican proposal to repeal retail excise taxes was defeated by Democratic votes.

Other changes made in the social security system were influenced by Republican initiatives and conform to long-standing Republican policy. One was the liberalization of the earnings limitation beyond which elderly pople become ineligible to collect their social security benefits. The other was the liberalization of coverage requirements for people over the age of 72 in order to qualify for benefits.

Similarly, Republicans took the lead in advocating changes in tax policy to lighten the burden of medical expenses. The Congress repealed maximum limitations on income tax deductions for medical care insurance and authorized a deduction of one-half the cost of medical care insurance up to $150.

The medicare bill passed by the Congress incorporates in its provisions much of the Republican bill offered by Representative JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin. This bill is not limited to hospital care as the administration recommended. In its final version it covers doctors' bills and other medical costs in provisions borrowed from the Byrnes bill.

The Housing Act passed by Congress contains six significant features from the Republican substitute proposed by Representative WILLIAM B. WIDNALL, of New Jersey:

First. Low-income private housing: This new program will provide immediate relief to low-income families who have been living in substandard housing in those areas where there is a long waiting list for public housing. It will use any adequate existing housing on a voluntary basis at a cost not exceeding present public housing rental levels, without the gigantic expense of constructing new public housing units.

Second. Veterans housing program: The first major veterans' benefits legislation affecting so-called cold war veterans ever to be enacted by the Congress, this will also apply to an estimated 21 million veterans who have failed to use or qualify for VA home loan benefits. Comprehensive benefits include no down payments for homes costing up to $15,000, with as little as $500 down on a $20,000 home.

Third. Low-interest-rate college housing: Conferees accepted this proposal, despite the firm opposition of the Johnson administration. It will provide $1.2 billion in lower rent college housing, avoiding an expensive Federal grant program.

Fourth. Low-interest elderly housing: To prevent the phasing out of a highly successful program administered by churches and other nonprofit organizations, a program with rents at a level they can afford will be available to elderly people of low income.

Fifth. Compensation for condemnees: This provides, for the first time, prompt and equitable compensation for homeowners and small businessmen displaced

by urban renewal and other housing programs.

Sixth. Rehabilitation loan program: Sponsored by Republicans in the 1964 Housing Act, the low-interest loan program for tenants, homeowners and small businessmen in urban renewal areas received a $400 million authorization. This was not requested by the administration.

A notable improvement in the housing bill was made with the adoption of an amendment offered by Representative JOHN C. KUNKEL, of Pennsylvania, aiding homeowners who became unemployed because of the closing of Federal installations. It placed a moratorium on FHA-insured loan payments of such persons and authorized the Secretary of Defense to acquire their properties for FHA disposal when the owners were unable to dispose of them on reasonable terms.

The Voting Rights Act as passed contains at least two provisions of Republican origin. One was the clean elections provision proposed by Representative WILLIAM CRAMER, of Florida, inserted in the bill over the opposition of a majority of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. The bill as finally passed dealt with the question of the poll tax by directing the Attorney General to secure a speedy court test of the constitutionality of the tax—the approach used in the Ford-McCulloch bill.

The immigration bill contains a ceiling on immigrants from the Western Hemisphere because of Republican effort. Because of opposition from the White House and the State Department, an amendment to bring such immigration under control, presented by Representative CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota, was voted down by Democrats in the House. This provision prevailed in the Senate, however, and was incorporated in the final version of the law.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support saved for State Governors some power of veto over projects under the poverty program within their States in opposition to the effort of most Democrats to eliminate any vestige of State control over this program.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for the rent supplement program under the Housing Act until guidelines in keeping with the intent of Congress are drafted by the Housing Administrator.

Republican initiative and solid Republican support led to the denial of funds for a federally directed National Teacher Corps because no hearings had been held in the House on this proposal.

On the other hand, an initial Republican success—the prohibition of the use of agricultural funds for aid to Nasser voted by the House at the motion of Representative ROBERT MICHEL, of Illinois, on January 26—was reversed under severe administration pressure on February 8.

REPUBLICAN INFLUENCE ON EXECUTION ACTION

In some instances the policy of the President and other executive agencies responded to Republican proposals.

On April 30, the House Republican leadership proposed the creation of an inter-American police force to restore peace and order in the Dominican Republic. On May 3, the administration offered this proposal to the Organization of American States.

The appropriation of an additional $700 million for defense as a means of emphasizing national unity and national resolve in the face of Communist aggression on two continents was suggested by Minority Leader GERALD R. FORD at a White House Conference on Vietnam problems. The administration subsequently requested the increased appropriation. It was granted with the unanimous support of Republican Members of both House and Senate.

Since mid-1963, Republicans in Congress have been urging the administration to take the lead in convening an international monetary conference to deal with the urgent balance-of-payments problem. In 1965, the urging was renewed by Representative ROBERT ELLSWORTH, of Kansas, and by the joint Republican leadership on July 1. On July 10, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Fowler announced that the U.S. Government would issue a call for such a conference.

Representative GLENARD LIPSCOMB, of California, WILLIAM MINSHALL, of Ohio; and I as members of the Defense Appropriations Committee brought to public attention the inadequacy of the administration's defense budget for the prosecution of the war in Vietnam. In order to give the appearance of holding Federal expenditure below the level of $100 billion in the fiscal year and to leave room for Great Society legislation, the administration devised its defense budget on guidelines set in 1963, which did not take account of the involvement of 150,000 and more American troops in a shooting war in Asia. The result, as the Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee under Senator STENNIS has found, is a dangerous drain on personnel, equipment, and ammunition in other parts of the world.

REPUBLICAN SOLIDITY

Republican ranks in the House of Representatives held fast on important votes throughout the session. On the 26 rollcall votes in which a party position was formulated by the House Republican Policy Committee headed by Representative JOHN RHODES of Arizona, 87 percent of the votes cast by Republican Members were in support of the party position and only 13 percent in opposition.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PARTIES

During this past session of the Congress, there were 93 rollcall votes on which a majority of the Republican Members of the House voted in opposition to a majority of the Democrats. On these votes in the aggregate, 81.4 percent of the Republican votes were on the side of the majority of their party and 80.2 percent of the Democratic votes were in agreement with the majority of their party.

These 93 votes reveal some significant differences between Republicans and Democrats.

The general conclusions to be drawn from these votes is a Republican preference for a more discriminating approach to national problems. Republicans opposed and sought to modify the loosely drawn, ambiguous, blank check approach of the Democratic majority.

Republicans showed themselves more concerned than most Democrats about such things as prudent use of tax dollars, the danger of inflation fired by big increases in Government spending and unending deficits, the stifling of State, local, and private initiative by the spread of an overweening Central Government, the peril of runaway bureaucracy, and the application of the commonsense principles of good management in Federal programs.

For all of these reasons, a majority of Republicans in the House of Representatives, in contrast to a majority of the Democrats, voted against such things as—

Doubling the authorization for the poverty program at a time when loose administration prompted the Committee on Education and Labor to launch a full investigation of the program.

A rent supplement program whereby taxpayers would help to pay the rent of families earning in some areas more than $8,000 a year and possessing assets of as much as $25,000.

A foreign aid program of $3.2 billion which all agree needs dractic overhauling.

A farm bill which will mean that Government payments in 1966 will equal one-third of realized net farm income but will not solve the farm problem.

A Public Works and Redevelopment Act modeled after the discredited Area Redevelopment Act and the Advanced Public Works Act.

A Highway Beautification Act rushed through the House without adequate deliberation.

Republican Members even voted against a pay raise for themselves, again unlike a majority of the Democrats.

In order to provide a more consistent and vigorous foreign policy, Republicans unsuccessfully attempted to place restrictions of foreign aid funds so that the American taxpayer would not be financing anti-American regimes or assisting nations that are helping North Vietnam in the war in which 150,000 American fighting men are now engaged. For these reasons most Republicans supported a prohibition against American aid to nations engaged in supplying North Vietnam and against further shipment of agricultural commodities to Egypt's Nasser and Indonesia's Sukarno.

In order to preserve the integrity of State and local governments, most Republicans sought to—

Retain the veto power of State governors over poverty program projects.

Maintain the power of the States to forbid compulsory unionism.

Permit the people of each State to decide the basis of representation in one house of their State legislature.

Defeat appropriations for a federally controlled National Teachers Corp.

Secure legislative recognition of the rights of States to set standards of water purity in rivers instead of trans-

ferring this authority to the Federal Government,

Maintain State authority to determine the use to be made of areas adjoining highways.

Maintain the right of States to deny the suffrage to people unable to read or write the English language.

PLANNING AND RESEARCH COMMITTEE

Early in the session the Planning and Research Committee was established as an organ of the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives. This new agency was created to help mobilize activity toward the development of long-term solutions to national problems.

The Planning and Research Committee issued in August a report entitled, Vietnam: Some Neglected Aspects of the Historical Record." Columnist Roscoe Drummond said of this report:

This is loyal opposition at its best.

Headed by Representative CHARLES E. GOODELL, of New York, this committee supervises the activities of 13 task forces, each of which has spent this year in the study of major public policy problems in its field of jurisdiction.

Several of the task forces have made reports containing constructive proposals in 1965. All will make a substantial contribution to the positive Republican program in 1966.

The task forces and their chairmen are:

Agriculture, ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota.

Congressional reform and minority staffing, JAMES CLEVELAND, of New Hampshire.

Economic opportunity, PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, of New Jersey.

Education, ALBERT H. QUIE, of Minnesota.

Federal civil service, ANCHER NELSEN, of Minnesota.

Latin America, cochairman F. BRADFORD MORSE, of Massachusetts, cochairman DONALD RUMSFELD, of Illinois.

NATO and Atlantic Community, PAUL FINDLEY, of Illinois.

Nuclear affairs, CRAIG HOSMER, of California.

Platform implementation, JAMES BATTIN, of Montana.

Unemployment compensation system, JOHN W. BYRNES of Wisconsin.

United Nations, JOHN B. ANDERSON of Illinois.

Urban and suburban affairs, CLARK MACGREGOR, of Minnesota.

Voting rights, WILLIAM M. MCCULLOCH, of Ohio.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION BILLS

Several enactments of the past session received strong Republican support. Republican House Members judged each bill on its merits and gave approval to administration measures that served the public interest.

Among the bills that were given strong Republican support on final passage were the following: The higher education bill; vocational training loan bill; the immigration bill; the Export Control Act; constitutional amendment on Presidential succession; the Older Americans Act of 1965; various bills in the field of health; excise tax cuts; manpower development and training bill; expansion of veterans' benefits; various anticrime bills; pay raises for military and civilian personnel; legislation for the control of air and water pollution and water resources planning; and the voting rights bill.

A SAMPLING OF REPUBLICAN LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

Republican Members of the House of Representatives introduced bills which comprise a comprehensive, broad-gaged, and constructive legislative program.

At least 256 bills expanding and liberalizing social security were offered by Republicans. These bills dealt with such matters as reduction of the age requirements for beneficiaries, increasing the maximum age for eligibility of children, expansion of the system to groups not presently covered, and increasing the amount of earnings permissible without sacrifice of benefits.

At least 61 Repubican bills were introduced for the reduction or repeal of excise taxes.

At least 59 Republicans introduced voting rights legislation, generally patterned after the Ford-McCulloch bill.

At least 54 Republicans introduced bills providing for a new program of medical care for the aged. The three major approaches were typified in the proposals of Representatives THOMAS B. CURTIS (H.R. 3728); Representative FRANK T. BOW (H.R. 21), and Representative JOHN W. BYRNES (H.R. 7057).

At least 46 Republicans proposed a constitutional amendment to permit the people to employ factors in addition to population in the apportionment of one house of State legislatures.

At least 27 Republicans introduced bills to establish a coordinating office concerned with urban area affairs in the Executive Office of the President.

At least 28 Republicans introduced bills establishing a Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government to do the job which two Hoover Commissions did in the past.

Nine Republicans introduced a freedom of information bill defining the authority of Federal agencies and officials to withhold information in order to make available a maximum of information to citizens and taxpayers.

The House Republican Conference adopted the recommendation of its task force on education, headed by Representative ALBERT QUIE, of Minnesota, for legislation granting a tax credit against the costs of higher education. A large number of Members have sponsored bills like Mr. QUIE's which permits a credit up to an amount of $325 per student annually.

At least 78 Republicans have now introduced the Human Investment Act, a bill granting credits against the Federal income tax to business for the expenses of retraining present or prospective employees to upgrade their skills.

At least 60 Republicans have introduced legislation of the type recommended by the House Republican task force on agriculture, headed by Representative ODIN LANGEN, of Minnesota, to establish a World Food Study Commission to determine population trends and food needs for the future.

This list could be extended indefinitely. It is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that in the face of overwhelming odds Republicans gave a good accounting of themselves in the session just ended. But it is also clear that the future of the two-party system in this country and the restoration of meaningful public dialogue in the hammering out of programs and solutions hinges most directly on the early return in this country to two strong and independent political parties.

The material referred to above follows:

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE LAIRD, JUNE 14, 1965

We may be dangerously close to ending Republican support of our present Vietnam policy. This possibility exists because the American people do not know how far the administration is prepared to go with large-scale use of ground forces in order to save face in Vietnam.

The American people deserve an answer to this question. The Republican Party should base its future support on the nature of that answer.

In the absence of this answer, we can only conclude that present policy is aimed not at victory over the Communist insurgency nor at driving Communists out of South Vietnam but rather at some sort of negotiated settlement which would include Communist elements in a coalition government.

If such is the objective of the Johnson administration, then the charge can be leveled that this administration is overcommitting ground forces in this area of the world and needlessly exposing the lives of thousands of American boys.

In several public utterances, administration spokesmen have implied that the ground force buildup in Vietnam is Eisenhower or Republican policy. Such an implication is just the opposite of the truth.

The Eisenhower-Dulles policy scrupulously avoided a large-scale use of conventional ground forces in southeast Asia. As a matter of fact, at the time President Eisenhower left office, there were only 773 members of the U.S. military mission in Vietnam, and the situation at that time was much less critical than it is now, although we have more than 50,000 American troops there today. Indications are that the American troop buildup in Vietnam could go as high as 100,000 American boys.

Well over 2 years ago, interested free world Asian countries offered to assist U.S. efforts in that area of the world. This aid included the offer of ground troops and other assistance from such countries as South Korea, Formosa, and Thailand. This aid was rejected by the United States at that time.

Today, thousands of American boys are fighting a war and many are losing their lives because the U.S. Government has failed on occasion after occasion to make the right decision at the right time.

If our objective is a negotiated settlement, it is time to use other means than the needless sacrifice of American lives to attain that objective. Once American troops are committed in any situation, a top priority objective must be to take those steps necessary to protect American lives and minimize the number of casualties.

One such step, already long overdue, is to retarget our bombing raids on more significant targets in North Vietnam. A major transportation and supply area is the port city of Haiphong. To continue to allow the unhindered flow of war materials in and out of that area only insures greater American

casualties in future Vietcong offensive actions.

Republicans will continue to support President Johnson when his actions in the Vietnamese situation serve American and free world interests and when they do not needlessly waste or endanger American lives.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD STATEMENT BY MR. LAIRD, JUNE 21, 1965

As can be seen from a reading of the (June 14) statement, my principal objective was to question sincerely and seriously the large-scale commitment of American lives to bring about a political settlement of the war.

Many have interpreted by remarks as a call for a total military victory in Vietnam. In point of fact, my statement did not address itself to the wisdom or folly of the President's stated objectives in Vietnam. It merely stated what seems to be an obvious conclusion that the President's policy is to obtain some sort of a negotiated settlement and it questioned the means the President appears to be taking to bring about negotiations.

To place this in perspective, let me make clear that it is my conviction that prior to the President's Baltimore speech of April 7, 1965, there were three options available to the United States in Vietnam: First, a military victory; second, a negotiated settlement; and third, withdrawal.

Since the President's very clear implications in his Baltimore speech in which he called for unconditional discussions, the options available to the United States have been reduced to two: a negotiated settlement or withdrawal.

This reduction to two options with its consequent ruling out of the option of a military victory is clearly deductible from the stated position of the President of the United States. My statement of June 14 did not address itself to the merits of the President's decision to rule out military victory as one of the options available to the United States. Rather, it concerned itself solely with the wisdom of the means the President is using to bring about his own stated objective of negotiations.

My statement of June 14 merely sought to question the wisdom of the large-scale use of American troops to bring about a political end when other means are clearly available.

It is my firm conviction that since we are bearing the brunt of world criticism anyway because of the President's decision to go north with air strikes, logic would seem to dictate that we make more effective use of these air strikes than we have to date in order to bring about the political objectives of the administration. I find it extremely difficult—as I am sure the American people do—to justify sacrificing American lives to attain political objectives when other means are available.

As suggested in my statement, it would seem far more logical to hit more significant military targets in our attempts to convince the Communists that it would be in their best interests to sit down with us at the conference table.

Mr. Speaker, on the morning of June 17, I participated in an interview on NBC's "Today" show, with Sander Vanocur, in which my views on the Vietnamese situation were again discussed.

Under unanimous consent, I place the interview on the "Today" show in the RECORD at this point.

The interview referred to follows:

"CONGRESSMAN MELVIN LAIRD IS INTERVIEWED

"Mr. HUGH DOWNS. In Washington, Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, chairman of the Republican conference in the House, said that he doubts the wisdom of giving full Republican support with no questions asked, to President Johnson's Vietnam policy. LAIRD suggests the Republicans should come up with their own policy for Vietnam, rather than following the administration down the line.

"Congressman LAIRD is in our Washington studios this morning with 'Today' program's Washington correspondent, Sander Vanocur. Gentlemen:

"(Congressman MELVIN LAIRD and Sander Vanocur are seen on TV screen, seated in studio.)

"Mr. VANOCUR. Good morning, Hugh. Congressman LAIRD, why have you come to this position now where you suggest that the Republicans who have supported the President on Vietnam are now, as you put it, perilously close to giving up that support?

"Congressman LAIRD. Well, Sander, I'd just like to say that we in the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, I think, have gone the extra step to support the President of the United States as far as the southeast Asia war is concerned. GERRY FORD, LES ARENDS, myself, and the other leaders of the House of Representatives on the minority side, have always gone the extra step to support the President of the United States, and we still support the firm action of the President in Vietnam. There are serious questions, however, as to whether we are fighting the proper kind of war, and there are questions about the future, and I believe that we in the minority party have a responsibility and duty to address to the President of the United States, and discuss from one end of this country to the other.

"The President chose, back late last year, to escalate the war as he has done to the use of bombing raids to the north, using air power. Now, the President is choosing to escalate the war on the ground in Vietnam. Personally, I think that this is the poorest choice of escalation that the President could possibly make, because we are choosing the very area where the Red Chinese, whom we are confronted with, and we have a confrontation with them in southeast Asia at the present time, are the strongest. And to imply that this is the policy of the former Republican administration, as a high administration spokesman did this past week, to accelerate and to escalate the ground war in Vietnam, is not the case, just because the Eisenhower-Dulles policy was just the opposite, that we should not tie down large-scale ground forces in southeast Asia.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Well, Congressman LAIRD, your statement of Monday seemed to suggest that the administration was remiss in not seeking total victory. Do you believe there is such a thing as total victory in that kind of a war?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, first I'd like to say that there were three alternatives available to the United States prior to the Baltimore speech of the President. One of them was military victory, the win policy that Secretary McNamara outlined to the Defense Appropriations Committee on which I serve, in March. And this was the objective and the policy of the United States in March in the testimony of the Secretary of Defense.

"Mr. VANOCUR. May I interrupt you just a second?

"Mr. LAIRD. Yes.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Did he say in that testimony that the United States could win the war?

"Mr. LAIRD. Yes, and that was the objective of the United States in southeast Asia and Vietnam. The second alternative, of course, was a negotiated settlement, and the third alternative was to withdraw. But after the Baltimore speech of President Johnson, in which he said our objective was to negotiate a settlement, he gave that implied implication to the world that that was our objective as far as Vietnam was concerned, then there were only two alternatives left to us: a negotiated settlement or withdrawal. You cannot talk about military victory in Vietnam when you already have established your policy objective as a negotiated settlement, and this is the objective now of the administration, if they have an objective. It seems to me that they have not been fair with the American people, or fair with even those of us in Congress, by not clearly setting forth their short-term aims, and long-term objectives as far as Vietnam is concerned.

"Mr. VANOCUR. What would be the aims of a Republican administration; what would be your aims in Vietnam?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, I personally think that we cannot go back on the established policy set forth by the President of the United States as far as his Baltimore speech is concerned. So we cannot repudiate this position that has been taken by the leader of our country, and I do not want to be in a position at any time where I will cause the Red Chinese or the Soviet Union to miscalculate the intentions of the United States of America to defend freedom throughout the world. Now, our objective as stated by the President in his Baltimore speech now is for a negotiated settlement. It seems to me that the North Vienamese are not interested in negotiations today, because they feel that they are winning the war. Now if we choose, as the President has chosen, to escalate the war along the ground, I believe we are choosing the area in which the North Vietnamese and the Red Chinese are the strongest, and I do not feel that that is the best way to bring about this objective that has been set forth by the President. Since the President decided to escalate the war in the air back late last year, we have not hit any significant military targets in North Vietnam. We have gotten the criticism throughout the world for our bombing raids that we knew we would get, and we expect this from certain quarters, but we have not hit any significant military targets. We have allowed the Soviet Union to bring military personnel into North Vietnam to establish SAM sites; we have the Haipong port in which large scale military shipments are coming in at this very time, and we have not done anything about stopping these particular shipments, either by a sea blockade of this particular port, or by using any of the raids to knock out this very great movement of military supplies and equipment.

"Mr. VANOCUR. But let's be candid. Doesn't this put you in a very enviable position for 1966, that if the war escalates on the ground, you can say, 'We in the Republican Party were against escalating the war, we didn't want American boys killed, and yet we were firmer than President Johnson about opposing the North Vietnamese?'

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, first I'd like to say that when I talk about these matters, I'm speaking as a member, a minority member, of the Defense Appropriations Committee. I do not know what the policy of my party will be in 1966's political campaign as far as this is concerned. But I'm sure that Republicans will be responsible in this area; they will put their country first and their party second, regardless of how that affects the political election. But I believe that discussion and dissent is important today in this area of foreign policy, particularly as we go forward and set future policies as far as it affects southeast Asia.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Now, what does this do to your position vis-a-vis the Senate Republican block. Now, is Senator DIRKSEN following the policies which you have advocated, have you discussed them with him?

"Mr. LAIRD. I do not believe that there is any difference between my position and that of a majority of the Republicans in the House and in the U.S. Senate. I know that I talked with my leader in the House of Representatives, Congressman GERRY FORD, who's doing an outstanding job as our new leader in the House of Representatives, and

there is no disagreement between Congressman FORD and myself. As a matter of fact, we work together in this particular area, and I have been in constant touch with Congressman FORD. Today we're filing the Defense appropriation report on the appropriation bill for 1966. We do not feel that the administration has faced up to its responsibilities even in this area. They have cut back on the amount of Defense requests, money requested for fiscal year 1966, so they could fund some other programs and come in with a budget under $100 billion. I know, as a member of this committee, that they'll have to come with supplemental appropriations during this year, to fund this Vietnam situation. They've already had to come with one for $700 million in 1965. They will have to come after January for further supplemental requests. They got the public reaction of a budget under $100 billion, they knew that Congress couldn't refuse to give them the funds to carry on the Vietnam war and we will give them these funds. But I think the American people should be advised of the fact that these supplemental requests for defense expenditures are forthcoming and the $100 billion budget figure was really a phony when it was submitted in January.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Congressman, at what point will the Republican Party in Congress, at what point in commitment of men to Vietnam, do you think the Republican Party will say, we can no longer support this? Will this eventuality come to pass?

"Mr. LAIRD. Well, this is a very difficult question, Sander, to answer, because when it comes to the point, now is the time to question the commitment of ground forces in South Vietnam. I do not believe we want to be in a position if the President goes forward and commits several hundred thousand men to Vietnam—and it looks now like we're already programing a hundred thousand men there—I do not believe we want to be in the position at any time to cause any miscalculation on the part of the Soviet Union or the Red Chinese as to the intentions of the United States of America. This is important. So, to give you a time element in this area, I think it would be a grave mistake, as far as I'm concerned.

"Mr. VANOCUR. Thank you very much, Congressman MELVIN LAIRD, of Wisconsin, a very powerful member of the House Republican group."

Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere hope that this discussion has served to clarify exactly what I was talking about in my attempts to discharge my responsibility as a member of the minority party. It is, after all, the duty of the minority party to insure that legitimate public discussion of administration policies—both foreign and domestic—take place on a continuing basis in the interests of keeping the American people fully informed about public and important issues.

STATEMENT BY REPRESENTATIVE GERALD R. FORD, REPUBLICAN LEADER, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON VIETNAM, JULY 1, 1965

Republicans will continue to disregard partisan considerations in foreign policy. We will be guided by the national interest.

Like Senator Arthur Vandenberg at the time of the Yalta agreement, we will criticize administration policy when it fails to serve the national interest. We will make constructive recommendations that will bolster the President's firmness. No Republican has called this McNamara's war.

Several House Republicans, including myself, recently made the following points about Vietnam.

1. The objectives of our Nation's policy must be the establishment of conditions under which the people of South Vietnam may live in peace and freedom. This means a government of their own choosing. This means freedom from aggression—from within and from without.

2. We hope for negotiations to end the fighting—to assure the freedom and independence of South Vietnam. Let me clarify one point—the Communists are escalating the war. No American is. Moreover, Peiping and Hanoi spurn the negotiating table.

3. The United States cannot, without violating its word, agree to settlement which involves a coalition government with Communists. Such government makes a larger war inevitable at a later date. History proves a coalition government with Communists gives them unlimited veto power. Veto power scuttles any hope for permanent peace.

4. The administration must not sacrifice the freedom and independence of South Vietnam. To do so makes the loss of American lives purposeless. Some Democrats would abandon the free people of South Vietnam. The President must not yield to them.

5. In this crisis, some Republican leaders believe American air and sea power must be used more effectively in North Vietnam against significant military targets. We advocate greater Allied participation. We question the logic of committing U.S. ground forces on a large scale to fight a war in southeast Asia.

STATEMENT BY GERALD R. FORD, HOUSE REPUBLICAN LEADER, ON COMMUNIST MISSILE SITES IN NORTH VIETNAM, JULY 7, 1965

A dangerous buildup of enemy missile strength in North Vietnam demands immediate, effective U.S. air attacks against these significant military targets.

The construction of the missile sites is clear evidence of Communist escalation of the conflict.

Sites designed for firing surface-to-air missiles should be knocked out by U.S. air superiority before the enemy uses the weapons against the side of freedom. The sites are a threat to the lives of American military personnel.

I reaffirm my support of President Johnson's stand-firm policy against Communist aggression. However, the State Department's report of an enemy missile buildup indicates need for more effective air action against these significant military targets as quickly as possible.

REPUBLICAN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT IN VIETNAM CRISIS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, until recently, leaders of the Republican Party—particularly those in the Congress—have given the President exceptional support in the Vietnamese crisis. I know the President is grateful for that support, and the Nation, similarly, has reason to be.

That is why I am somewhat confused by the rash of recent Republican statements hinting that continuance of Republican support is contingent on the President following a course which conforms to a particular course of policy which they advocate.

Now, Mr. President, leaving aside the nature of the course which is advocated for a moment—whether it is a good one or a bad one—the fact remains that support of the President is hardly support when the threat is made to withdraw it in midstream unless—a question arises at once as to who is supporting whom. Who is the Commander in Chief? Have we installed G–1 in a command post on Capitol Hill?

It may be that I have misunderstood what has been said to the press and radio and TV in the last few days by various Republican spokesmen. It may be that I have interpreted a vigorous and an appropriate contribution to the debate and discussion of the Vietnamese situation as the opening wedge of a political broadside against policies which the President has pursued or is trying to pursue to bring about a peace with some rational meaning in Vietnam. I hope that my own misinterpretation is all that is involved. I know that the distinguished minority leader—and I mean this without any qualification—has no other aim than to help the President in this critical national situation. But certain of the expressions of others continue to disturb me.

I am somewhat at a loss to understand public expressions from Republicans in which it is advocated, in view of the extent of the air and naval activity already pursued against legitimate military targets, what can only amount to an indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese by air and naval bombardment—a slaughter of combatants and noncombatants alike, of friend and foe alike. Now can one advocate the course of the bombing of Hanoi or Peiping or even Moscow and with or without nuclear weapons for that matter—in short, a course of virtually unrestricted violence as a suitable way for the United States to achieve some worthwhile end in Vietnam? If that course is advanced as a debatable proposition, as a contribution to public discussion, it is one thing; but it is another matter to say that unless the President adopts a military course more suitable to Genghis Khan or to the Communists in this situation than to the United States, he is not going to be supported.

And one can say, too, I suppose, that we want a total victory in Vietnam, but we want it at bargain basement rates in American lives. We want it by fire bombs or nuclear bombs and lead and steel or whatever but we do not want any talk about paying a bitter price in American lives on the ground. To advocate that course, too, may be a contribution to the debate and to public understanding of what is really involved in Vietnam, if the definition of contribution is stretched far enough. But it is one thing to say to the President: "Consider this course." It is another to say, "you get us a total victory in Vietnam and you get it cheap and with only a little American pain or else."

And I suppose, finally, Mr. President, one can say that negotiations are bad; that you cannot make peace by talking with the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese or anyone else for that matter; you can only make peace by war and more war. You can give the Vietnamese people freedom, but you had better dictate to them the terms of it and the forms of government which may emerge under it. That, too, is a debatable proposition, Mr. President, and I would see no objection to anyone arguing it. But I do see objection to requiring as the price of continued support, the foreclosing of any, repeat, any, possibility which the President may seek to explore to bring about a peaceful and constructive solution to this problem as soon as possible. I had thought that our purpose was to help the Vietnamese people themselves to find their way to peace and freedom, but not to decimate, destroy, and dominate them in the name of peace and freedom.

So, Mr. President, I repeat, I hope my interpretation of some of these recent statements by Republican leaders is faulty. I hope that I have misconstrued the vigor of their participation in the discussion of Vietnam as something more ominous.

But, at the moment, I must say that I do find in these recent statements a suggestion of something more ominous. Is it not a warning to the President that he play the game their way or they will not play? And, most unfortunate, that game, as I see it, whatever its intention may be, leads in the end to anything but a peace with meaning in 20th-century Asia or, indeed, in a 20th-century world. I hope I am wrong. I hope that as good Americans, which these leaders are, they will not seek to

divide this Nation at a critical time. I hope that their support will be as warm for the President in November as it was in May. I hope that all that is involved is vigorous advocacy and not partisan politics because there is no room for partisan politics in this situation. With the familiar words being heard again, it is time to point out that the margin for catastrophic error has been cut sharply since Korea and, drastically, since China.

That may be ancient history, Mr. President, but the scars of partisan politics are still with us years afterward. Let no one doubt that we have paid a massive price for the politics of foreign policy of an earlier day. We have paid for its divisiveness with lives and with billions of dollars of foreign aid—much of which has vanished without a constructive trace into the maw of Asia—and I hope we are not now beginning to pay for it, once again, in many lives. So while we are concerned, as we must be, with what we do now, day to day, in Vietnam, some historic perspective is in order, recognizing with Santayana:

"Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

I repeat to the minority leader that I know that his concern is with the welfare of the Nation and that, insofar as differences may arise on this question, they are the differences of opinion and view—entirely to be expected in a complex situation of this kind. But I know that he subscribes fully to the principle that the interests of the Nation come first and that, in the end, the course by which these interests are safeguarded is set by the President. He needs advice and counsel from Congress. But he is not likely to win the fight for an effective peace in Vietnam with one hand tied behind his back by partisan politics.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD, DEMOCRAT, OF MONTANA, ON FLOOR OF SENATE, JULY 8, 1965

Mr. President, at first glance, it seems logical to say, there are missile sites around the Hanoi-Haiphong complex; we are fighting North Vietnamese; we have planes and missiles that can reach the sites and destroy them. Go ahead and bomb. Then there will be no more missile sites. Indeed, one might add: why not go the whole hog and use nuclear bombs to make doubly sure there will be no more missile sites in the Hanoi-Haiphong area. That, too, may have a certain logic.

But on second glance, it is also to be noted that there are missile sites in China and in Russia and the Chinese and Russians are helping the North Vietnamese who are helping the Vietcong in the South where Americans are fighting on the ground. Our planes and missiles can reach those more distant targets. Why not go ahead and bomb them to, with or without nuclear weapons? That has, in some ways, a greater logic because the Russian missile sites are a far greater threat than those clustered in the Hanoi-Haiphong complex. The Russian sites are zeroed in on the United States itself, whereas those in North Vietnam, so far as I am aware, cannot even reach our forces in South Vietnam and are not, in themselves, causing any casualties among American forces in Vietnam. The Hanoi-Haiphong missile sites becomes a threat to our forces, in short, only if it is intended to spread the war further and change its nature by massive air attacks on the civilian populations of the Hanoi-Haiphong complex, for, then, presumably the sites would be used against our planes. They become a threat, in short, if it is intended to deepen and expand the war.

If that is what is wanted, then the proposal makes sense. But I do not believe it was offered in that sense. As I understand it, the proposal was offered as a war-shortener, as an American casualty-reducer and, in that sense, it does not make sense. On the contrary, if it were followed it is more likely, by raising the level of the conflict another notch, to bring on larger American casualties and a much broader and deeper United States involvement in Asia. It may be that it will come to that. Circumstances may eventually compel such an action. But let there be no illusion about what the proposal implies. And speaking for myself I cannot understand the urgency in some quarters—the anxiety to speed up the process of a deeper American involvement which can only induce greater American casualties in this Asian war.

But if that is what is sought, this probable consequense of the proposal ought to be recognized outright. Otherwise the proposal is misleading and hardly constructive in its oversimplification of a complex problem. If for no other reason, it tends to stimulate false hopes and unwarranted expectation in this Nation. It implies great results at not too painful a cost.

Simple logic is not often as simple as it seems at first glance in critical international situations such as Vietnam. This situation lies in the shadows of all-out world conflict. The effort is being made by the President, in the interests of this Nation as well as the world, to prevent such a conflict. And I would hope that those who mount the civilian ramparts and cry: "Charge!" would bear that in mind.

The proposal which prompted this statement was, undoubtedly, intended to be helpful to the President, for, as stated by the distinguished minority leader of the House on July 1: "Republicans will continue to disregard partisan considerations in foreign policy. We will be guided by the national interest."

Whatever its intention, however, the issue raised by this undoubtedly innocent and nonpolitical proposal is far larger than whether to bomb or not bomb certain missile sites in the Hanoi-Haiphong complex. From an armchair, it is possible to outline a military strategy in an isolated situation of this kind and then pass on to other problems while the consequences unfold in a deepening crisis. The President does not have that luxury. He must continue to live every minute with the ticking clock of an overwhelming catastrophe, and it is brought closer to midnight with each proposal of this kind, if it is followed, whether it originates here or in Peiping or Moscow or wherever. The fact is that the President cannot afford to be either armchair general or politician in a situation of this kind. He can only be President. He cannot make a decision without a continuing awareness of other decisions which may flow from it. He cannot speak "only for himself." He cannot speak even for his party alone. In each decision, he speaks for the entire Nation. This is one reality which all of us ought to bear in mind at all times if we wish debate on this most difficult and delicate situation to be helpful.

BOMB NOW, PAY LATER?

(By Senator FRANK CHURCH, Democrat, of Idaho)

The pressure is on in Washington to further expand the war in southeast Asia. "Bomb Hanoi." "Bomb Haiphong" the air hawks cry. Plaster North Vietnam from the skies, they say, and in the same breath criticize the sending of more American ground troops into South Vietnam, where the guerrilla war is being fought. The air hawks' prescription makes little sense, but it is cleverly designed to feed an underlying public demand for a quick, cheap victory in Vietnam. The truth is that no such easy solution exists.

The war in the south will never be won by a bigger bombing of the north. As Dean Rusk has correctly pointed out, "The basic problem, the central problem, is in South Vietnam * * *. No miracle in the north can suddenly transform or eliminate the problem in South Vietnam."

Accelerating the war northward through the air, however, could greatly aggravate the problem we face on the ground in South Vietnam. Indiscriminate bombing of the population centers of North Vietnam would almost certainly force Hanoi to launch some form of massive retaliation. Since we command the air, Hanoi's counterattack would have to come on the ground. The Saigon Government is up against the ropes now, desperately hanging on against the jabbing attacks of the Vietcong irregulars. If the disciplined armies of Hoi Chi Minh were to invade the south, Saigon's survival would hinge entirely upon an immediate and unlimited American intervention on the ground. It is not unlikely that a half million American troops would then be required to occupy and hold South Vietnam, while the remainder of Indochina would soon be overrun by Communist armies.

Even in open terrain, like that in Korea, bombing alone never stopped an army on the march. What chance would our planes have against vast numbers of trained troops advancing beneath jungle cover? Obviously, bigger bombing of North Vietnam won't extricate us from the jungle fighting in the south, but it could easily lead to an immense intensification of the ground war, and a precipitous rise in American troop casualties to the tens of thousands.

If this happens, the stage will be set for our Korean war experience to be repeated. Vietnam will soon be dubbed "Mr. Johnson's war," and, as the taste of it turns sour in the mouths of the people, there may come again a Republican candidate for President who will promise, as Eisenhower did in Korea, to bring an end to the attrition by accepting the stalemate and arranging a truce. By then, as the St. Louis Post-Dispatch recently observed, "The United States could destroy the North Vietnamese economy from the air, but to what end? It would only make it easier for China to pick the Vietnamese plum."

So, when Congressmen FORD and LAIRD, the Republican leaders in the House of Representatives, call for expanded bombing of North Vietnam, even while they position themselves to wash their hands of a spreading land war in southeast Asia, I hope that President Johnson continues to ignore them. He will be better advised to listen to the wise words of GEORGE AIKEN, the Republican dean of the Senate, who recently warned: "I too have been somewhat disturbed over reported statements of certain Republican leaders in recent days and weeks which might be interpreted as urging the President to broaden and intensify the war in Asia * * *. I hope that my own party, the Republican party will not acquire the title of 'War party' * * *. I hope the President will have the courage not to be needled into precipitating a great war."

I agree with GEORGE AIKEN, a man who steadfastly refuses to seek any partisan advantage from the war in Vietnam. Those who urge an expansion of aerial attacks on the north are actually inviting an expansion of the ground fighting in the south. The only country which will benefit from a widening war in southeast Asia is Communist China, not the United States, or South Vietnam.

The struggle against the Vietcong insurrection within South Vietnam itself may be long and frustrating, but it is preferable to a major American war on the Asian mainland. The clamor of the air hawks should be ignored.

REPLY BY REPRESENTATIVE MELVIN R. LAIRD, REPUBLICAN, OF WISCONSIN

Has critical bipartisan discussion about our policies in Vietnam been abandoned? It would seem so but I would hope not.

Certainly rational debate and reasonable discussion have been abandoned—not by Republicans, but by the leader of the President's majority in the U.S. Senate.

This fact is inescapable, and the situation it creates is deplorable.

The first attempt to scuttle bipartisan debate occurred on June 30, 1965. It was ignored by Republicans in the hope that the intemperate remarks in that speech were a mere lapse, an accident, and not a deliberate attempt to silence the dialog, impose conformity, and obliterate efforts to arrive at an informed and broadly supported policy toward Vietnam.

It was not a mere lapse.

Any doubt that it was was erased on July 8, 1965 when the majority leader of the Senate again launched a vituperative attack on the minority leader of the House of Representatives.

The natural reaction to the tone and innuendo of the majority leader's two recent speeches would be to reply in kind. This would be the natural reaction—and it would be fully justified.

But it would not be constructive.

Republicans could adopt similar tactics and join personalities rather than issues. We could attempt, for example, to impugn this particular spokeman's credentials to question criticism of foreign and military policy. For the Senate Democratic leader has himself contributed to the dialog—though not always in support of the President—and has himself participated rather fully in publicly questioning some of the actions taken in southeast Asia.

I suspect that the President may have wished at times that his majority leader had kept to himself such suggestions as the neutralization of all of southeast Asia.

The Senator's more recent statements concerning Republican contributions to the debate on Vietnam are confusing.

It would seem from the Senator's remarks that the distinction between statesmanship and political chicanery goes no further than the difference in party labels of those making the remarks.

If a Republican advocates a particular course, it is politics and irresponsible politics at that. If a Democratic President subsequently adopts that course, it is instantly transformed into statesmanship.

The President's decision last February to go north must have shocked and alarmed the Senator, for on "Meet the Press" just 1 month before (January 3), the Senator said: "I feel just as strongly that we cannot carry the war into North Vietnam because if you carry the consequences of that action to its ultimate conclusion, it means war with Communist China, and a situation will be created which will be worse than it was in Korea."

It should be remembered that at that time the suggestion to go north had been made by some Republicans. It was, in short, politics then. Only later did it become statesmanship.

The natural and certainly justifiable reaction to the Senator's recent statements could proceed along these lines.

But Republicans have proceeded in a reasonable and responsible manner. They have shown a spirit of fairness in standing up for administration policy against Democratic critics of that policy. In this spirit, I want to correct the blatant distortions which the President's majority leader of the Senate has given to Republican pronouncements:

Senator MANSFIELD. "I am somewhat at a loss to understand public expressions from Republicans in which it is advocated, in view of the extent of the air and naval activity already pursued against legitimate military targets, what can only amount to an indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese by air and naval bombardment—a slaughter of combatants and noncombatants alike, of friend and foe alike."

The truth: No Republican has advocated the "indiscriminate slaughter of Vietnamese." Some Republicans have suggested and still suggest the more effective use of our air and naval power against more significant military targets in North Vietnam in order to bring about the President's stated objective of bringing the Communists to the conference table. Our suggestions were designed to minimize the possibility of the slaughter of American soldiers when other steps are still available.

Senator MANSFIELD. "Now one can advocate the course of the bombing of Hanoi or Peiping or even Moscow and with or without nuclear weapons for that matter—in short, a course of virtually unrestricted violence as a suitable way for the United States to achieve some worthwhile end in Vietnam."

The truth: Any resemblance between this innuendo and the public statements of any elected national official in either party is so remote as to be totally nonexistent. Such a distortion could be expected from an overzealous freshman assemblyman in the heat of a bitter political campaign, but surely not from the majority leader of the greatest deliberative body in the world in a discussion concerning a situation that contains within it the gravest consequences for the entire world.

Senator MANSFIELD. "And one can say, too, I suppose, that we want a total victory in Vietnam, but we want it at bargain basement rates in American lives. We want it by firebombs or nuclear bombs and lead and steel or whatever but we don't want any talk about paying a bitter price in American lives on the ground."

The truth: No Republican since the President's Baltimore speech of April 7, 1965 has spoken of total victory in Vietnam. None has proposed using nuclear bombs. Many Republicans have hoped for victory there, as did President Kennedy when he said on September 12, 1963, "we want the war to be won * * *" as did President Johnson when he wrote on December 31, 1963 to Gen. Duong Van Minh, "We shall maintain in Vietnam American personnel and material as needed to assist you in achieving victory * * *" as did Secretary Rusk when he said on April 29, 1963, "* * * we have no doubt of ultimate victory." By victory, Republicans and these Democrats meant—not the military conquest of Vietnam—but the establishment of conditions of peace and security in South Vietnam and an end to aggression against it. Republicans do want to attain the national objective in South Vietnam with a minimum loss of American lives. Call this "bargain basement rates in American lives," if you will.

Senator MANSFIELD. "And I suppose, finally, Mr. President, one can say that negotiations are bad; that you can't make peace by talking with the Vietcong or the North Vietnamese or anyone else for that matter; you can only make peace by war and more war."

The truth: Every Republican statement to which the Senator's remarks refer were uttered in the context of the pursuit of negotiations. The Senator did not in either statement—nor could he—directly quote any Republican leader as having called for "total victory" as having said "negotiations are bad;" as having stated or implied that "you can only make peace by war and more war." This Republican would be very interested in seeing any quote that the Senator used upon which he based his gravely serious implications and charges.

The Senator's statements which I have quoted were all contained in his first speech, that of June 30, 1965.

They were met by Republican silence.

It was sincerely hoped that by ignoring this fantastically distorted presentation of the Republican position by the President's majority leader, responsible discussion could be resumed and bipartisanship in foreign policy could be restored.

These hopes received a setback on July 8, 1965 when the majority leader spoke out again—taking up where he had left off—with the same inattention to what had actually been said, thus making efforts at reasonable discussion impossible.

It would serve no useful purpose to respond, point by point and item by item, to be charges and innuendoes contained in the second speech for they are cut from the same artificial cloth as the first statement.

I have been listening in vain since the speeches of the majority leader for some voice of moderation from someone in his party—for calm and objective discussion of proposals made by some members of the minority party.

The stakes in southeast Asia are too high for any responsible official to seek partisan advantage from the situation there. Republicans who speak out on Vietnam are pointing out the course of action which they believe will promote the security of our Nation. If they were motivated by considerations of political gain, they would offer no suggestions. They would simply criticize the consequences of administration policy.

I still hope that someone in the administration will recognize the value of debate and discussion of foreign policy problems, and that Members of Congress again accord to each other the respectful hearing and the reasoned response without which debate cannot be conducted.

Greek Resistance Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, there are many occasions when we join with the people of Greece to commemorate milestones in man's search for freedom. But none is more significant to us than Greek Resistance Day, which many believe may have turned the tide of World War II.

At 3 a.m., on October 28, 1940, Mussolini's Ambassador handed an ultimatum to General Metaxas demanding that Greece give Italy ports and other strategic areas in Greece.

A resolute "no" was the Prime Minister's reply as he coldly showed the Fascist representative to the door.

Three hours later Italy attacked Greece.

The greatly outnumbered Greek Army, under the brilliant leadership of Gen. Alexandros Papagos, met the Fascist legions and defeated them.

This was the first Allied victory of World War II, and one of the most important of the entire war.

It took Hitler's best forces to finally conquer Greece temporarily after the Germans came to Italy's rescue in April 1941.

Many historians believe that in resisting Mussolini's army so effectively, the Greeks actually dealt a decisive blow to the entire Nazi cause, for the diversion of Hitler's forces into the Greek peninsula seriously impaired the timing and strength of his Russian invasion.

The Greek nation has, throughout the centuries, opposed the forces of tyranny time and time again in defense of liberty, freedom, and self-determination.

The entire world is indebted to these stalwart and gallant people.

We say of the modern Greek nation what Pericles said of the ancient Greek defenders of liberty:

Choosing to die rather than to live submitting, they fled only from dishonor, but met danger face to face, and, after one brief moment, while at the summit of their fortune, escaped, not from their fear, but from their glory.

Southern Students Support Our Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, the Southern Association of Student Councils meeting at their 31st annual convention at Patrick Henry High School, Roanoke, Va., adopted a splendid resolution supporting U.S. policy to oppose Communist aggression in Vietnam and throughout the world.

Almost 1,000 delegates representing the high schools of the entire South unanimously adopted this resolution, which is encouraging to the President, the Congress, and to our Armed Forces actively engaged in the defense of freedom.

It was my honor to address this convention of young, southern student leaders. It has never been my privilege to appear before a more dedicated and devoted group of young men and women. Dedicated to the ideals and principles which made this Nation great.

Mr. Speaker, I do not know of one single incident on the campuses of our Southland where any student group has opposed U.S. policy to contain Communist aggression. I have not received one letter from a student or professor in the South in opposition to our established policy of opposing Red aggression.

Mr. Speaker, I commend this timely and splendid resolution to the attention of the Congress and the people of the free world:

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF STUDENT COUNCILS

(Presented by Malcolm Tammy Mathews, North Caddo High School, Vivian, La.)

I

Whereas certain rebellious acts such as burning of draft cards and other illegal acts against the declared policies of the United States of America have been committed by some citizens of the United States of America; and

Whereas these acts, as stated above, weaken the position of the United States of America and Americans who are daily dying in defense of Liberty: Be it

Resolved, That this is the 31st Annual Conference of the Southern Association of Student Councils with resolute firmness support, bolster, and defend the policies of the United States of America in its efforts to protect the liberties of free peoples against aggression.

II

Whereas the educational system is set up to prepare youth through intelligent apprenticeship in the democratic processes; and

Whereas these democratic processes provide for the expression of all citizens through clearly defined legal procedures; and

Whereas mass demonstration by youth against the expressed will of the majority preempts the democratic processes: Be it

Resolved, That this the 31st Annual Conference of the Southern Association of Student Councils encourage youth to prepare itself to assume its responsibilities in a free society and to express itself through recognized legal and traditional channels.

This resolution prepared by the following:

Dickie Ethridge, Greenville High School, Greenville, Miss.

Kay Parham, High Point Central High School, High Point, N.C.

Mary Anne Graves, Lafayette High School, Lafayette, La.

Malcolmn T. Matthews, North Caddo High School, Vivian, La.

Heyward Madison Coker, Jr., University High School, Columbia, S.C.

Laura Anne Greer, Whiteville High School, Whiteville, N.C.

Randy Tabb, president, Southern Association of Student Councils.

Chairman school, Whiteville High School.

Adviser: Carthon Dewey Hinson, Whiteville High School, Whiteville, N.C.

Cooperation and Law in International Communications

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Washington World Conference on World Peace Through Law was a notable gathering of jurists and other people from all over the world who are concerned with international cooperation and law.

I would like to call to the attention of the Members of the House a statement by Commissioner Lee Loevinger of the Federal Communications Commission presented to the conference on September 14.

The paper was entitled "Cooperation and Law in International Communications." I consider it to be an excellent statement of the direction in which this country should move. Extracts follow:

COOPERATION AND LAW IN INTERNATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS

(By Lee Loevinger, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, Sept. 14, 1965)

In the international sphere, as in the domestic sphere, there is a significant difference between cooperation and law. But, there is also a significant relationship between the two. Law originates in cooperation among the members of a community and it is a kind of formal and institutionalized cooperation. Logically, social cooperation tends to merge into law and historically it tends to develop into law. These observations are illustrated by the field of international communications. It is not yet the case that we have developed true international law in the field of international communications, but international cooperation has been embodied in numerous international agreements and has developed into such a formal and institutional arrangement that it appears to be evolving into a kind of international law.

International communications require international cooperation. This is almost self-evident as communication implies someone to send a message and someone to receive it. However, there are other technical reasons involved.

Since there is only one radio spectrum, it must be used by all nations. Hence, international agreements are necessary on the allocation of frequencies for the multitude of established radio services, as well as for uniform operating practices.

Bands allocated for public radiotelephone and radiotelegraph services have to be used by stations of all nations; marine and aviation bands must likewise be shared, and so must broadcast bands. A French plane over New York City, for example, must be able to communicate with the local airport on the same frequency that an American plane over Paris contacts the airport there. By the same token, ships the world over communicate on frequencies common to marine use.

The international aspects of radio have developed to such an extent that almost no major frequency allocation can be made anywhere without considering its worldwide usage. In consequence, the primary allocation of frequency bands is now determined by international treaty or other agreement between nations, and assignment of individual channels within those bands to designated services is made by individual nations. This now applies to frequencies for new developments such as satellite relay and astronomy observation as well as to the older services.

Even the alphabet must be shared by nations to distinguished the calls of stations in different countries. These calls have a triple purpose. First, they identify the nationality of the station. Then they identify the type of station. Finally, they identify the individual station. They are, in effect, the license plates for communication traffic on the radio highways. Under international agreement, the alphabet has since 1927 been apportioned among the nations for basic call use.

In addition, and for a more obvious reason, there is world agreement on the use of special calls for ships and aircraft to send when in distress. The familiar letters "S O S" have been used for that purpose by marine radiotelegraphy since 1906. The spoken word "Mayday" has been employed to summon aid for both ships and aircraft using radiotelephony since 1927.

Although the allocation of frequency bands for stated purposes furthers the orderly use of the radio spectrum by nations generally, it is also necessary to employ other jointly agreed means to curb harmful interference to radio operations throughout the world. In general, this is accomplished by international procedures for coordinating frequency assignments by the different nations and for resolving cases of interference and other violations when they occur. There is also continuing cooperation to promote better technical standards and more efficient use of the now crowded spectrum.

A conclusion and a summary view of the matter seems to me to be best presented in

the words of the Vice President of the United States. Speaking to a group engaged in making preparations for a White House conference on international cooperation, the Vice President said:

"It is not just the big projects that count—not just the glamorous ones—and not just the ones involving some form of assistance from the rich to the not-so-rich of this world.

"What also counts—and in the end may count more—is cooperation among nations on that vast, pervasive range of activities in which human beings get their business done on a day-to-day basis. Most of this is functional and technical. Often it is grubby work in which people get their hands dirty working at the nuts and bolts business of community life. And it almost never makes the papers because it is nonviolent and therefore not newsworthy.

"But this is where cooperation assumes breadth and depth—and takes on continuity. This is where the habit of cooperation is learned and becomes ingrained. This is how cooperation becomes so patently valuable, so manifestly in the national interests of all participants that they may learn to put aside their political quarrels as irrelevant obstacles to more important goals.

"And this is not just wishful thinking. There are good, practical, and inherent reasons why nations can get together and cooperate on functional tasks even while they continue their political quarrels.

"You do not have to reconcile conflicting ideologies to agree that aerial navigation requires the adoption of international safety standards.

"You do not need compatible social systems to perceive a common interest in agreeing to the international allocation and use of radio frequencies.

"You do not have to eliminate the Berlin Wall to agree to create a global weather reporting system.

"When the technology exists to make international cooperation a sensible affair—when national leaders perceive the existence of a common interest in working together—and when international institutions exist or can be designed—you have all the necessary elements for another step forward in international organization for some definable, limited purpose.

"This, I suspect, is how world community ultimately will be achieved—and with it world order and world peace."

Hale Boggs

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished and illustrious whip, HALE BOGGS, has been the fullback on the greatest legislative team in the history of the world. He drove across many scores from the 1-yard line where the opposition was the toughest. He drew the defense in close in the middle of the field making possible the touchdown passes and long runs of fantastic legislative achievement.

This House experienced more rollcalls and quorum calls than any legislative body in 1 year in all history. It has been a trying and challenging session for our leadership. HALE BOGGS has taken his rightful place in the legislative hall of fame through outstanding and distinguished legislative leadership.

HALE BOGGS played a major role in adopting a great program which will make it possible for the United States to come alive and meet the challenges of the space age.

Congressman Stratton's Report on the Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. SAMUEL S. STRATTON
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. STRATTON. Mr. Speaker, as this 1st session of the 89th Congress draws to a close it is clear that this has been a tremendously productive session, for the Nation and for the people of New York's 35th Congressional District whom I have the honor to represent. In keeping with a tradition I have followed each year I would like to review this record briefly for the information of the people of my district.

MAJOR LEGISLATION ENACTED

Rarely has a single session of Congress seen the enactment of so many pieces of legislation with such far-reaching implications. And rarely too have so many measures been of such direct benefit to the people of upstate New York. Here are some of the highlights.

A $4.5 billion excise tax cut: Coming on top of last year's $11.2 billion cut in Federal income taxes, this measure provided a further stimulus to the Nation's economy that has been plainly felt in the developing boom across much of upstate New York, and has reduced our unemployment to the lowest level in more than 10 years.

Medicare and social security boost: As finally enacted, this program represented a successful compromise between the original medicare proposal of President Kennedy and the eldercare plan put forward by the AMA. Some subsequent amendments may be needed, however, to correct the adverse effect which the 7-percent boost in social security benefits is having on pensions now being paid to disabled veterans.

Aid for elementary and secondary schools: A measure that has been discussed for years, this bill was finally enacted in a form that avoided earlier constitutional problems. It did this by gearing its help primarily toward improving the education of children from poorer families. Its help has been welcomed by school boards across upstate New York as a means of easing the burdens of local school taxes.

Aid for colleges: In a district which includes 10 colleges, this bill can help us with expansion programs already underway. It sets up a new system of Federal college scholarships to help deserving students. The bill contains special aids for new, developing colleges, like Eisenhower College in Seneca Falls, of which I was honored to be named a trustee.

Immigration without discrimination: After years of trying unsuccessfully, Congress finally enacted a law removing discrimination in our immigration laws against people from countries such as Italy, Greece, and Poland. I was invited by President Johnson to be on hand at the Statue of Liberty for the signing of this bill, and received one of the pens he used.

Upstate Appalachia: 13 New York State counties, including Cortland, Chenango, and Otsego, are eligible for assistance under this program. This money, for roads and needed public works, will enable communities in these counties to become growth centers within the overall 11-State mountain region.

Economic Development Act: This law continues the help in attracting new industries which the Area Redevelopment Act provided, plus the stimulus in public works and hospital expansion under accelerated public work. Montgomery, Cayuga and, to some extent, Otsego Counties are now eligible for this help. I have also proposed that Yates, Ontario, and Seneca Counties be made eligible as part of a five-county Finger Lakes planning region.

Water and sewer construction: Congress passed a number of laws to help local communities pay for needed water and sewer facilities. One was the 1965 Housing Act, with help for water lines in city areas. Another was the 1965 Antipollution Act, which finances sewage treatment plants. A third was a law to help with water and sewer facilities in rural areas, a bill which I cosponsored. Every community in our district is vitally affected by these bills, for example, communities like Bainbridge, Sherburne, Greene, Branchport, and Dundee.

Antipoverty extension: Despite continuing problems in administration, the antipoverty program has proved of value to our district and its assistance has now been extended. Many communities, from Geneva through to Amsterdam, have set up Neighborhood Youth Corps, with dramatic results like the construction of an Olympic-sized swimming pool in Amsterdam, or have found the Head Start program for pre-school children helpful, as in Geneva.

Manpower training: This valuable program was also continued. Its help in training people for paying jobs has been demonstrated and praised in such cities as Cortland, Geneva, Amsterdam, Auburn, and Oneonta.

Housing legislation: The 1965 Housing Act continued funds for urban renewal projects, such as those already underway in Penn Yan, Auburn, Norwich, Cortland, Geneva, Oneonta, and Amsterdam, and for senior citizens housing in Cortland and Geneva.

Voting rights law: A new bill was enacted to enforce the provisions of the 15th amendment, ending discrimination in voting by race or color.

Presidential disability: Congress passed and sent to the States a proposed new constitutional amendment plugging a serious gap in the law governing periods of Presidential disability or when we are without a Vice President.

Military pay raise: Both Houses of Congress unanimously passed a 10.7 percent pay raise for the Nation's Armed Forces.

Postal and civil service pay raise: Also enacted was a 3.6 percent raise for postal and civil service employees. I joined in the successful fight against extending this boost to Members of Congress, who had received a pay boost last year.

1965 Sugar Act: This new bill embodied a 14-percent quota increase for upstate New York's only sugar plant in Cayuga County. This boost will mean an increase in income of up to $400,000 for farmers growing sugarbeets over a 16-county area.

Reorganizing Congress: I joined in sponsoring legislation to create a joint committee to streamline Congress. Their report should make Congress a more efficient agency of the Government and a more effective servant of our people.

Veterans legislation: Several key bills of benefit to veterans were passed, including a boost in pensions for those with service-connected disabilities.

NO RUBBERSTAMP

In the 7 years I have had the honor of serving in Congress I have always called the shots as I saw them, without regard to partisanship. I have never regarded my duties as requiring by being a rubberstamp for anyone. This year was no exception. While I supported administration programs I believed to be right and of benefit to our district, I did not hesitate to oppose those I believed to be harmful or clearly opposed by our people. Three examples stand out.

Omnibus farm bill: I voted against the administration's farm bill. Though it contained several provisions beneficial to dairy farmers, which I supported, sections dealing with wheat and cotton were harmful to our district and had been strongly opposed by our farmers. I did lead a successful fight to prevent inclusion of an amendment that would have undermined the Federal milk order under which most of our dairymen operate.

Highway beautification: While I support the goal of highway beauty I do believe it can be carried out without harm to upstate New York's tourist industry. I opposed the administration's bill because it was too loosely drawn and would harm small businessmen in the tourist field. I will work for amendments to protect the interests of these small businessmen.

Aid to Nasser: Though the administration made it a party issue, I opposed sending wheat and other aid to Nasser's Egypt at a time when Nasser was openly working to undermine our security and that of our allies in the Middle East.

Canadian auto parts agreement: I voted against an agreement providing for unlimited shipment of auto parts into this country from Canada, believing it would be harmful to auto parts manufacturers in our district like the General Products Corp. of Union Springs.

OTHER PROJECTS BENEFICIAL TO OUR DISTRICT

Besides these achievements, the past session has seen a number of other activities of benefit to our district.

Our fight against big dams: Once again we have blocked an effort to disrupt our villages and flood out much valuable farmland by construction of big dams whose contribution to flood control and water conservation would be dubious, as at Genegantslet in Chenango County. At the same time we passed other legislation which could come up with a plan that could handle flood threats without the need for costly big dams.

Finger Lakes weeds: Also included in this year's rivers and harbors bill were funds to begin work towards dealing with weeds in places like our Finger Lakes. As a result of my action authority was also included to permit the Army Engineers to work with State conservation officials in water studies helpful to our Finger Lakes area.

Maple sugar, mink, and chafer research: Following strong protests from myself and other, Congress voted to nullify the Department of Agriculture order closing agricultural research projects of benefit to our district—maple products, fur-bearing animals, and the European chafer project now underway at the experimental station in Geneva.

VA hospitals: As a result of strong protests by Congress, in which I took part, the VA backed down on an earlier decision to close hospitals at Bath and Castle Point, N.Y.

Three hundred and forty-eight million dollar atomic accelerator project: I was delighted to take the lead in presenting to AEC the proposal of the Cayuga County development group to locate the Government's new 200-billion-electron-volt accelerator—with its 2000 new, top-level scientific jobs in our district, just east of Cayuga Lake.

Clean bill of health for Canandaigua: As a result of my intervention the U.S. Public Health Service issued a strong statement completely repudiating distorted and misleading press accounts regarding Canandaigua.

Keymark Co. loan: I was glad to help in obtaining an ARA loan to assist in the growth of this important new Montgomery County industry at Fonda.

STRATTON BILLS ENACTED INTO LAW

Any Congressman is naturally proud to see his bills enacted into law. In this session the following bills I introduced or cosponsored were adopted:

Voting rights legislation.

Rural water and sewer facilities bill.

Law allowing showing the USIA film on President Kennedy, "Years of Lightning, Day of Drums," within the United States.

A bill for the relief of the estate of the late Dr. Moffett, former president of State University College at Cortland.

A bill to permit entry of a spectrograph for atomic research purposes at the University of Rochester.

A bill permitting the Army Engineers to cooperate on water studies in New York State.

A bill extending the accelerated public works program.

A resolution to create a joint committee to streamline Congress.

Also my bill to raise the pay of teachers in defense schools abroad passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

And a resolution urging freedom for the Baltic nations of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia passed the House and is pending in the Senate.

In short, of 39 bills I introduced 8 have been enacted and 2 have passed the House and are in the Senate. This gives me an overall legislative batting average of .220, compared with a general average on House bills of only .003.

IMPORTANT COMMITTEE ACTIONS

A Congressman's service on his own committee is one of his most important functions. This year I moved up to ninth place on the Armed Services Committee. In that position I led a successful fight to retain $500 million in vital military research funds in the budget. I supported the President's action in seeking an emergency appropriation for carrying out our policy in Vietnam, and was on hand at the White House and received one of the pens used when that legislation was signed into law. I served as a member of the Board of Visitors at the U.S. Naval Academy. And I was one of the leaders in the not entirely successful fight to give Congress a more decisive say in closing down such important defense bases as the Rome Air Force Base, the Schenectady Army Depot, and the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

Since the first session has been so productive, one may wonder what is left for next year. I am sure will will have other measures to consider. But we will have plenty to do anyway. First, we must see that the many programs we have enacted this year are efficiently administered. Second, we must make sure that with all the built-in costs which these programs entail, we still live within our budget in a period of such substantial prosperity.

OPEN-AIR CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE HOURS

In keeping with my usual practice, as soon as Congress adjourns I shall schedule a series of open-air office hours at post offices throughout the eight counties of our district, so as to be available in every part of our district to any who may need help, or may wish to express their views and recommendations on legislation we have enacted or will be considering next year.

In closing, let me express again my deep appreciation to all of you, regardless of party affiliation, for giving me the opportunity to serve you in the immensely exciting and challenging responsibility of your Representative in the Congress of the United States.

The Nuclear Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. WILLIAM F. RYAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, in the October 18, 1965, issue of the Nation, Milton Viorst, journalist and author of "Hostile Allies: F.D.R. and De Gaulle," has written a penetrating analysis of some of the questions posed by the threat of nuclear proliferation and nuclear use. He points out:

If the nuclear powers could agree upon terms governing the use of their weapons, the nonnuclear powers would be relieved of much of the incentive for joining the nuclear club.

I hope my colleagues and the administration will heed Milton Viorst's call for meaningful steps to reduce the nuclear threat.

[From The Nation, Oct. 18, 1965]

THE NUCLEAR CLUB: WHY THE OUTS WANT IN

(By Milton Viorst)

WASHINGTON.—There was surely oversimplification, if not a touch of hyprocrisy, in President Johnson's statement last August that the proliferation of nuclear weapons is the "gravest of all unresolved human issues." It is not the spread but the use of nuclear weapons that can wipe out the world; and while the United States has been pious in the cause of limiting nuclear spread, it has been strangely silent on the subject of limiting nuclear use.

By ignoring the problem of nuclear use, the treaty on proliferation proposed by the American representatives at the disarmament conference in Geneva would affect only the nonnuclear powers. It contains no suggestion that halting nuclear proliferation might somehow be linked to restraining nuclear use. The American proposal, said the President, "demonstrates that a treaty can be drawn which meets the legitimate interests of nuclear and nonnuclear powers alike," but to an outsider the draft treaty looks like an offer by one state to give away the prerogatives of others. It could have no conceivable impact on American policies and practices. There is little reason for surprise, then, that the President's statement, along with the proposal itself, was received around the world with stony silence.

By proposing limitations on proliferation before reaching agreement on use, the United States puts the cart before the horse. If the nuclear powers could agree upon terms governing the use of their weapons, the nonnuclear powers would be relieved of much of the incentive for joining the nuclear club. The United States, however, has shown no inclination to make any agreement that would replace total anarchy with a set of rules, even very limited rules. As long as Washington persists in this position, it seems delusive to believe that other nations of the world will voluntarily forswear all opportunity for nuclear weaponry.

The American differences with France illustrate most vividly the national confusion of cause and effect on the subject of nuclear proliferation. Senator JOHN PASTORE, of Rhode Island, commenting on Senator ROBERT KENNEDY'S June speech on proliferation, declared that "much of our trouble with De Gaulle today is due to the fact that he is trying to become a prominent member of the nuclear club." But PASTORE had the situation precisely reversed. De Gaulle is trying to become a prominent member of the nuclear club because we have had trouble with him. He wants his own nuclear force because French and American interests in certain vital areas are so different that he feels unable to depend on American weapons when he thinks France may need them.

As PASTORE'S statement indicates, America attributes De Gaulle's position to an excess of French nationalist ardor, to a quest for national prestige. It finds no merit in France's reluctance to put its fate in American hands. It regards as unreasonable the French Government's demands to make—or, at least, to share fully in making—its own life and death decisions. It recognizes no legitimacy to the argument that a nation cannot surrender to another nation the power to determine its own interests. Americans largely believe that a country need only rely on the United States to be assured of security. De Gaule does not so much doubt America's integrity as its willingness to violate its own national interests when those of France are at stake.

The draft treaty submitted at Geneva says nothing about American guarantees to the nonnuclear powers. Senator KENNEDY proposed that the United States put all countries which agree to withdraw from the nuclear race under an American "nuclear umbrella." KENNEDY would have the United States say to the nonnuclear states: "You give up your right to acquire your own nuclear weapons and we will take care of you with ours." But Ambassador Goldberg, in a speech to the U.N. on September 23, did not go nearly that far. He promised simply that the United States would support the General Assembly in devising means to prevent nuclear blackmail. Goldberg's statement seemed to make quite clear that the United States is not willing to mortgage its own security in return for another government's consent to forswear nuclear arms.

But assuming American adoption, at some future date, of the Kennedy concept of a "nuclear umbrella," there is no certainty that it would attract the nonnuclear powers. Kennedy stipulated American guarantees would apply only to cases of "nuclear aggression." He declared that "such an umbrella * * * must be divorced from and superior to the other policy aims of the nations involved." But how can a sovereign, self-respecting nation accept a control over its fate that is "divorced from and superior to" its policy aims? One of its policy aims might be to save itself from nuclear blackmail, such as Hitler, for example, practiced with less sophisticated instruments on the Czechs in 1938. Another of its policy aims might be to save itself from a force that is not armed with nuclear weapons but otherwise vastly superior. Under such circumstances, would the American "nuclear umbrella" be of any service? Presumably, it would be up to the United States to decide.

The very premise of the American proposal is that the United States is morally and intellectually, as well as militarily, competent to look after the well-being of the rest of the world. The rest of the world is not persuaded that the premise is valid.

India is a classic example of a country that is not unfriendly to the United States, has philosophical objections to nuclear weapons, does not want to go to the expense of building or buying them, but might, nonetheless, be forced by considerations of national security to seek membership in the nuclear club. Under an American "nuclear umbrella," India would be reasonably certain that the United States would retaliate in kind if Communist China exploded a nuclear bomb over New Delhi. But if Chinese hordes—to say nothing of Pakistanis—begin pouring over the frontier, the United States will not start a nuclear war in India's defense. Since the recent border fighting, domestic pressure on the Shastri government to initiate a nuclear-weapons program has been almost irresistible. India's dilemma illustrates the problem of the nuclear bomb as deterrent against "conventional" war. India would feel far more secure against Chinese attack, nuclear or nonnuclear, if it had its own nuclear weapons to rattle. They would have far greater general utility than any conceivable American guarantee.

The situation governing the defense of Western Europe is at once more simple and more complicated. It is more simple because the United States has already pledged itself under the NATO treaty to defend Western Europe, with nuclear weapons if necessary. But it is complicated by American statements on strategic planning which suggest that the response to a nonnuclear Soviet attack would be a nonnuclear defense. After 20 years of peace and prosperity, Western Europe appears less than satisfied with this arrangement. France and Germany, the countries best able to influence strategy, see little generosity in America's willingness to save the world—and the United States—from nuclear destruction by submitting Europe to "conventional" destruction. They indicate that they would rather gamble on a lightning nuclear war than acquiesce in an extended bloodletting such as they suffered in the two most recent conflicts. De Gaulle's force de frappe strategy is founded on this gamble. To many Europeans, a nuclear arsenal is more important as a deterrent to conventional than to nuclear war.

The Western European situation is further complicated by Bonn's interest in German reunification, which is, presumably, the most important of its "policy aims." In the past, Germany has indicated that it would not seek nuclear weapons in order to achieve it; more recently, government officials have said that Germany would agree to remain a nonnuclear power only if tangible progress was made toward reunification. Since De Gaulle undertook his nuclear-weapons program, the United States has accepted the view that Germany could not be kept indefinitely in a state of nuclear inferiority. To forestall a national nuclear force, Washington invented the Multilateral Nuclear Force (MLF). It was designed to give Germany some theoretical access to nuclear decisions but would, in reality, retain American control. Nevertheless, MLF has become the Russians' bête noire; they see in it a German finger on the NATO nuclear trigger. The Germans are willing to accept the MLF compromise but other major powers in NATO are not. Meanwhile, Bonn recognizes the anxiety it can create and has quietly begun a game of nuclear blackmail with the avowed aim of unifying Germany.

India and West Germany are 2 of the 12 countries named in a 1960 study as being capable of manufacturing nuclear weapons. Two of the remaining ten countries—France and China—have already become members of the club. All that they needed was an incentive to make the effort. The Israelis, whose incentive is defense against the Arabs, may have the capacity and may be using it. The Swiss, in a 1962 referendum, instructed their Government not to make an antinuclear pledge. Indonesia's Sukarno insists, in the face of much skepticism, that his country will explode a nuclear device by the end of the year. The United States may invoke the virtue of abstinence in perfect sincerity, but as matters stand it has little chance of talking countries such as these out of manufacturing their own bombs.

The United States is awkwardly placed to mount an antiproliferation campaign because of its own use of the nuclear threat. A country that will not accept temperance for itself can scarcely urge prohibition on others. The United States has never gone even as far as China or Russia in swearing never to be the first to use nuclear weapons. Washington has never consented to any of

the nuclear inhibitions that it now asks others to accept.

On its own, the United States brought the world to the threshhold of nuclear war during the Cuban crisis of 1962. It was, to be sure, severely provoked by the Soviet Union. Perhaps Russia was even guilty, by some definition, of that "nuclear aggression" which Senator KENNEDY regards as justifying a nuclear response. Still, it was President Kennedy's decision, made unilaterally, that the Soviet missiles upset the international balance of power. Many who were friends of the United States thought, even while backing Kennedy, that the missiles merely subjected this country to the same dangers that its allies had long experienced. Kennedy's decision, while it may have been correct for the entire West, was made in the national interest of the United States. As Sorensen wrote, President Kennedy had determined upon "going ahead, regardless of how the allies reacted." Millions who live within range of hostile missiles had a right to wonder if the circumstances justified the risks to them.

The tacit American threat to employ nuclear weapons in Vietnam raises even more serious questions. There, the United States does not rattle its bombs openly. Instead, it declares a policy of escalation, then declines to renounce the nuclear ultimate in escalation. The American role in the Vietnamese war, unlike the Cuban crisis, has not won widespread sympathy. Washington's allies are, at best, cool to it, and the government cannot claim that it acts for the non-Communist world. "Nuclear aggression" is not involved. But the United States nonetheless employs the threat of nuclear war as an instrument of its own diplomacy. It can scarcely ask other countries to abjure such weapons while it makes use of their power, real or potential, for its own "policy aims."

The Soviet Union has already rejected the American draft treaty at Geneva, although Moscow opposes proliferation at least as strongly as does Washington. Since their first bomb was exploded shortly after World War II, the Russians have pursued a policy of sharing their knowledge of nuclear weaponry with no one. If they are angry about the American draft, it is not because they object to its goals but because they mistrust its proponent, who has left in its provisions a conspicuous loophole to permit Germany and other NATO countries to participate in a Multilateral Force.

The remaining nuclear powers appear to bring somewhat different approaches to Washington's draft treaty. Great Britain is as committed as the United States and the Soviet Union to restricting membership in the nuclear club, but it is not convinced that it should replace its own nuclear force with that of MLF. The French and the Chinese claim no aversion to proliferation as acute as that of the other nuclear powers. Neither, of course, signed the test ban treaty. However, there is no evidence that either France or China has provided information on nuclear weaponry to any would-be nuclear powers. It is conceivable, though not considered likely, that Peiping is somehow behind Sukarno's nuclear boasts. It is far more probable that all five nuclear powers want to halt nuclear spread, even if they cannot, for various political reasons, agree on a treaty that would ban the dissemination of weapons technology.

More than any other, it is the nonnuclear powers—friendly, neutral, and enemy—that stand in the way of an antiproliferation treaty. What the United States has asked them to accept at Geneva is not a bargain, in which some quid pro quo would be involved, but a self-denying ordinance. It is true that these same nonnuclear powers voluntarily limited their capacity to develop weapons by signing the test-ban treaty in 1962. But under that treaty, it was not they alone who accepted limitations. All the signatories, nuclear and nonnuclear, agreed to refrain from further tests in the atmosphere. The treaty not only retarded weapons development among the signers but saved the atmosphere from further fallout. The draft treaty on proliferation burdens only one group of signers, without any demonstrable benefit to all.

Goldberg sketched areas in the September 23 speech on which the United States might be willing to compromise. In terms hedged with limitations, he avowed that the United States was interested in freezing the manufacture of delivery vehicles, halting the production of fissionable materials for weapons use, and dismantling, on a one-for-one basis with the Soviet Union, a reasonable number of nuclear weapons. Goldberg sounded pious enough but it is no secret that the United States is already far ahead of the rest of the world—the Soviet Union possibly excepted—in its stockpile of delivery vehicles and fissionable materials. As for the weapons themselves, even the Pentagon acknowledges the possession of a substantial "overkill" capacity. Once again, the nonnuclear powers might legitimately ask of the American overtures, what's in it for them?

It is not impossible to think of concessions that the nuclear powers might offer to make an antiproliferation treaty more palatable to the nonnuclear powers. The concessions, presumably, would have to take the form either of increasing the access of nonnuclear powers or decreasing the access of nuclear powers to existing nuclear arsenals. Certainly no agreement can be completely satisfactory to all nations and probably none can be devised that might not, under certain circumstances, actually increase the chances of war. Nuclear weapons are credited by some with having thus far prevented world war III. They may, at this point, be more a mixed blessing than an unmitigated curse. Nevertheless, it is hard to imagine a riskier way to preserve civilization than to place bets on its obliteration. Few sane citizens of the earth would not feel safer if agreement could be reached for reducing the possibilities of nuclear war. Few believe that the present anarchic system is the best that can be devised.

The nuclear powers could, of course, go all the way and agree to scrap their bombs. Nuclear disarmament, quite apart from general disarmament, would certainly make persuasive argument against proliferation. It may ultimately prove to be the only argument. But would the Western Powers, fearful of being outnumbered by the Eastern hordes, ever agree to surrender their most potent defense? A strong argument could be made that the nuclear weapon is the West's last line of defense. Even if the argument is refuted, the mutual distrust of the nuclear powers appears to preclude any meaningful disarmament agreement in the predictable future.

As an alternative concession, the United States could make some provision to extend the concept of the "nuclear umbrella" to the very "policy aims" that Senator KENNEDY would divorce from it. The institutional technique would, at best, be complicated. It would require that a mechanism be established by which potential nuclear powers could influence decisions that affect their fate. There must, of course, be safeguards against the deployment of nuclear weapons for "policy aims" that are in any way aggressive, but countries such as India or Israel must be permitted to share in decisions on which their defense depends. Such countries might agree to step under an American "nuclear umbrella," if they could be assured that the United States would not walk off to leave them standing in the rain.

The institutional mechanism could take a variety of forms. The nonnuclear power might make a bilateral arrangement with the United States, the Soviet Union or, conceivably, both. A multilateral system might be devised, within or apart from existing diplomatic instrumentalities. Careful organization and established rules could avoid the paralysis that consultation normally generates. Above all, the mechanism must provide the means whereby a nonnuclear power need not throw itself upon the mercy of a nuclear power if it believes that a threat to its integrity requires some sort of nuclear response. The way must be open for a government to plead its national interest prior to any nuclear decision.

Perhaps Moscow's deep hostility to MLF signifies that any arrangement to "democratize" nuclear decisions will be regarded as a form of proliferation. The Soviet fear is not groundless, but a carefully constructed mechanism need not mean more fingers to pull the trigger; it could mean more fingers to stop it from being pulled. At its best, such an arrangement could produce a greater spread of the nuclear veto.

The system would, necessarily, deprive the United States of complete nuclear independence. On its own, the United States would no longer be free to drop a bomb whether in the defense of Europe or South Vietnam. In more practical terms, Washington would be required to give up the threat of nuclear war as an instrument of national diplomacy. But this would probably be the most convincing demonstration it could make.

Still another alternative available to the nuclear powers to retard proliferation would be to limit the use of their weapons to certain very specific circumstances. The least that the nuclear powers could give, in return for an antiproliferation agreement from a nonnuclear power, would be a pledge never to use nuclear weapons on that power. Each of the nuclear powers could go a step further in the cause of nonproliferation by pledging to refrain from being first to use their bombs. These pledges would have the overwhelming advantage of simplicity. The would require no inspection. They would not impose disarmament on suspicious nuclear powers. To be sure, they would not satisfy a nonnuclear power that looked to nuclear weapons as deterrents to conventional attack, but they would reduce the nuclear have-not's fear of nuclear neighbors and thereby eliminate a strong incentive to proliferation. Such pledges would have the additional advantage of applying to weapons that already exist and not simply to those which might exist at some uncertain time in the future.

It is clear, above all, that the current system possesses the very lively dangers of both nuclear proliferation and nuclear use. "The threat to peace—and to human life itself"—said President Johnson, in submitting his treaty, "is universal. If the response is universal, the threat can be met." But the draft treaty that he proposed represents no significant step to meet that threat. Surely the United States can come up with a plan that is not so singularly self-serving, that contains some suggestion of understanding, that will genuinely reduce the possibility of nuclear war. The seriousness of the situation demands further reflection.

The CAB's Role in Promoting Prosperity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many of us in Congress are concerned about Civil Aeronautics Board efforts to curtail airline service to small communities. The

CAB is following a policy of permitting local service airlines to drop cities which enplane less than five passengers daily.

Congress never intended that the CAB should set up any such arbitrary criteria for making decisions about local service. Three factors should be taken into consideration by the Board.

First, local service airlines are necessary to the financial well-being of trunk carriers. They help to generate the large volumes of traffic necessary for efficient trunkline operation.

Second, airline service to smaller cities is necessary for the commercial success of the community. Modern companies demand airline service and they seldom locate in towns which cannot provide it. The CAB should act consistently with other agencies, such as the Office of Economic Development, which are attempting to preserve the prosperity of smaller cities.

Third, local service airlines are essential to strong postal and national defense systems.

Mr. Speaker, my district, the city of Minneapolis, is not threatened by the direct loss of service. However, taking airline service away from several cities in the upper Midwest will have a strong adverse effect on Minneapolis. Businessmen who travel to these towns will find other methods more expensive and less convenient. It will become more difficult for Minneapolis to serve as a commercial center for the area.

Mr. Speaker, the Bureau of the Budget and the CAB should not fear that Federal support for air transportation will be too costly. Government subsidies are decreasing as a percentage of local service airline revenue. As the volume of air travel continues to grow, we can look forward to further decline in this ratio. The CAB should consider the maintenance of airline service to every section of the country its primary duty. Congress will continue to support a strong system of air transportation for our Nation.

Clemson University Students Support United States in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, we are proud of Clemson University in my congressional district. Clemson was second only to Texas A. & M. in the number of officers serving in World War II.

Clemson, located on the old plantation of John C. Calhoun, is steeped in the traditions of patriotism, love of country, and individual liberty. Clemson students and faculty members are unanimous in opposition to Red Communist aggression. They know that the academic community is the opposite of Communist tyranny, enslavement, book burnings and a state curriculum.

The following resolution was adopted by the Clemson University Senate, which represents the student body. I commend this resolution to the Members of the Congress and to the American people:

Whereas college students are understandably affected by and concerned with the involvement of the United States in Vietnam; and

Whereas the United States of America is committed to the support of the South Vietnamese people in the preservation of their right of political self-determination; and

Whereas this policy of the United States has been determined by the constitutionally authorized executive and legislative branches of this Government based upon the most reliable and comprehensive sources of information available to them; and

Whereas many American citizens are making immeasurable sacrifices in the service of their country to prevent the imposition of communism on the people of South Vietnam: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Clemson University Student Senate (in regular session assembled), That

1. We, the duly elected representatives of the Clemson University student body, do support the U.S. Government in its announced foreign policy to utilize such force as necessary to assist the South Vietnamese Government in the protection of its freedom from external political and ideological domination.

2. We proclaim our support of and recognize our indebtedness to the men of the U.S. Armed Forces serving in Vietnam.

CHARLES E. FOSTER,
President of the Senate.
SUSAN R. MOORE,
Secretary of the Senate.

VFW Presents MacArthur Memorial Tablet

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. E. (BILL) BROCK
OF TENNESSEE
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BROCK. Mr. Speaker, a memorial tablet honoring the late Gen. Douglas A. MacArthur and his father Lt. Gen. Arthur MacArthur as "heroic military leaders in the most critical periods of the history of the Republic" was presented to the MacArthur Memorial at Norfolk, Va. recently by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

The main speaker at the ceremonies was Mr. Andy Borg, national commander in chief of the Veterans of Foreign War. Mayor Roy Martin accepted the tablet on behalf of the MacArthur Memorial and Gen. Courtney Whitney, U.S. Army, retired, a longtime aide to the late five-star general also spoke.

Immediately following the program, VFW Commander in Chief Borg and party placed the memorial tablet in the MacArthur Memorial and also placed a wreath on the tomb of General MacArthur.

Mr. Speaker, Commander Borg's address is a moving tribute to one of our country's greatest patriots, and under unanimous consent I insert it in the Appendix of the RECORD:

Your honor, the mayor, distinguished guests from our military, city officials, my comrades and sisters of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, ladies and gentlemen, the late General MacArthur when accepting the national chairmanship of the U.S. Flag Foundation in 1942 stated that "throughout the history of mankind symbols have exerted an impelling influence upon the lives of man." He then spoke of how the cross and the flag embodied ideals that taught men "not only how to live but how to die." It may be said 23 years after his statement that Douglas MacArthur has passed into military and national history as a symbol of duty, patriotism, and accomplishment that will exist as long as our Armed Forces defend the flag and the republican principles it symbolizes.

I cannot but think how fitting it is that this memorial we present and dedicate today represents 1,300,000 members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States. Many served in MacArthur's command, others were near him in other services; and all are cognizant of his superb leadership and his deep respect for the courage and tenacity of the American fighting man. He never failed to pay tribute to the men. All recall the last eloquent reference in his "I bid you farewell" spoken at West Point in 1962, however, a part bears repetition: Speaking of the American man-at-arms, MacArthur said: "His name and fame are the birthright of every American citizen. In his youth and strength, his love and loyalty, he gave all that mortality can give. He needs no eulogy from me or any other man. He had written his own history and written it in red on his enemy's breast. • • • In 20 campaigns, on a hundred battlefields, around a thousand campfires, I have witnessed that enduring fortitude, that patriotic self-abnegation, and that invincible determination, which have carved his statue in the hearts of the people."

At the conclusion of this sincere tribute of a fighting general to his fighting men, the old soldier said with emotion: "I do not know the dignity of their birth, but I do know the glory of their death. They died unquestioning, uncomplaining, with faith in their hearts, and on their lips the hopes that we would go on to victory." This he knew was true of our men in uniform, irrespective of race, creed, or color.

Fellow Americans, how is it that with great traditions such as ours, the monumental, military, naval, and air victories that stud our history, the profound fact that these victories kept us free—military might and resistance to aggressors still keep us free—why is it that young men burn draft cards, march protesting our military policies, and shout invectives against our Government? This—all at a time when we are trying to honor our treaty obligations and prevent the ruthless tryanny of communism from sweeping over the emergent, smaller nations. Never in our history has it been more vital that the veterans organizations, the patriotic societies, the civic fraternities, yes, the churches and synagogues stress the need of greater understanding of the ideology that made us great; a knowledge of the principles and traditions that make the United States the beacon of hope for freemen everywhere. A young man, Bruce Espy by name, said in a youth address that won a Freedoms Foundation Award: "Why do I love our great American traditions? Why is our American way of life dear to me? Because it was paid for with the blood of guys like my brother."

The great leader, General MacArthur, never forgot his fighting men or those who fell in battle. Before leaving Australia and

following through on the leapfrog campaign that was most successful, the general was given, in celebration of his second anniversary in Australia, a state dinner by the Prime Minister at Canberra. It was a lovely affair having all the Australian Parliament in attendance. With warmth and emotion MacArthur thanked the people of Australia for their friendship and magnificent support, but as usual never forgetting his and their men said: "On such an occasion as this my thoughts go back to those men who were sent on their last crusade in the jungle thickness to the north where they made the fight that saved this continent. With faith in their hearts and hope on their lips they passed beyond the mists that blind us here. Their yesterday makes possible our tomorrow."

And in the supreme moment of victory when the Japanese and Allied commanders attested to the Articles of Surrender on the quarter deck of the battleship *Missouri*, MacArthur made one of his most stirring addresses. It was directed to the American people as a report. The senior Allied officer said: "I speak for the thousand of silent lips, forever stilled among the jungles and the beaches and in the deep waters in the Pacific which marked the way. I speak for the unnamed brave millions homeward bound to take up the challenge of that future which they did so much to salvage from the brink of disaster." Again, at the conclusion of this terse and moving report to our people—he (speaking in low voice charged with emotion) referred to the men of the Armed Forces: "They are homeward bound—take care of them." That today is the most important thing that we of the veterans organizations feel duty bound to do—take care of hospitalized, disabled, and the aged, the widow, and the orphan.

We of the Veterans of Foreign Wars have many reasons to feel close to the general. He was a life member of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. His father, Gen. Arthur MacArthur, was in 1906 commander in chief of one of the early Spanish War veterans organizations that merged to form the Veterans of Foreign Wars: we shall ever call the distinguished Civil War MacArthur one of our founders. It is an interesting fact that MacArthur, one of the most highly decorated men ever in all American military service, was—as was his father—a holder of the Medal of Honor—the only father and son holders in the history of this highest award.

We also remember the detailed, long message that he sent on the request of Clyde Lewis, then commander in chief at the 51st annual convention at Chicago. President Truman ordered the message withdrawn and canceled; although not read or publicized at the convention it leaked and was widely published. It dealt both with appeasement and what the loss of Formosa would mean in the overall strategy of the Pacific, this just prior to daring and successful Inchon landings in Korea.

Regarding the Inchon operation, the British operation, the British Chiefs of Staff sent MacArthur a message complimenting him on his "inspiring and indefatigable" leadership in that operation. It concluded: "We believe that the brilliant conception and masterful execution of the Inchon counterstroke, which you planned and launched while holding the enemy at bay in the south, will rank among the finest strategic achievements in military history." Signed by the British Chiefs of Staff. We shall leave to politicians and military historians the pros and the cons of the general's relief from all active duty. It created a tempest to say the least.

At this stormy stage of human history, at a time when some who call themselves Americans no longer believe in the execution of the responsibilities that their birthright requires or appreciate the principles that give them and gave their immigrant forebears freedom and opportunity, we are proud at such a time to rededicate ourselves, to reaffirm our faith in the lofty ideals of General MacArthur, to pay homage to his name, to give thanks for his chivalrous military service, and we hope that his personal motto and that of his beloved U.S. Military Academy, "Duty, honor, country," will long remind us that men do not live by bread alone. No one knew better than the great general that a society wedded to material things or lost to a sense of history and worthy tradition may be perilously close to what is known in the vernacular as "the way out."

We know that neither men nor nations can live in the past; that both pass down the inevitable road of time; that both leave records and milestones. It is our high honor to place at this revered sarcophagus a memorial, a remembrance in order that future generations may know how deep a regard we had for his patriotism and his fame—he made worthy traditions that will never die. In the words of a French leader, we feel, that "To honor tradition is not to gather ashes, but to keep a flame burning." And may that spiritual flame ever remind the hearts of Americans, that freedom is our heritage, that freedom is not to be taken for granted, that to safeguard freedom is the responsibility of each citizen, and that freedom may require great sacrifice, even life itself. These were basic and fundamental directives in the credo of the great patriot that we this day so proudly honor.

Another Veterans Organization Joins the Fight Against Loan Sharks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish War Veterans, one of the Nation's oldest veteran organizations, is the latest veterans group to join the fight against loan sharks who prey on members of our Armed Forces.

At its recent annual convention in September, the Jewish War Veterans adopted a strong resolution which "urges the Department of Defense to take necessary actions to police the operations of consumer finance companies that do not operate in the best interests of the servicemen." The resolution adds that such companies be placed off limits if they do not meet minimal acceptable standards of conduct.

Mr. Speaker, the resolution is a true tribute to the members of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Banking and Currency Committee and its distinguished chairman, the gentleman from Texas, WRIGHT PATMAN. It was the Patman subcommittee that exposed the operations of these unscrupulous loan shark companies that are dedicated to the sole purpose of getting as much of the soldiers' paychecks as possible. To lend creditability to their operations, these companies place retired high ranking military officers on their boards of directors and adopt other ruses to lull the serviceman into a sense of security.

Mr. Speaker, I applaud the efforts of the Domestic Finance Subcommittee and I also applaud the strong resolution adopted by the Jewish War Veterans.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION OF JEWISH WAR VETERANS ON LOAN COMPANIES AND SERVICEMEN

Whereas American servicemen pay an estimated $50 million a year in exorbitant interests and excess charges in the area of consumer credit; and

Whereas loan companies dealing primarily with military personnel have hired former high-ranking military officers to serve on the board of directors of the companies or as officers of the firm; and

Whereas such second-class treatment to American servicemen is bound to affect his performance in the line of duty: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America in 70th annual national convention assembled at Kiamesha Lake, N.Y., September 12–19, 1965, urges the Department of Defense to take necessary actions to police the operations of consumer finance companies that do not operate in the best interests of the serviceman; and be it further

Resolved, That such companies be placed off limits where a minimal acceptable standard of conduct is not maintained; and be it further

Resolved, That the executive branch, i.e., Department of Defense, cooperate with the Domestic Finance Subcommittee of the House Committee on Banking and Currency in exposing the sharp practices of consumer finance companies specializing in loans to armed services personnel.

Reid of Riegel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, William E. Reid, president of Riegel Textile Corp. and immediate past president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute, is a dynamic business leader who is dedicated to his employees, to the private enterprise system and to those principles and ideals which have made our Nation great.

Mr. Speaker, it has been my pleasure to be associated closely with Mr. Reid in his successful fight to save our American textile industry and the jobs of its employees. I know of his superb efforts in behalf of the textile industry and its employees—an industry so essential to the economic well-being and the security of our great country.

Mr. Speaker, the following tribute to Mr. Reid appeared in the October issue of the Textile Bulletin and was reprinted in the Ware Shoals Life on October 21, 1965. I commend this splendid tribute to the attention of Congress and to the American people:

A YEAR OF OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP

From time to time, there comes the establishment of a certain debt which will never be repaid. The debt is not one in the conventional sense of a loan having been made. Rather, it is a debt of unique service ren-

dered. Whatever its definition, it is an honest debt, contracted in sincerity but without hope of due satisfaction.

Such is the debt the textile industry owes to William E. Reid who has completed a year of truly outstanding leadership as president of the American Textile Manufacturers Institute.

Mr. Reid is but one of a long list of gifted men who have led ATMI and its predecessors. He has been succeeded by still another great ability and there are others yet to come.

It remains, however, that his term has the rare mark of distinction that comes only when a man's fullest potential for an office is fulfilled.

In the first place, Mr. Reid has been an intelligent and articulate spokesman for the industry, at home and abroad. He has been an aggressive but prudent advocate of the industry's rights while, at the same time, expressing himself forthrightly—and, at times, bluntly—on the obligations of the industry and its individual members.

From this basic position, his range of interest and understanding has been striking.

He can very properly be called one of the fathers—perhaps the father—of the present Geneva arrangement for cotton textiles and the subsequent bilateral arrangements which have served to restore order and a sense of balance to the cotton textile import situation. When the cotton textile arrangement's trade principle is extended to other textile products regardless of fiber content, much of the credit can be traced to Mr. Reid's determined seeking for such action.

He was the prime mover in the recent massive (and successful) effort to renew the one-price cotton program—and, in fact, to get the two-price system removed in the first instance. One of the memorable statements of textile industry position was Mr. Reid's eloquent speech from the floor of the 1964 National Cotton Council meeting in Biloxi, Miss., in which he laid out the industry's position and the reasons for it.

He has insisted at every turn that the textile industry take its depreciation allowances and its tax adjustments, and combine them with a generous portion of its profits to build for the years ahead. His own company has set an admirable record in capital spending, and it should not be regarded as coincidence the industry's capital spending commitments for 1965 are expected to go over a billion dollars for the first time in history.

We say it should not be regarded as a coincidence because we believe Mr. Reid has done one thing more for the industry. He has told the industry's story in practically every corner of the world since moving into the line of succession that carried him to the ATMI presidency. In those speeches he has set a tone of aggressive, progressive acceptance of a great moral responsibility to act as well as to react.

"The times and their forces have propelled us into an increasing involvement with the world around us," he said in a recent speech.

We shall be eternally in his debt for his willingness to make involvement a total commitment.

Report of Minority on Activities of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, during the 1st session of the 89th Congress the Republican members of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee made a significant and constructive contribution to the extensive legislative work of the committee, of which I am the ranking minority member. The following report supplements from this point of view the report printed in the RECORD of October 22, which cataloged the major legislative items considered by the committee. Included are the principal minority contributions to those measures finally enacted into law:

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, H.R. 2362, Public Law 89–10. No amendments to the bill were entertained in the Senate as a matter of administration policy, but a number of minority proposals were adopted in the committee report, Senate Report 146:

1. Including handicappel children within title I as educationally deprived, in addition to poverty-related children (Senator PROUTY);

2. Including parents of handicapped children under title III (Senator JAVITS);

3. Avoiding overlapping, duplication, and conflict with the Office of Economic Opportunity by giving precedence to the Office of Education on programs contemplated by titles I and III (Senator JAVITS);

4. Requiring State consultation under section 203(b) of title II, providing library resources for the use of children and teachers who cannot be served by a State; and under section 2(a)(1) of title IV, authorizing grants for educational research within a State (Senator JAVITS);

5. Restricting criteria which the Commissioner may require State agencies to impose upon local school districts' applications, beyond those stipulated in the bill (Senator PROUTY);

6. Requiring continuous monitoring of open-ended authorization for stipends to researchers under section 2(b) of title IV (Senator PROUTY);

7. Including academically gifted and creatively talented children under section 503(a) of title V (Senator JAVITS);

8. Clarifying church-state relationships, especially regarding nonsegregation by religious affiliation of dual enrollment classes, and the availability of judicial review (Senator JAVITS);

9. Restating the applicability of title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, precluding discrimination on the ground of race, color, or national origin, to all programs carried on under this act (Senator JAVITS);

10. Requiring equitable distribution of research facilities grants under title IV to all regions (Senator PROUTY).

Manpower Act of 1965, S. 974, Senate Report 123, Public Law 89–15. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Modifying the new 90 percent Federal, 10 percent non-Federal matching requirement to make it workable, by exempting private training institutions, authorizing matching in kind as well as in cash, and deferring the matching requirement for one additional planning year (Senators PROUTY, JAVITS, and MURPHY);

2. Authorizing delegation to State authorities of approval of projects not exceeding $75,000, in order to speed up implementation of the act (Senator JAVITS);

3. Limiting reapportionment of funds allocated to a State but not yet spent (Senator JAVITS);

4. Authorizing refresher or reorientation courses for professional employees who are unemployed because of defense cutbacks (Senators JAVITS and PROUTY);

5. Avoiding overlap of authorizations by repealing the training provisions of the Area Redevelopment Act simultaneously with the enactment of the bill, which transfers such training to the Labor Department (Senator JAVITS);

6. Continuing training allowances for trainees who become 22 years old during training (Senator PROUTY);

7. Authorizing increased use of private training institutions (Senator PROUTY);

Minority report language adopted:

1. Insuring that training allowances authorized by the bill will be added to existing training allowances (Senator JAVITS);

2. Directing greater emphasis on the on-the-job training program and on promoting its use (Senators PROUTY and JAVITS).

National Technical Institute for the Deaf Act, H.R. 7031, Senate Report 245, Public Law 89–36: Minority report language adopted urging the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to evaluate and implement the report submitted by the Advisory Committee on the Education of the Deaf (the Babbidge committee) pursuant to an authorization contained in the 1965 appropriation for the Department. The Secretary has since responded with implementation and recommendations (Senators JAVITS and MURPHY).

Extension of the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, H.R. 8131, Senate Report 318, Public Law 89–69: Minority amendment adopted increasing the authorization for fiscal year 1966 by $1.5 million over the administration request in order to emphasize training of youth workers and other much-needed personnel (Senator JAVITS).

Older Americans Act of 1965, H.R. 3708, Senate Report 247, Public Law 89–73: Minority amendment adopted requiring State consultation for grants under title IV, research and development projects, and title V, training projects (Senator JAVITS).

Community Health Services Extension Amendments of 1965, S. 510, Senate Report 117, Public Law 89–109.

Minority amendments (Senator JAVITS) adopted:

1. Easing burdensome paperwork requirements in the expanded national immunization program;

2. Doubling the subceiling on appropriations for schools of public health.

National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965, S. 1483, Senate Report 300, Public Law 89–209: Based upon four bills previously introduced in the Senate, including one, S. 310, introduced by Senator JAVITS.

Minority amendments (Senator JAVITS):

1. Earmarking $2.75 million to help support and stimulate arts programs by the States;

2. Emphasizing the need for standards of professional excellence in the arts;

3. Authorizing the National Endowment for the Arts to support research;

4. Making clear that the prevailing wage provision does not preclude use of volunteers and amateurs.

Heart Disease, Cancer, and Stroke Amendments of 1965, S. 596, Senate Report 368, Public Law 89–209. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Limiting centers to the named diseases and those related to them (Senator DOMINICK);

2. Requiring a report of the Surgeon General on or before June 30, 1967, rather than waiting until 1969 (Senator JAVITS).

Captioned films for the deaf, S. 2232, Senate Report 649, Public Law 89–258: Minority amendment adopted establishing a permanent National Advisory Committee on the Deaf (Senators MURPHY and JAVITS).

Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1965, H.R. 8283, Senate Report 599, Public Law 89–253. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Requiring regulations to prevent Job Corps from displacing presently employed workers or the impairment of existing contracts for services (Senators SIMPSON and DOMINICK);

2. Prohibiting payments solely as compensation for referring candidates for the Job Corps (Senator DOMINICK);

3. Requiring maximum public disclosure about developing community action programs, including public hearings and open books and records (Senator JAVITS);

4. Requiring consultation with State agencies on the development, conduct, and administration of community action programs (Senator JAVITS);

5. Authorizing direct community action grants where citywide "umbrella" agencies bypass a local private nonprofit group (Senator JAVITS);

6. Requiring notification of the Governor of a State in which a local private nonprofit group applies for a direct grant (Senator SALTONSTALL);

7. Restoring the voluntary assistance program for needy children (Senator JAVITS).

The Senate-House conference report (H. Rept. 1061) included language proposed by the minority (Senator JAVITS) requiring informal hearings before the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity will override the veto of the Governor of a State. The conference report also included language insuring that consumer credit education and consumer debt counseling programs will continue to be parts of the community action program; a minority amendment had been adopted by the Senate to this effect (Senator FANNIN).

The conferees rejected two significant minority amendments which had been adopted by the Senate:

1. Extending the Hatch Act prohibitions against political activity to those employees of community action programs paid in principal part from Federal funds, and to VISTA volunteers (Senators MURPHY and PROUTY);

2. Making the National Advisory Council an independent and meaningful entity (Senator PROUTY).

The Senate committee report adopted minority (Senator JAVITS) proposals:

1. Directing the Office of Economic Opportunity and local and State officials to enforce the act's requirement that community action programs are to be developed, conducted, and administered "to the maximum extent feasible" by the poor themselves, to avoid domination of citywide "umbrella" agencies by political officials, and to take the necessary action to correct any program failing in these respects;

2. Urging that announcements of project approvals be made by the Office of Economic Opportunity and not by political officials;

3. Urging the establishment of a system of regional offices to deal with local problems;

4. Directing the implementation of the provision in the act for a center at the Office of Economic Opportunity to coordinate information about the status of applications in all Federal agencies and departments under the act.

At Senator JAVITS' request, the minority staff conducted an inquiry into the New York City antipoverty controversy and filed a report, which was printed at pages 19 through 25 of the hearing record on H.R. 8283 and upon which a number of minority proposals were based.

Medical Library Assistance Act of 1965, S. 597, Senate Report 756, Public Law 89-291: Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendment adopted giving priority to libraries having the greatest potential for fulfilling the needs for regional health science libraries.

Service Contract Act of 1965, H.R. 10238, Senate Report 798, Public Law 89-286. Minority (Senator JAVITS) proposals adopted in Committee report:

1. Requiring the Secretary of Labor, in determining the prevailing rate in the locality, to consider the compensation paid in similar service work in the locality;

2. Urging the Department of Defense and other Federal agencies to afford any employees not covered by any of the acts or by this bill the minimum wage coverage provided by the bill.

National Vocational Student Loan Insurance Act of 1965, H.R. 7743, Senate Report 758, Public Law 89-287. Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendment adopted:

1. Encouraging States and nonprofit private institutions and organizations to establish adequate loan insurance programs for students in eligible institutions;

2. Establishing a Federal program of student loan insurance for students who deserve reasonable access to State or private nonprofit programs of student loan insurance.

Health Professions Educational Assistance Amendments of 1965, H.R. 3141, Senate Report 789, Public Law 89-290. Minority (Senator JAVITS) amendments adopted:

1. Including students of pharmacy in the scholarship program;

2. Clarifying the accreditation of schools of nursing.

The bill included the provisions of S. 576, introduced by Senator COTTON and earlier passed by the Senate, permitting the canceling of a portion of the unpaid balance of a student loan to a physician, dentist, or optometrist who practices in a shortage area.

Higher Education Act of 1965, H.R. 9567, Senate Report 621, Public Law 89-329. Minority amendments adopted:

1. Adding National Defense Education Act loan forgiveness for those who teach in poverty-impacted areas (Senator PROUTY);

2. Recognizing outstanding students by making available an additional $200 scholarship per annum grant for those students ranking in the upper half of their class (Senator JAVITS);

3. Postponing the cutoff of the Institutes for School Librarians established by the National Defense Education Act to permit a phaseout rather than a sudden disruption (Senator DOMINICK);

4. Broadening the scope of the Higher Education Facilities Act to include arts and humanities (Senator PROUTY);

5. Reducing to 3 percent of the maximum interest rates for construction loans under title III of the Higher Education Facilities Act (Senator JAVITS);

6. Authorizing a college to transfer 25 percent of its scholarship fund to its National Defense Education Act student loan fund (Senator DOMINICK);

7. Broadening the title VI equipment grant provisions to include the arts and humanities, in addition to other areas of instruction (Senator PROUTY);

8. Enhancing the role of State and private, nonprofit institutions in guaranteeing low-cost student loans (Senator JAVITS);

9. Increasing the authorization for fiscal year 1966 of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Senator CASE);

10. Broadening the title V fellowship program to include nonpublic school teachers (Senator PROUTY);

11. Streamlining and reforming National Defense Education Act loan procedures (Senators JAVITS, PROUTY, and DOMINICK);

12. Making more flexible the use of funds for construction grants to public community colleges and public technical institutes under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 (Senators CASE and TOWER);

13. Adding "industrial arts" of title XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senators PROUTY and JAVITS);

14. Authorizing payment in kind by colleges under the work-study program (Senator JAVITS);

15. Adding "economics" to titles III and XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senator PROUTY);

16. Adding "civics" to title XI of the National Defense Education Act (Senator JAVITS);

17. Emphasizing high-quality substantial courses in the title V teacher fellowship program rather than on the so-called educational method courses (Senator PROUTY);

18. Broadening title II so that institutions with modest resources can obtain maximum library assistance without a matching requirement and requiring institutions with resources to match Federal funds (Senator JAVITS);

19. Training of college administrators for developing institutions (Senator JAVITS);

20. Barring title I extension course funds from use for sectarian instruction, religious worship, or divinity school courses (Senator JAVITS);

21. Moderately decreasing Federal matching contribution under title I to encourage greater college participation in accord with recommendations of land-grant colleges (Senator JAVITS);

22. Limiting the section exempting sororities and fraternities from title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, regarding cutoff of Federal funds from discriminatory activities, to those financed exclusively by funds derived from private sources (Senators DIRKSEN and JAVITS).

Minority provisions (Senator JAVITS) adopted in committee report:

1. Urging that moneys allocated to colleges for purchases of library materials under title II not be eroded by unwarranted increases in the already very high cost of books and periodicals;

2. While recognizing the importance of research, encouraging college teachers to devote more time to the classrooms and the student.

The conference report adopted language proposed by the minority (Senator JAVITS) making it clear that the 1963 Higher Education Facilities Act provisions for construction of graduate schools includes all graduate schools, including those offering programs leading to a first degree in law.

School construction assistance in disaster areas, H.R. 9022, Senate Report No. 783, Public Law 89-313: Minority amendment adopted authorizing aid in the form of a repayable advance to financially capable school districts which are in need of immediate funds (Senator JAVITS).

Minority report language adopted precluding, to the extent feasible, the segregation of classes by religious affiliation where services are provided to non-public-school students (Senator JAVITS).

Banking System One of the Great Strengths of This Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY
OF OHIO
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, one of the great strengths of this Nation is its unique system of banking, with its large number of locally owned banks serving the public in all walks of life. And one of the basic reasons this system of banking works as well as it does is the excellent multilevel supervisory structures which has been developed within the States and on the Federal level.

The ability of the various State banking supervisors to work closely with the

Federal banking agencies is one of the outstanding examples of Federal and State cooperation.

Recently the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, an organization representing the banking supervisors in all the 50 States, held their annual convention in Detroit. As one of the official acts of that convention, NASSB adopted a resolution highly praising the record, abilities, and cooperativeness of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, a Federal agency created by the Congress some 32 years ago.

The warm recommendation of the NASSB for the service the FDIC has provided to the Nation is well deserved. FDIC's record of service to the public in preserving a sound banking system, and in protecting depositors against loss when banks close, is well known to all of us. The strong cooperation between the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the State banking authorities may not be so well known, but it is just as important in preserving a sound banking structure to serve the public.

The full resolution is as follows:

OCTOBER 8, 1965.

RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SUPERVISORS OF STATE BANKS CONCERNING FDIC

The following resolution was unanimously endorsed by the members of the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks assembled in Detroit, Mich., at NASSB's 64th annual convention:

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks are of the opinion that one of the important factors which has contributed to the growth of a vital banking system in the United States has been the availability of Federal deposit insurance;

"Whereas Congress has established the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation as the agency of the U.S. Government to administer this all-important program for the protection of depositors;

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation have a mutual goal in maintaining the present strength of the State banking system and the high level of service which it provides;

"Whereas in achieving this goal of the supervisors of State banks and the members and staff of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation work harmoniously and closely together;

"Whereas the supervisors of State banks have had ample occasion to have firsthand knowledge of the efficiency, thoroughness, and vigor with which the members and staff of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation perform their duties; of the examination reports of the highest quality which are issued by the Corporation; and of the willingness and availability of the members and staff of the Corporation to join with the supervisors in solving problems and reaching goals of mutual interest: Now, therefore, be it unanimously

"Resolved by the National Association of Supervisors of State Banks, assembled in Detroit, Mich., for its 64th annual convention, That the Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the Honorable K. A. Randall, and its immediate past Chairman, the Honorable Joseph W. Barr, along with the dedicated staff of the Corporation, are to be highly commended for their faithful performance of the trust committee to them by Congress; for the efficient and thorough manner in which they guard the public interest; and for their cooperation with supervisors of State banks in advancing their common goal of assuring the continuance of a strong and vigorous State banking system."

The National Conference on Sea Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. CLAIBORNE PELL

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, recently my home city of Newport, R.I., was host to a National Conference on Sea-Grant Colleges. It was an extremely successful gathering, bringing together 240 distinguished scholars and experts in the field of oceanography and related fields. They represented institutions in 35 States.

The conference had special meaning and significance for me personally because it was convened for the specific purpose of considering a concept which I have submitted to the Senate in legislative form. My bill, S. 2439, provides for a Federal program of sea grant colleges supported by revenues, rents, and royalties from offshore oil properties on the ocean floor.

In order to examine the concept and explore its possibilities, the University of Rhode Island and the Southern New England Marine Sciences Association joined in sponsoring the 2-day conference at Newport.

The highlight of the conference, to my mind, was the keynote address delivered by Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the Institute of Technology at the University of Minnesota, who is the true originator and "father" of the sea grant college concept. It was a tribute to him that the conference voted to endorse the general concepts incorporated in my bill, and appointed a committee of distinguished scientists and scholars to maintain continuing support for the plan.

Dean Spilhaus' speech, reflecting as it did his years of study and experience, describes in detail the present discrepancy between oceanographic science and applied engineering and explored in detail the steps we could and should take to make better use of the vast resources of the seas. His speech should be part of the official RECORD of Congress in view of the growing public concern in this field and also in view of the hopeful prospects for congressional action on this legislation next year. I ask unanimous consent that Dean Spilhaus' speech may be inserted in the RECORD at this point, along with my own address to the same conference.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CONCEPT OF A SEA-GRANT UNIVERSITY

(By Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus)

President Horn, Senator PELL, Dean Knause, and friends, I don't suppose that many people have the pleasure and honor that I feel today on this occasion when at this wonderful place on the sea under the auspices of a fine university and with so many of those who've contributed much to the science of the ocean—that I feel on being invited to explore and develop with your help my own sea-grant-university idea.

My friend, Dr. Chapman, wrote me about a year ago to ask whether the sea grant university sprang full blown from my mind. I would say, rather, that it resulted from the recognition of a need, a conception, a period of labor, delivery at the right time, gradual acceptance of the young infant and I now hope that its sponsors here may make it have a productive and useful life.

When Harrison Brown formed the National Committee on Oceanography in 1957, some of us jokingly yet with much truth stated that our first objective would be to get our public leaders to at least be able to pronounce the word "oceanography." Harrison not only managed this but with his fellows on the committee succeeded in stirring an amazing public and legislative awareness of the importance of knowing about the sea.

Early on, we recognized the need to use engineering in support of the study of the sea. We had a panel of the National Academy Committee which devoted itself to special engineering devices, vehicles, instruments, and the like. When I became chairman in 1961, I was already beginning to see that engineering in support of oceanographic research, while important, was not enough. And I recall on being asked, in a joint meeting with the governmental interagency committee on oceanography, what the task of the Academy group should be over the next 5 years, that I said that marine science and oceanography were going strong but that the real gap was between our excellent science and the pitiful state of the U.S. performance in the exploitation of the sea. Our pitiful fishery effort—our poor merchant marine—the fact that when we needed a bathyscaphe we purchased it in Europe—all symptoms of a lack of purpose and a failure to apply our science through ocean engineering and biological engineering or aquaculture.

In 1963, in a keynote address to a national meeting on fisheries, I voiced my unhappiness and recalled that just about a hundred years before, a positive purposeful action had been taken by Congress to stimulate "the mechanic arts and agriculture"—the act that established land-grant colleges. There can be no question that the Morrell Act establishing a land-grant fund for the support of such colleges, passed by Congress in 1859 but vetoed by President Buchanan and subsequently signed by Lincoln in 1862 contributed mightily, through the mechanic arts to lead to our national preeminence in the mass production of things that people need—including agricultural products.

Why not then provide a focus, a commitment and continuing support in the context of sea-grant universities today to bring the United States to a position of leadership in ocean engineering and aquaculture.

After this talk, I received many letters expressing interest in the concept. One was from Professor Saila, of Rhode Island. As a result of his expressed interest I wrote to President Horn and Dean Knauss and received inspiring and heartening responses. They wanted to do something to explore the idea. Dean Knauss suggested early in 1964 that a conference be held—this is the conference.

Senator PELL, with a long interest in the sea, its contribution to his State and its potential, talked with me. I remember quipping to the Senator that Rhode Island would be a fine launching place for a sea grant university in connection with its land grant university—after all, I said, you have very little land.

So, you see, it is most appropriate that this first national conference on the sea grant

university concept should be held here where the original interest was sparked.

What is ocean engineering? From time to time we give names to assemblages of our different scientific disciplines for no better reason—and for the very good reason—that they apply and suit our principal current preoccupations. So polar science is all the good science that is done relating to the Arctic and the Antarctic. Space science is all good science that relates to space, or more facetiously any science that the National Aeronautics and Space Administration will pay for. Similarly, oceanography and marine science comprises the work of any scientist in any discipline who chooses to use the sea as focus for his intellectual endeavors.

On the other hand, in engineering the qualifying nouns become even more meaningful. The engineering problems of the polar regions are quite special and unique. How do you get rid of sewage when everything is frozen. How do you build foundations that sink in permafrost? How do you build structures in slowly flowing ice? Engineering for space, too, has its special problems. Metals can cold weld themselves together in the vacuum of space. Special lubricants are needed, and vacuum tubes may not need an outside cover. So it is in ocean engineering. Materials behave quite differently at the 7-ton-per-square-inch pressures encountered in the abyss. Structures must be built to resist the onslaught of marine borers and other living organisms that attack them and they must withstand entirely different catastrophic forces—earthquakes, currents, wave forces, and underwater landslides.

We must recall that where science aims at finding out enough about our environment to describe it and then to find common truths, engineering intervenes, alters, and uses the environment. The uses and controls that are found good—ones that society wants or can grow to want—industry repeats so that they can be used by as many people as possible. There are two kinds of ocean engineering: there is that kind that has gone on for centuries, like the building of ships to get from one point of land to another, the building of dikes to keep the sea from encroaching on the land, but these are merely in support of peripheral activities of land based and oriented people not using the sea but withstanding its abuse of the land. There is another kind of ocean engineering, and that is the ocean engineering which must come about when we decide to intervene in the marine environment with the ultimate objective of using it, occupying it, and enjoying it.

When you occupy a place whether it be an enemy country, uninhabited polar or desert wastes, the moon, the planets, or the depths of the sea, essentially you have to start by worrying about the five basic things for people to live; a way to get there and back, shelter while you're there, power, water, and food.

Of course, it's not necessary to occupy the ocean right now. We could wait, but somebody else would occupy it. Or, we can make the decision that we will occupy the ocean. We can choose freely to expend part of our efforts and apply our marine, scientific, and oceanographic knowledge toward the peaceful exploitation and colonization of the sea.

A way to get there and back, shelter, power, water, and food—to these five basics that we need for the occupation of land on earth must be added a sixth shared by the environments of space and the sea. We can live quite a while without food and water, but you could not have heard my last few sentences without breathing. The most fundamental ocean engineering that is going on today is the medical engineering on breathing at high pressures supported by the physiological science related to mammals breathing with their lungs full of water. The latter science may point to engineering developments way in the future, but at the present time men are spending weeks below hundreds of feet of water breathing mixtures mostly of inert helium, with just the right small percentage of oxygen so that at those depths it's compressed to about the oxygen pressure in the normal atmosphere.

Ocean medicine has found that helium does not give the narcotic effects "rapture of the deep" that comes from the great solubility of nitrogen in fatty nerve cells. Ocean medicine, by studying decompression, is beginning to overcome the dangers when the aquanaut comes up and reduces his pressure too quickly. If he does, the gases expand in bubbles blocking arteries, attacking joints, and giving him the fatal "bends."

Of the other five basics, three deal mainly with physical engineering—the provision of new surface and submarine vehicles, structures under the sea, and power generators. But ocean engineering also includes food and water—fishing, fish farming, hybridizing marine plants, and even water divining in the sea, the search for undersea fresh water springs. In the meantime, we can, of course, desalt sea water, but this is a clumsy interim method. Ocean engineers must face problems quite different from usual engineering experience on land. Electrolysis dictates a different choice of metals. The mechanical stresses of current, waves, and undersea earthquakes are quite different from their counterparts on land. Biological activity can bore, excavate, and undermine undersea structures, and other organisms can create unwanted noise. Thus, biological engineering is a necessary adjunct even to the physical engineering in the oceans. Biological engineering will play a far greater part in the oceans than it has in the physical engineering of the land. I do not mean to imply that the ocean engineer must be any more competent than the most competent land engineers. He must have a different mix of the basic sciences and, even more important, a different focus. The focus of the land engineer is to prevent the encroachment of the sea, to concrete up coastlines, to fill estuaries for land habitations. The ocean engineer will consider it more important that beaches and estuaries be retained or that even new ones be built, because they are the habitat of many valuable shellfish and the nursery of many fishes of the deep sea.

For many years while being engrossed in oceanography and marine science, and while being active in contributing engineering devices in support of this science, I recognized the gap that exists between the scientists and oceanographers who have made such great strides in describing and understanding the ocean environment—its shores, its bottom, its physical and living contents—between these scientists and the fishermen, navigators, sea captains, sailors who use the sea. The missing link is ocean engineering which will pull out many useful scientific findings and translate them into better ways of using the sea.

Up to now the main uses of the sea were for surface ships and fishing. Surface ships operate at the worst possible level—on the surface of the sea. At this interface they are plagued by wind, waves, and ice. If they go a little way up or a little way down, they're better off. The harvesting and husbandry of the food we take from the sea is utterly primitive and has not in any sense kept pace with the magnificent progress in fertilizers, farm machinery, cross-breeding and hybridizing that has developed on the land.

It is worthwhile to catalog some more immediate and some more distant exciting and potentially useful things, we can do in and with the oceans. If some seem like irresponsible dreaming, remember we live in days where purposeful dreaming becomes reality so rapidly that it's almost regarded as respectable. If some seem like "stunts," it is worthwhile to remember that such spectaculars that form milestones of human achievement contribute honestly to people's self esteem. They are the necessary steps to give us the confidence to go on to even greater achievements. Yesterday's "stunt" is tomorrow's useful routine.

Remember, we are inventing the future, not merely predicting it. When people asked, "What will the new deep research submarines look for?" the best answer was: "For things we don't yet know." To survive in a new environment, true readiness is to be ready for the unexpected.

Let us start at the coastline. Instead of smoothing and concreting coastlines, we may scallop them to build as many harbors and estuaries as we can and to lengthen the total coastline of the earth. There is a snowflake figure in mathematics which shows that any area, however small, can be enclosed by a line of infinite length. The smaller the scallops or harbors we build, the longer will be the coastline. But if our purpose is to provide seashore not only for the organisms in the sea but for peoples' recreation, the theoretical concept of infinity becomes finite in terms of the quantum of people size.

Next, perhaps, we should heat up some coastal waters not only so that you can swim in them but also to make suitable warm water habitats for transplanting useful fishes that previously could not multiply there. With the coming rash of large nuclear reactors, waste heat is regarded by the land engineers as a problem because when it is introduced into cooling water, it produces profound ecological effects.

Many conventional conservationists consider any changes of this kind with the environment to be bad. But if we go about it in a sound engineering way, we can introduce waste heat into the sea in a number of different ways and find those effects on the ecology which are beneficial. Thereafter, this heat would no longer be waste but be useful.

Because land engineering with its parochial focus in conserving our land and preventing it being washed into the sea and because of the almost total use and reuse of fresh waters so that rivers will no longer flow into the sea, the sand that maintains beaches along the shorelines no longer simply comes down from the land. Beaches are not just there. Sand is continually being taken away to accumulate in the canyons on the continental shelves or even in the deep sea. We'll need to dredge the sand back and remake the beaches. The beaches will still be in dynamic equilibrium but one link in the cycle will be provided by man's intervention through ocean engineering. When we leave the shoreline, we will need vehicles to supplement the conventional ones which are so limited by the wind and wave at the air-sea interface. We need increasingly to go down in submarines or up in true air seacraft. Present seaplanes can only make emergency landings in the sea. We need the kind of air seacraft that can fly out, settle, do its work in a high sea, take-off—vertically, perhaps, and move on to the next job.

The present factory ships with their catchers that catch and process whales and fish will grow into floating oceanic cities. We are beginning to get inklings of how to quiet waves by punching holes in harbor walls, much the same as we punch holes in acoustical tile to absorb sound energy. With these elements as a beginning, floating artificial harbors or wave-stemming walls of the floating cities become possible. Or, more comfortable dwelling quarters may be floating stably a hundred feet or so below the surface where any wave motion is so damped out as to be unnoticeable. The artificial barbors and other mother ship platforms must be arranged to retrieve small submersibles, to retrieve them underwater so that

a rendezvous in the high seas—a much more difficult job than a rendezvous in space—becomes unnecessary.

After surface cities, habitations floating under the water, the next step toward widespread structures on the bottom of the sea necessitates some ocean bottom engineering surveys. We'll need to develop bottom vehicles to travel between the ocean cities. But even before this, we'll have to develop a whole body of knowledge on submarine soil mechanics. How will the ocean sediments support foundations and crawling vehicles? How stable will be the natural slopes or the embankments we construct on the ocean bottom? How does the bottom erode? And how well will it hold moorings? We need an expedition across the bottom of the Atlantic and the Pacific in crawling vehicles containing men to survey the terrain—a Lewis and Clark transocean bottom expedition. Until then we will not know how currents, erosion, and sediments will affect our engineering works. We do know from broken submarine cables that there are catastrophic phenomena much stronger than our concept of the "quiet in the deeps" would lead us to believe.

Also in advance of the widespread use of bottom structures we need to study the properties of materials at very high pressures. Materials suffer effects at these pressures which are quite outside the domain of ordinary land engineering. Glass apparently becomes less brittle. The analytical mechanics of thick shell structures must be tackled without the simplifications which are satisfactory for the thin shells we use on land.

Already, thanks to the work of the physiologists, divers can live and work a few hundred feet down. There seems every prospect that a thousand feet is now not out of the question. This refers to living at the ambient pressures. In the greater depths the structure to which we have referred, which will withstand the pressures, will be necessary. Once people can work and live at a thousand feet, the whole of the Continental Shelf, an area of 10 million square miles, larger than North America, is opened up as a new continent for our use. Oil drilling, mining, salvage, and even fish farming can be done by people down there and not, as now, on the end of the string from a wobbly surface.

So far I haven't mentioned power. And we are becoming accustomed to think that the potential of nuclear power is so great that we can dismiss other sources of power. The ocean is such a source, but it is termed a low-grade source because you need to imprison, or otherwise use, a great deal of sea water to get a usable quantity of power. So that in general the power of the sea has been regarded as a nuisance rather than a potential to be tapped. Usually when people think about the ocean's power, they think of tidal power and, indeed, there are several tidal powerplants operating; in fact, tidal power was used to mill grain a century ago in places like Maine.

But many times the tidal power potential exists in the difference in temperature between the top and the bottom of the ocean—the thermal gradient power. There are many places in the sea where differences of 10° occur over very short horizontal or vertical distances. So far, there is only one small thermal gradient plant in operation. With huge structures at sea, wave power becomes a possibility. It's not easy to harness the up-and-down motion of the waves in any practical or efficient way when we have small objects bobbing on the surface even though the wave energy withstood by a ship's hull may be many times that required to propel the ship. But with the size structure we envision—huge artificial harbors, and stable platforms, wave power becomes a possibility.

The ocean engineering in support of what we may call conventional fishing is already here. The behaviorial scientists have a wealth of information on the response of fish to sonic, chemical, and electronic stimuli that may take the place of ordinary bait. And floating chemical engineering factories can take the whole catch, sort the fish automatically—trash fish for meal, more valuable fish for canning or freezing, and more importantly, count the species to keep a check on what is the renewable harvest.

Where existing advanced methods have been used in fishing, there is already the danger of overfishing—of making the whales become extinct—and this implies the urgent need, before we go much further in harvesting the living resources of the sea, to have a way of keeping an inventory of all the species we take from the sea so that we may be sure that they are renewed each year. And also to get an idea of how much we can increase the sustained yield when we itervene.

In gathering the living things of the ocean, ocean engineers should consider whether other living things themselves, may do our building and collecting more efficiently than mechanical machines that we can devise. It would be very expensive to collect enough euphausid shrimp, but whales collect and convert them very efficiently. Perhaps we should be breeding whales instead of exterminating them. Can we accelerate the coral animal to build reefs? Can we use shellfish to concentrate minerals? Can we plant seaweed to stabilize beaches? Can be hybridize the plants that grown in sea water, the seaweeds, and use them much more extensively as sea fruits and vegetables? Perhaps we can even contribute to the land by using the wealth of information on halophytes—salty habitat plants—not only to grow useful food in sea or brackish water but actually to desalinize water by the use of plants which concentrate salts within them. Seaweed is a good source of iodine, for instance.

These are the beginnings of farming the plants of the sea, but what about the animals? Plants are easier to farm and harvest because they may be rooted or even if they are floating they are easy to control. Shellfish, which are indeed farmed, are the next easiest for the same reason. Oysters, clams, and shrimp are cultured to a greater or lesser extent in ponds and semienclosed arms of sea. Next it is not much of a step to conceive of lobster traps on the bottom of the Continental Shelf acres in extent—in fact, bottom fishes in general would seem to be most easily susceptible to fencing. Then how do we fertilize the sea? There are two ways in land farming; namely, plowing and adding nutrients. The counterpart of plowing in the sea is upwelling that brings nutrients from deeper water to the euphotic zone. The idea of doing this artificially by heating up the ocean with a nuclear reactor at the bottom has been thought of, but on analysis does not seem economical. But the waste heat from nuclear reactors for other purposes may well be used in this way. The motions of the sea itself, which indeed cause upwelling notably in such productive waters of the Humboldt Current, may be studied and ocean engineering intervention may devise ways of making the sea plow itself more efficiently.

How can we fertilize the sea? It is manifestly impossible to add sufficient of the basic nutrients to open sea water, although this is possible in estuarine or pond water. In the sea it's stirred and mixed away, unlike the use of fertilizer on land. It does seem possible, however, to add the trace substances once we know which are most important to growth. The study of trace elements, too, will lead us to more successful transplantation of useful fishes from one area of the world to another. Then, too, by using what the marine scientists know about the food chain, we can eliminate some of the unnecessary and less useful species, that is, intervene in way that might be called "weeding the sea."

One other aspect of the use of the sea which is already with us and may grow even faster and stimulate ocean engineering more than these "more serious" uses of the sea is the important part the sea can play in recreation of the people in an increasingly crowded land world. Already you can purchase a small sporting submarine for not much more than the cost of an automible. Thousands of people go down in the sea in aqualungs. Millions of dollars are spent on boats, elaborate fishing equipment and underwater cameras for people's recreation at sea.

Perhaps some of the first underwater structures will be for recreation. As mass-produced underwater vehicles come within the reach of many, underwater resorts will develop where people will drive their submobiles and visit reefs, watch the oceanic wildlife in its natural habitat much the way we do in the wilderness and park areas on land.

These examples give you something of a vista of what ocean engineering can do in the sea and show you how engineering and technology can bring everyone close to the oceans and develop the sea's resources for everyone's use just as on land. Engineering has provided us with our dams, our fuels, our skyscrapers, highways, planes, ships, satellites, and the biological engineering which we call agriculture has supplied us with our abundance of good food. I have said that ocean engineering will fill the gap between marine scientists and those who use the sea. But we need a way of bringing the vast body of scientific knowledge about the sea to the people who use it. We need to bring knowledge of the ocean to people other than the scientists who develop it, and not only to the engineers but to all the professions that must be related in a vast world development of this kind. We need an educational plan far broader than the existing ones that produce excellent marine scientists. There is not a single activity of people that would not be affected by our man-in-the-sea program and there is hardly any facet of man's knowledge and experience that will not be needed to complement the ocean engineering effort.

Under the land-grant-college program, scholars did not disdain to tackle hard practical engineering and biological engineering—that is, farming—problems in parallel with basic scientific work. In fact, often the arts of engineering and agriculture outstripped the sciences by building things and growing things better before physics, botany, or zoology quite understood why. Working in parallel, discoveries in the basic sciences were quickly put to use. So successful was this idea that we would be remiss if we did not use it as a blueprint for our ocean venture.

The sea-grant colleges not only would concentrate on applications of science to the sea, such as prospecting underwater, mining, developing the food resources, marine pharmacology and medicined shipping and navigation, weather and climate, but they would relate these to the natural sciences which underlie them; to the social sciences, economics, sociology, psychology, politics and law, as they are affected by and, in turn, affect the occupation of the sea. They would also be associated with the liberal arts—literature, art, and history—which describe man's relation to the sea and enhance his enjoyment of it.

Just as the land-grant colleges were given in perpetuity grants of land for their experimental plots, in some cases lands in which mineral resources were found or that grew to be otherwise useful and served to provide income for the ongoing of the total enterprise, so sea-grant colleges should ge given grants of seashore or lakeshore, seawater and bottom

within territorial limits as their experimental plots to stimulate the development of aquaculture in the waters and the prospecting and ways of exploiting the natural resources of the sea bed. These watery grants would serve the additional purpose of preserving tracts of seashore and open waters from the fiercely competitive pressures due to increase of population and industrialization—preserve them not only as natural habitats for ecological studies but as the important nursery areas for high sea fish and residences for in-shore food fish and shell fish. The sea-grant college, to do its job, will also need its county agents in hip boots—an Aquacultural Extension Service that takes the findings of the college or university onto the trawlers, drilling rigs, merchant ships, and down to the submotels. The sea-grant college to do its job in aquaculture and ocean engineering will need sea home economics, too. Even if we had abundant protein from the sea today, a selling job would need to be done to remove taste prejudices and taboos, and this is done by such a down-to-earth service, yet one which touches more people than the erudite things we do in universities, home economics. As we breed and farm fish, we will need to have fish vets, fish pathologists, and experts on the diseases and parasites that may plague our flocks in the sea or our plants. We will no longer be able to tolerate epidemics like the blooming of a red tide of dynaflagellates that make widespread fish kills and are concentrated by mollusks so that these poison people.

Law is an utterly important adjunct to any widespread exploitation of the sea. We need a clarification of the law of the sea and a way of, on the one hand, being able to grant rights so that a group investing capital in vast projects may be assured of some stability toward a reasonable return and, on the other hand, better legal controls to prevent overfishing. Economics, too, must play a major role. The reason that nobody pays attention to preserving the inventory of whales in the sea and that nobody confines himself to a catch that is calculated to build up the stock and take the renewable amount as harvest, is an economic one. The whales in the sea are not on anyone's books as an economic asset. Public administration, with due regard to national and international politics, must find a way out of the dilemma that is posed that when nobody owns what's in the sea, and when nobody feels responsible for its controlled exploitation.

The marine engineer who emerges from our sea grant institutions will be as different from the old-fashioned marine engineer as the satellite engineer is from the one who operates a heating plant. The aquaculturist will be as different from the conventional fisherman. Oceanic engineering and aquaculture, the control of the sea for man's purposes, will take all our imagination and inventiveness as a magnificent challenge.

The oceans will offer us military, recreational, economic, artistic, and intellectual outlets of unlimited scope. Thus they'll offer us more space than space itself in which to remain human. The sea—beautiful and dangerous, elegant and strong, bountiful and whimsical—not only challenges us but offers to every "man in the street" the exciting participation of being a "man in the sea." Like a military operation where a war is not won until the area is occupied, we will master the sea only when we occupy it.

But to do this we must have sea grant universities and colleges that focus with commitment on the sea—that seek to impinge all our intellectual disciplines on the mastery, exploitation, and preservation of the sea. Just as the scholars in the land grant colleges developed a passion for the land and led not only, in ways to benefit by it, but also in the ways to preserve it—we must seek through a welding together of science, art, literature, engineering, medicine, law, public administration, and politics to develop a public which will not only homestead our new spaces in the sea but colonize and civilize them through an integrated interdisciplinary education in the sea grant universities.

SPEECH BY SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL BEFORE THE NATIONAL SEA-GRANT CONFERENCE, SPONSORED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODE ISLAND AND THE SOUTHERN NEW ENGLAND MARINE SCIENCES ASSOCIATION AT NEWPORT, R.I.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am delighted to have this opportunity of sharing in this national conference to develop plans and ideas for implementing the concept of sea-grant colleges.

Under the sponsorship of the University of Rhode Island and the Southern New England Marine Sciences Association, this conference is of great meaning to our own State and to the goals we seek for advancing, in the best possible fashion, our knowledge of oceanography and education in the marine sciences. Such increasing knowledge and education can bring highly important benefits to Rhode Island and to the United States in the years ahead.

I am particularly delighted to participate in this conference with so many leaders distinguished in the broad area of oceanography. Dr. Horn, as president of the university, and Dean Knauss, as head of its graduate school of oceanography, have brought the University of Rhode Island to a position of not only State but national prominence. I have long admired the imaginative and pioneering programs established at the University of Rhode Island. And it is also a singular pleasure for me to share in this conference with Dr. Athelstan Spilhaus, dean of the institute of technology at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Spilhaus is a pioneer of the sea-grant college concept—which I have sought as a Senator to implement within the framework of new legislation.

As you may know, I have recently introduced in the Senate proposals for national sea-grant colleges and for a program of education aimed at making maximum use of our country's marine resources. They are an asset which we have only begun to explore. The legislation, I believe, can be of benefit to this university, to Rhode Islanders, and to our country as a whole.

Rhode Island has had a long and historic association with the sea. Eighty-eight years ago, Alexander Agassiz, a resident of this very city of Newport, organized the three cruises of the Coast Guard vessel *Blake*, voyages which marked the first major effort of the United States in oceanographic exploration. Until the end of the last century, the Alexander Agassiz laboratory in Newport, stemming from a concept originated by his father, Louis—was our Nation's historic center of early research into the mysteries of the marine environment.

Thus Rhode Island can lay rightful claim to the beginnings of oceanographic studies which this university has so well expanded. History combines fittingly in this respect with continuing and improving purpose. A great deal more needs to be done, however, if we are to make full use of our potentials and develop the skills and understandings we will need for the future.

The oceans and their deeps constitute a last physical frontier here on earth which man has by no means fully investigated.

Until recent times, as President Johnson has pointed out, the oceans have been looked upon chiefly as barriers to invasion. "We must now see them as links," the President has stated, "not only between peoples, but to a vast new untapped resource. It is becoming increasingly clear that there are large mineral deposits under the oceans. But before this treasure becomes useful, we must first locate it and develop the technology to increase it economically. We must also learn more about marine biology, if we are to tap the great potential food resources of the seas."

President Kennedy in a message to Congress said that our very survival may hinge upon the development of our knowledge of the oceans and the resources they contain.

Emphasizing the growing concern of Members of the Congress in oceanography is the number of legislative proposals in this area made during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. Let me pay tribute, at this point, to the oceanographic pioneer of the Congress—Senator WARREN MAGNUSON, whose bill, as I have said in the Senate, provides for the first time a clear statement of our Nation's goals in oceanography, and a means to determine how the Federal program can be organized most effectively to meet these goals.

My proposals, I believe, would serve to augment Senator MAGNUSON's concept of a well-coordinated National Council for Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Specifically, my proposals would help engender the skilled manpower and technology for the many important facets of evolving work in which the Council, envisioned by Senator MAGNUSON, would be engaged.

Under my bill, sea-grant colleges would be those supported by the act, either in part or in whole. The bill would provide immediate assistance to already existing institutions, enabling them to expand established programs and to develop corollary programs—as, for example, the university's creation of a 2-year school to train fisheries technicians.

As it is in so many other areas relating to our country's future accomplishments, education, I believe, is a key factor to the beneficial harvesting of the seas. We need more young scientists skilled in oceanography; but, just as importantly, we need the technicians to translate into practical results scitific theories and discoveries. We need more young engineers accomplished in the marine sciences, and we need the facilities and the equipment which imaginative and educated minds can help us produce.

In the past we have made tremendous strides forward in agriculture. Now we need to concentrate with equil zeal on aquaculture.

There is a close parallel between the National Sea Grant College and Program Act I have introduced in the Senate and the legislation, originating almost 100 years ago, to establish the land-grant colleges which provided such a great stimulus to the development of agriculture. Modern methods of contour plowing, crop rotation, the development of hybrid plants and modern farm machinery and equipment, all testify to the inceasing advances in agriculture which continue to benefit our country and its land.

Before the advent of the land-grant colleges, the average American farmer produced enough food to feed himself and four other people. Today 1 American farmer produces food for 37 people, including 5 in foreign countries. In other words, the American farmer has increased his productivity sevenfold.

Contrast this 700 percent productive increase with that of the average individual American fisherman—which stands at only 33 percent on a comparable basis over the same period of time—and we can conclude that today's farmer has increased his efficiency twentyfold over today's fisherman.

To further pinpoint these factors, statistics from the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries show that the average medium-sized U.S. trawler fishing the North Atlantic is 24 years old, that smaller trawlers have an average age of 27 years, and that a large percentage

of our American fishing fleet is 50 years old. A man may be in the prime of life at these ages—but not a fishing vessel. Obsoleteness in this case accompanies age—and, you might say, Neptune cruises the seas along with Davy Jones.

Our fishing industry employs today approximately half a million people whose catch is estimated as worth a billion dollars to our national economy. Imports, however, provide more than half our country's supply of fishery products. The old days of American preeminence in the harvesting of the seas—the days, for instance, when the world whaling industry was dominated by American skills—have been washed back into the history books. We cannot, like King Canute, expect to turn back the waves, or reverse the tides of history, by mere demand or edict. But we can create new channels for our ingenuity to follow; and, just as we have made the land more and more valuable to us, so can we make the seas of ever-increasing advantage.

Already our country is receiving a substantial amount of revenues from the ocean deeps, chiefly from rents, royalties and bonuses from off-shore oil properties under governmental lease. Over the past 10 years these revenues have amounted to over $1.5 billion. My proposals envisage using 10 percent of these revenues annually for the sea-grant college program.

Not all the revenues are immediately available—a proportion is held normally in escrow. However, it can be predicted that by the means I suggest an annual sum of at least $10 million would be available to finance the program. And we can also forecast that this amount would grow as the program itself made possible the expanded useful exploitation of marine resources. Thus, a cumulative and evolving process would be established. What better investment could we make from revenues which come from the seas? The same concept applied to the land-grant colleges; and that investment has been returned many, many times over.

In recent years our off-shore revenues have varied considerably. Last year they amounted to approximately $100 million, and this amount is expected to increase during the current year. So that there can be appropriate funding for the program I envision, my bill calls for the deposit of 10 percent of these revenues in a special account in the Treasury. They would then be available for appropriations on a stable annual basis.

The legislation I have introduced calls for administration of the sea-great college program by the National Science Foundation. Although I remain open minded on this subject and there may well be other proposals we will wish to consider, the National Science Foundation would seem a logical and appropriate choice. It is already engaged in helping support oceanographic undertakings in some 18 institutions of higher education, including the University of Rhode Island. The Foundation has achieved a reputation of excellence and has contributed substantially to scientific advancement in a great many areas which invlove our national interest and our future goals. And these—both our national interest and the goals we seek for our Nation—are basically involved in the concepts we are discussing at this conference.

It has been suggested that we consider how best to orient our existing institutions within the concept of greater and more meaningful emphasis on oceanography—whether a sea-grant college should be constituted so as to focus entirely on studies in the marine sciences, or whether it should be oriented so as to offer a variety of education in other subjects. Dr. Leland J. Haworth, director of the NSF has pointed out that "the outstanding characteristic of modern oceanography is the extent to which the fundamental sciences—physics, chemistry, and biology—are being used to develop understanding of the subject."

It would seem to me best, for our long range interests, to utilize our existing universities insofar as possible. I am a great believer in a broad-based education as an antidote to an age of increasing specialization. That is one of the prime reasons why I have worked during three Congresses toward the establishment of a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities—and let me say how very pleased I was when this legislation finally came to fruition a few weeks ago. I believe it can strengthen the whole fabric of our society in future years, in sharpening our awareness of excellence, in giving us a greater ability to evaluate the past in terms of the present and future. Dr. Haworth—in a statement submitted to our Senate Special Subcommittee on Arts and Humanities, under my chairmanship, said he was convinced that the new Foundation would "ultimately bring added strength and vitality to our science and technology," and Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission, in testimony before the subcommittee on the legislation, said that "in a democracy it is essential that science and the humanities be firmly united in a creative partnership."

Thus, it would seem to me that the university with a balanced program of education, with opportunities for expanding man's knowledge in diverse fields, would be the ideal home for the sea grant college concept—in a word, it would afford the opportunity to specialize in a relatively new and immensely exciting scientific area, within the framework of broad-based higher education.

A sea-grant college, as I visualize it, would have, of course, special facilities, a special curriculum. Ideally, as in the case of the University of Rhode Island, it would be located on the sea itself, so that its students could have access to the kinds of technical equipment and facilities we will need increasingly to develop if we are to harvest the full potentials of the seas. Such facilities could include experimental stations, as adjuncts to the college, to develop new techniques in underwater mining, in ship design, in the numbers of devices which will allow man to explore the ocean depths. And we will also need to experiment in methods of conservation, and in developing the crops which the seas are now known to afford, and in seeking out new harvests and the means of making them most beneficial. In this connection, it is estimated that man derives only 1 percent of his present food requirements from the salt-water environment. It would be hard, indeed, to underestimate the beneficial food potential of the seas—particularly in view of the rapidly expanding population.

I do not believe that a sea-grant college need necessarily be based on the oceans themselves—in States bordered, for example, by the Atlantic or Pacific or the Gulf of Mexico—although as I have pointed out such locations would have certain advantages, and I believe these States could properly take the head in the sea-grant college program. I would envision a national effort evolving with courses in oceanography offered at universities in our inland States, and of course in those bordering on the Great Lakes.

However, a national effort of this magnitude needs to begin in the right manner. At the outset it would seem best to utilize the resources of institutions which have already established a reputation of leadership in oceanography, such as the University of Rhode Island, to provide them with adequate funding so that they can become the nuclei around which a national effort and program can evolve. In a new and pioneering field, let us recognize the pioneers and provide them with the necessary facilities to lead us forward.

As our knowledge in oceanography grows, and indeed as integral to its development and beneficial uses, I can foresee great new opportunities opening up for the business community in our own State of Rhode Island and throughout the country. In fact, many businesses are now making plans to develop the type of special equipment we will require to explore the deeps—where pressures are intense, where the environment is hostile to the human being, where man needs skillfully tooled devices made of noncorrosive materials to act as his arms and fingers to extract samples from the ocean floors.

It is interesting to note that some of the equipment we are developing for the exploration of outer space can also apply to our deep sea explorations. Sophisticated electronic devices that will help chart the topography and content of the ocean floors, as well as having the applicability to the realms of outer space, are within the reach of our ingenuity. Here is where industrial research and development and the sea-grant college concept go hand in hand—for the trained technician helps the industry find new avenues for expansion, and these in turn create a demand for the greater skills which our educational process can provide.

Not long ago we celebrated Columbus Day. We thought in terms of discoveries made almost five centuries ago, and of man's quest across an ocean which men once thought flat and demon-surrounded, of watery abysses and plunges into a limitless unknown. We may have exercised the demons and the myths; but we are still only on the threshold of plunging into that unknown. The great White Whale of Herman Melville's imagination, the image of mystery and fascination, continues to travel the deeps. We know only that the plunge can be richly rewarding—in terms of man's increasing knowledge, in terms of the tangible benefits to our society.

We can estimate with considerable exactness for example, that with modernized vessels, equipment and gear, the harvest of our off-shore fisheries can be increased tenfold.

We know that our petroleum engineers and geologists believe we have only commenced to tap the vast submarine oil reserves which lie along portions of our coasts where the water is relatively shallow—and that vast additional oil reserves can be predicted at greater depths, and that their economic benefits simply await the development of our technology.

We know that gold is being mined off the Alaskan coast, and phosphorite for fertilizers off the coast of California.

We know that glauconite, used as a soil conditioner and water softener and as a source of potash, has been discovered off the east coast of our country.

We know that platinum, iron, chromium, tin and tungsten are among other valuable minerals to be mined from the ocean floors.

These are among the "known" factors in the great unknown area of the seas. And in a fashion we are like Columbus, on the threshold of new discoveries. We travel on different vessels in a different time—but let us make sure that we don't "miss the boat"—that we voyage forward in the best possible way. That is really what this conference is all about—and why I am so pleased to have had this opportunity of sharing with you my own views.

Public Sentiment on the War in Vietnam and the Student Left Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the vast majority of the fine Americans who are the students of our universities fully understand and unashamedly support America's policy in Vietnam. It is an unfortunate shibboleth of our free press that good news is no news. If the various media properly reflected the prevailing sentiment on the war in southeast Asia, there would be graphic evidence for all to see attesting to the overwhelming measure of public support our fighting men have.

There is, however, on many universities a disenchanted elements of dischord and despair which is either manipulated by Communist causes or which is naive enough to think that the right of students to dissent does not carry with it a commensurate responsibility.

I can inform the Senate with no small measure of pride that the student body at the University of Wyoming has rejected the confused counsel of the Vietnam dissenters. Many students have signed up for the blood drive which opens November 13. They, like thousands of other students across our Nation, will be shedding blood for their country and their fighting men in support of the battle for individual liberty underway in southeast Asia.

On numerous occasions I have commented on this philosophy of dissent; as well as on the war in Vietnam, and much has been said and written about both. I ask at this time that a resolution passed by Wyoming's Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, and a number of newspaper articles; speeches; and items which have emanated from my office; be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION BY FLOYD MINCH POST NO. 44, AMERICAN LEGION, WORLAND, WYO.

Whereas the Armed Forces of the United States are currently engaged in conflict in southeast Asia; the purposes of which are to stem the flow of insidious communism and to allow freedom and self determination for the peoples of South Vietnam; and

Whereas, adjunct to this national endeavor, some people in the United States, by various means, are undermining this undertaking by open defiance of our laws and ridicule of those who are supporting or participating in the conflict, most notably by draft card burning, "sit-ins," "lay-ins," "teach-ins," various "hate" programs and by objecting to military service on religious, moral, or psychological grounds when no such grounds actually exist; and

Whereas no nation, no matter how conceived, nor how strong, can long endure in an atmosphere of fraud, deceit, and criminal or civil disobedience: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, at a meeting regularly convened this 4th day of November 1965 does hereby deplore, decry, and chastise those American citizens—

Who, while accepting the benefits and blessings of this great Nation, are openly and actively defying the law of the land;

Who cry "freedom" and yet are undermining our national effort to insure this freedom;

Who under the guise of civil liberties or moral compulsion are giving aid and succor to an enemy whose foundations are the antithesis of morality and liberty of any kind;

Who, in insisting on free speech and expression, are raising their voices in ridicule of those Americans who are fighting; and be it further

Resolved, That the Floyd Minch Post No. 44, American Legion, strongly urges each and every American to do his duty; that he be honest with himself, his neighbor, and his country; that he accept, not only the multitudinous benefits of being an American, but that he also embrace its obligations; that he recognize that in times of distress, individual motives, feelings, and even convictions, must be subordinated to the constitutional "General Welfare"; that he ascribe to the philosophy of the patriot, Patrick Henry, when he said: "Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistence by lying supinely on our backs?"

J. W. SEAWRIGHT,
Commander.

Attest:

A. R. GUSTAFSON,
Adjutant.

[From the Laramie Daily Boomerang, Oct. 20, 1965]

WE'RE PROUD OF UNIVERSITY OF WYOMING STUDENTS

We're proud of University of Wyoming students.

We're proud they were mature enough and sensible enough to see through the so-called peace demonstrations sweeping the Nation.

We're proud they turned a deaf ear to bearded beatniks who are unwilling to defend the Bill of Rights and who cry long and loud about rights being violated.

We're proud it wasn't a University of Wyoming student pictured burning what may have been his draft card.

We're proud of the students who were not caught up in action which would have been called treason in 1941.

We hope the students from other campuses who went along with the organized demonstrations against U.S. involvement in Vietnam will someday have second thoughts.

We hope they come to realize the war, they say no one is winning can't be won if there's widespread dissention on the homefront.

We hope they come to understand that the very Government they're trying to undermine makes it possible for them to speak and demonstrate freely. America's one of the few countries in the world where the right of the individual is protected to the extent he can criticize governmental actions without fear of reprisals.

We hope demonstrators talk with their fathers about freedoms fought for on two fronts two decades ago and with older brothers about rights protected in the snows of Korea.

We hope they come to recognize the "give-an-inch, take-a-mile" philosophy of the Communists and the need to take a decisive stand in Vietnam to stop the cancerous spread of Communist ideals.

We hope they come to emulate students at the University of Wyoming who don't rush blindly into anything.

[From the Wyoming State Tribune]

CALL IT WHAT YOU MAY

It is very well to suggest, in an atmosphere of intellectual asepsis and far from any direct personal involvement, that the activities of the anti-Vietnam marchers must be afforded all the sanctity of the free speech guarantee.

But that should not at the same time prevent critics of the demonstrators and protesters from inquiring into their purposes, motives and aims; from raising questions about their activities; from calling them to the public's attention, or even from denouncing them.

There are several salient points to remember about the current situation that makes it more than just a simple matter of ordinary citizens expressing an opinion on a given subject.

This country is at war. It is a war against a vicious and grimly determined enemy of indeterminate capability to conduct military operations, and of resources whose limitations are not immediately apparent to us.

Even though the Government of the United States has not officially declared this a war, for its own good reasons; the indisputable fact is that it is one anyway.

It is a war, because already we have 145,000 American military troops of various categories committed to this action, and there are uncontroverted predictions that by the first of this coming year, only 2 months away, this figure will have exceeded 200,000. The military buildup is rapid. It also is large.

We were committed to war when President Johnson sent the first American troops to Vietnam earlier this year to serve not as advisers to the South Vietnamese Government, but as direct interventionists in that conflict.

Constitutionalists argue that the President lacked authority to do this; but arguments against flouting of the basic law of the land have been raging for decades without any visible lessening of the encroachment on constitutional authority. Furthermore some of those who have been most vociferous in their contentions that the President of the United States had exceeded his power in a foreign matter, have been altogether willing to overlook such actions in domestic issues, so their arguments cannot be considered as advanced in good faith.

It must be accepted as fact, therefore, that the United States now is committed to a conflict no different, except as to scope, from any of the military engagements of its history to which it has been a party.

From numbers of personnel engaged, it is the fifth biggest such military action—larger than the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Indian Wars or the Spanish-American War; and next only after World War II, World War I, the Civil War, and the Korean war in that order.

Either as an extension of politics, or as a consequence of the failure of politics, whichever viewpoint one accepts, war does not admit of argument where political action may do so. It is a whole, unified, effort to prevail by means of arms instead of by reason or logic. It therefore does not admit of debate and never has.

With this as the background, then, it would seem perfectly understandable for citizens of this country to be aroused and disturbed by the activities of various groups seeking to thwart the national purpose that not only has been expressed, but now is being carried out, in Vietnam.

Such activities offer aid and comfort to our enemy in many ways, not the least of which is boosting his own morale. This is important in the present situation because there are indications that the nominal enemy we face in Vietnam has begun to suffer major losses. He now is losing a war that up until a few months ago he had been winning for years, with this development having occurred only through the U.S. military intervention that was effected this year.

The activities of the anti-Vietnam marchers plainly encourage the North Vietnamese Communists to persevere in their fight against us and the South Vietnamese. This is the great wrong that is being committed

against our country by the anti-Vietnam demonstrators.

Further, they seek to thwart the military effort of the United States by defeating the recruitment, through the draft or by enlistment, of its military forces to combat this enemy. At the same time they either deliberately or consequentially work against the United States by adversely affecting the morale of our servicemen who are committed to action in Vietnam, and who daily must face the threat of death, wounds, illness or even capture by a relentless and remorseless enemy.

No one has denied these demonstrators against a national military effort by this country the right to publicly dissent.

But in the estimation of many, including ours, theirs is a treasonable activity.

If this should therefore make us superpatriots or "extremist busybodies," then we shall gladly suffer the label.

[Release from the office of U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, May 20, 1965]

SIMPSON ADDRESSES ALBIN GRADUATES

ALBIN, WYO., May 20, 1965.—U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON zeros in on "radical leftwing student groups on college campuses" as he urges high school graduates here to "work as hard as you want to effect changes in our social system, but work within the system to help it, not outside of it to hurt it."

In remarks prepared for delivery tonight, Senator SIMPSON says many of today's high school graduates must enter universities which are influenced by students who form the second generation of Communists and radical leftists.

The Wyoming lawmaker will say the strength of the leftwing campus influence is the strongest today of any time since the 1930's. "Organizations such as Progressive Labor, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the W.E.D. Dubois Clubs, the Trotskyite Young Socialist Alliance, Students for a Democratic Society, and more than 200 others are setting the pace on many campuses." He says the students are being joined by a small, but loud minority of leftwing professors in forcing control of our universities out of the hands of their administrations. He says university life today on many campuses centers more around student radicalism than academic excellence.

SIMPSON is sharply critical of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He says it is recognized by friend and foe alike as the most radical of the civil rights groups. He says it is a major influence on the campuses of more than 100 universities, has a paid permanent staff of 230 members and more than 150 chapters throughout the Nation. He says SNOC is by far the biggest student movement of the left and he quotes a Government investigator as saying that SNCC has been "thoroughly infiltrated by Communists."

"One great tragedy and danger of the student left is that it appeals to many sincere student nonconformists who have a genuine interest in changing what they consider inequities in our society. As a Republican form of government, we can never oppose such legitimate change. At the same time, we must realize that our basic constitutional system of government is the oldest enduring form of government in the world, the most emulated in the world, and the only system that has ever been able to bring a significant and substantial measure of freedom, progress, and material comforts to those it governs. Our system has enabled us to produce one-third of the world's wealth even though we are only one-sixth of the world's population. The student left on many of our campuses today is seeking, not to better the faults of our system, but to change the system itself. This by their own admission is what they seek, whether they be disciples of the Chinese or Soviet version of leftism. A measure of their success can be seen in the inordinate influence they are exerting in the Vietnam dialog. They continuously whine that they live in a dangerous world that they didn't make. I can only say: thank God they didn't make it," Senator SIMPSON says.

The Wyoming Republican acknowledges many faults of the American system. He says Negroes in many Southern States do not have the right to vote, nor do they have equal protection under law. Both of these faults can be corrected by working within our Constitutional system and by a greater public awareness of conditions that need correction. SIMPSON urges the Albin students to "jump into the middle of adult life and participate. To really have lived life, you must participate in it, but take care that your participation does not tear and torture the basic system of government from which all our freedoms and privileges, our benefits and responsibilities are derived."

Senator SIMPSON says that almost every American who is today a leader in business, politics, and society will within two decades have been eclipsed by a student who is graduating or about to graduate. He said there is nothing so temporary as political leadership. The man at the wheel is constantly being changed as new, aggressive, and competent leaders arise from the student ranks.

Senator SIMPSON will tell the graduates the two most important words in their adult lives will be decision and responsibility. He says that today's students will be faced with responsibilities which were unknown to the students of earlier eras. Your decisions must be quicker, tougher, and of unerring accuracy, for many of you will take positions in government, business, and science, and be in a position to chart the future progress of our State, our Nation, and the world.

[Release from the office of U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON, May 18, 1965]

THE STUDENT LEFT

KINNEAR, WYO., May 18, 1965.—U.S. Senator MILWARD SIMPSON in a speech prepared for Morton High School graduation ceremonies says students "must take a long and profound look at their values and standards before leaving their homes to enter business or university life." He says the contest for the minds and allegiances of today's students is the sharpest in history and he urges the graduates to never underestimate the seriousness of the responsibilities they must assume as they leave the environment of their homes.

Noting that the graduates represent part of the first generation of Americans to live entirely in the cold war era, SIMPSON says the students face problems and decisions unknown to earlier generations.

"I believe Wyoming has an educational system which is more adequate than most in preparing you for the challenges that await you. As a graduate and long-time devotee of the University of Wyoming, I can enthusiastically recommend that campus which ranks in the top 10 percent of all American universities. However, there exists in many universities a challenge to your convictions and consciences that is only beginning to exist at our own school in Laramie."

Senator SIMPSON says the political left spawned on campuses throughout the country is reasserting itself in its strongest form since the depression. He cited a recent article in the Saturday Evening Post ("The Explosive Revival of the Far Left") together with speeches by the president of Howard University, in pointing out the danger to the American social and political system represented by the "unthinking, unconcerned, and Communist-oriented student left.

Senator SIMPSON will tell the Morton graduates that the influence of the student left on enlightened debate is being magnified and blown completely beyond its credibility by the Nation's press. He says the vast majority of students in our universities, their professors, and the overwhelming majority of Americans outside of academic circles favor President Johnson's Vietnam policy, but he says, "A vocal and violent minority playing on our constitutional guarantee that every minority can be heard has captured enough headlines and enough TV newscasts to create the false impression that theirs is the popular opinion in this country. As they work assiduously to oppose American policy, the hundreds of thousands of students who support the President and defend our social and political system but who neither sit-in nor riot, are made to appear in the minority."

Senator SIMPSON draws a comparison between the "fine young officers" at Cherry Point Marine Air Station, N.C., and the "unwashed and beer-soaked kooks and beatniks who were allowed to parade about the Nation's Capital last month in protest of America's policy in Vietnam." He says the clean-cut, clear-thinking young men and women in our Armed Forces, who fight for our country and not for pay, represent the vital consensus of American opinion. "This consensus must not be drowned out in the frantic clamor of the far left."

[From the Wyoming State Tribune]

THE CAMPUS COMMUNISTS

On May 18, 1965, Wyoming's Senator MILWARD SIMPSON in a speech delivered at a high school commencement exercise at Morton, Wyo., expressed alarm over the growth of leftwing political strength on the Nation's college campuses. He also called attention to the apparent development by which students involved with the Progressive Labor Party, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the WEB Dubois Clubs, and the like, were being joined by a small percentage of their professors.

At the time he drew some barbs from the political opposition for these statements, but occurrences across the country and particularly within the past few weeks have tended to not only bear him out but also to bring out the distressing fact that if Mr. SIMPSON erred in any respect, it was on understatement rather than exaggeration.

One of the calmest, most professional but most disturbing views of the campus Communists came yesterday from Dr. Stefan Possony an international authority on Communists and their techniques. Possony is director of the program of international political studies at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

Dr. Possony says the Communist infiltration of the campuses is nothing to be lightly regarded; that while this trend does not necessarily represent the efforts of the orthodox Communist Party of the United States, which is Moscow oriented, that it is one of Communist ties nevertheless. Possony made his comments in a copyrighted interview published by U.S. News & World Report.

The CPUSA is relatively weak, says Possony, and weaker than it has been in years; but the Communist agencies making the most gains are those which are Peiping rather than Moscow oriented. "They have been making considerable progress," he says.

Among working people? Among Negroes? None with the former, says Dr. Possony, and there is little evidence with the latter.

"But I am quite certain," he says, "that they are making progress with the college youth. In fact, the directive which was issued by the Communist Party several years ago was aimed precisely at that particular group. This is the most vulnerable group in the United States, and I would enlarge this group to include some of the college and university teachers, as well as the students."

In terms of total enrollment, the Communist following in the Nation's institutions of higher learning is small. Most students are not actively interested in politics, he says; but the Communist game is not one of numbers but of influence. Neither is it one of seeking to overthrow the United States by revolution, according to this authority; but rather of exercising a fundamental Communist principle of war and revolution through a technique known as revolutionary antimilitarism.

"The idea is to cut down the power of the military," says Possony. "It really doesn't make any difference whether the Communists disarm the military or whether they just make it impossible for the military to function efficiently as a security organ of the United States. The same idea applies to the police or to other vital institutions." Possony says the pacifism the student demonstrations are trying to promote is known as revolutionary pacifism.

The Vietnam war can be debated on a genuine, honest basis, but not with the Communists, says Possony, observing: "A true pacifist is against war—any war. A Communist is only against a war that does not serve communism. He is not against a war if it's a Communist war."

"To a Communist, pacifism is just a means to an end," he says. "He is pacifist in the United States today because he wants us to lose in Vietnam. Obviously, the same Communist is a 'bellicist,' or warmonger in North Vietnam because he wants his side to win this round."

If the situation changed where it were to the Communists' best interests to get the United States into a war, the Communists would become militarists just as they did in 1941 when the Reds switched suddenly from pacifism to advocating war when Hitler attacked the Soviet Union. "The line changed within 24 hours," says Possony. "The slogans changed but the demonstrators remained the same."

"Vietnam Hearings: Voices From the Grass Roots"—Reports Congressman Kastenmeier's Hearings in Madison

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the transcript of hearings on Vietnam held in Madison by the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. KASTENMEIER] is now available at bookstores as a small paperback called "Vietnam Hearings: Voices From the Grass Roots."

The hearings come to life as we read the calm, reasoned statement of an expert on southeast Asia, the more dramatic quotation from Dr. Dooley's book "Deliver Us From Evil," and the measured logic of an historian. Fifty witnesses testified to their own ideas or the positions of the organizations they represented.

His constituents are clearly proud to have the opportunity to discuss with their Congressman this vital topic. His own feelings are reflected in a postscript:

Those having concern for the vitality of democracy should be encouraged by the hearings as I was. Government by discussion has provided the strength needed to meet past crises and new means, whether in the form of these hearings or some other, will be developed to bring this strength to bear on future challenges and crises.

An editorial quoted on the back cover of the pocket book deserves repeating:

New York Times, August 14, 1965: "The notion that free discussion must be a casualty of the Vietnamese war impresses us as much more destructive of American values than any viewpoint that might be set forth at the hearings. We hope more Congressmen will hold them as a demonstration of democratic vitality."

Congressman KASTENMEIER is to be congratulated for letting us share his experience through the pages of this book.

Congressman Peter W. Rodino, Jr., Reports to the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, once again I have the privilege of reporting to my neighbors and constituents in the 10th District on accomplishments of this past session of Congress and on my work as their Representative.

This has been a unique year, and in fact the most productive session since I came to Congress in 1949. We have implemented approximately 85 percent of the specific legislative goals of the Democratic platform which the people of the Nation so overwhelmingly endorsed in the 1964 election. This Congress has thus kept faith with the American people and has responded amply to President Johnson's call for a Great Society. I am proud to have had a part in achieving what the President has called "the greatest outpouring of creative legislation in the history of the Nation." For in my assignment as assistant majority whip and a member of the House Steering Committee which works with the Speaker and the White House on legislative programs, I have had a heavy responsibility in participating in decisions of our House leadership on legislative prospects and scheduling.

It has always been my policy to weigh every issue with care and objectivity, for I consider myself the representative of all the people of the 10th district, regardless of political affiliation. And this I have adhered to in considering legislation during this session. I have had differences of opinion on some measures, on their provisions, priority or procedure. But in the end, I believe the bills I supported constitute constructive approaches to solving the myriad problems, many so long neglected that they are matters of crisis, which now confront us all.

THE INTERNATIONAL AREA: FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE

During this 1st session of the 89th Congress we have had foreign policy problems of considerable concern. Throughout this time of world turmoil, however, we were able to carry on our basic policy of seeking world peace while maintaining our strength. We have fulfilled our commitments to free nations seeking to resist Communist aggression; we have worked for an end to the arms race and proliferation of nuclear weapons; and we have sustained efforts of the United Nations to prevent conflicts and achieve diplomatic settlements of disputes. The cease-fire in the India-Pakistan conflict which threatened world peace is a cogent example. In the Caribbean, Castro's Cuba has been increasingly isolated. And the success of our policy is evidenced by the exodus of so many Cubans. In Santo Domingo, our initiative, together with forces of the Organization of American States, has prevented the spread of communism in this hemisphere.

Vietnam is, of course, still our major crisis in the international area. Faced by the growing threat of the Vietcong and heavy infiltration of North Vietnamese troops, we supported an increased U.S. role in the struggle. The wisdom of this decision has been sustained by the course of events.

Our actions in Vietnam serve notice that we intend to stand by our commitments to liberty and prevent the spread of communism in this area of key importance. But at the same time, as President Johnson has firmly and repeatedly stated, we are constantly seeking a negotiated solution leading to a workable peace beneficial for all southeast Asia.

To support our effort in Vietnam and our servicemen there, specific legislative measures were enacted: First, a $700 million appropriation for essential construction and materiel; second, an automatic insurance plan for servicemen on active duty, the bulk of which will be underwritten by the Prudential Insurance Co. centered in Newark; and third, free mailing privileges for servicemen in combat areas. And the military pay bill, providing an average increase of 10.4 percent will benefit all members of our armed services. These were all measures I strongly supported, and they have in my judgment increased both the scope and effectiveness of our military capability.

This Congress, while fulfilling its proper role in matters affecting our national security and foreign relations, has also compiled a magnificient record in meeting the challenges at home.

As a senior member of the Judiciary Committee I have been privileged to take an active role in winning approval of two major measures of importance to the Nation which have also been issues of long concern to me.

VOTING RIGHTS

Since 1960 we have made notable progress in the area of civil rights. But it remained for this Congress to pass the basic legislation necessary to guarantee for all our people the right to vote. This landmark measure will wipe out the century-old obstacles to exercise of the franchise promised our Negro citizens in the 15th amendment to the Constitution. I again had the rewarding task of authoring the report on this vital bill,

which should enable Negro Americans to walk openly and without fear to the polling booth.

IMMIGRATION REFORM

Ever since I came to Congress I have sought to improve our outdated and discriminatory immigration system, and with passage of the administration bill, which I cosponsored, we have at long last done justice to American humanity and conscience. We have abolished the odious national origins quota system. Now we will have an enlightened and fair policy placing emphasis on the reunification of families and on the admission of immigrants with special skills beneficial to our economy or who can fill labor shortages. The bill at the same time includes protective provisions to ensure that immigration will not jeopardize the jobs of American workers. Finally we have an immigration policy in keeping with our Nation's ideals and traditions, one which does not ask "where do you come from?" but "what can you bring to America?"

Other significant measures which our Judiciary Committee developed are the bills: First, providing a method to deal with the difficult problem of Presidential inability and succession. This measure, ending more than 176 years of uncertainty, now awaits ratification by the States; second, making it a Federal crime to kill, kidnap or assault the President. This has become law; and third, establishing Federal standards for congressional redistricting, to carry out the Supreme Court's one-man, one-vote decision. This measure has passed the House but still needs Senate action.

Our committee also had a heavy burden of other measures. For of the approximately 14,000 legislative proposals introduced in the House, or referred by the Senate, my committee received 38.5 percent for consideration, a very heavy proportion when one realizes there are 20 standing House committees. A number of these were private bills for the relief of individuals who suffered hardships under present law through no fault of their own.

MEDICARE AND OTHER MEASURES FOR OUR SENIOR CITIZENS

After long years of effort, this Congress enacted the medicare bill for our older Americans. As a cosponsor of the original bill, I was pleased that we not only approved the basic provisions for hospital and related benefits through the social security system, but also developed a supplementary voluntary program to cover doctor bills and certain other medical expenses. The struggle for this program was long arduous and often bitter. But the final result is a sound system by which Americans, during their working years, can assure themselves of dignity and security during their retirement years.

Another important step toward recognition of the role of our older citizens in our society was approval of a bill I had long sponsored to create a separate governmental agency devoted to the problems of our senior citizens. With establishment of the administration on aging we will have one agency where all programs affecting our older people can be effectively guided, coordinated and implemented.

The medicare bill also included an essential 7 percent increase in social security benefits and other provisions to help the indigent aged, needy children, the disabled and the blind. Other measures approved to aid many of our older people increase Federal retirement annuities and eliminate the restriction on dual spouse benefits under the Railroad Retirement Act.

EDUCATION: INVESTMENT IN THE FUTURE

Giant strides in education were made in the last session. At all levels we enacted legislation to meet the urgent needs of our youth and the Nation in our increasingly complex and technological society.

The Elementary and Secondary Act authorizes over a billion dollars for the first year of a grant program to improve schools, with the bulk of this aid going to local school districts with large concentrations of poverty-stricken children.

The Higher Education Act builds upon existing programs by authorizing Federal scholarships for needy students, guarantees for loans and expansion of the work-study program. It also establishes a National Teachers Corps to help improve educational opportunities for disadvantaged children. To make sure facilities will be available, the bill doubles authorized funds for construction and provides special help for college libraries and less developed colleges.

Vocational school loans is a fine new program providing insured low-interest loans to students entering post-high school business, trade, technical, and other vocational education schools.

The National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities was approved to provide aid for individuals and groups to stimulate and support the creative talent of our Nation, and I am proud to be a cosponsor of this bill.

HEALTH

Accomplishments of this session in the field of health are widespread, with help for Americans from the cradle to the sunset of life. In addition to the medicare bill, we approved a number of major and minor bills to meet our Nation's complex and growing health needs.

Water and air pollution control: These problems are especially acute in New Jersey, the most urbanized State in the Union, and for years I have sponsored and strongly advocated legislation to solve them. The Clean Air Act will require standards and regulations to control motor vehicle pollution and also establish a grant research program to develop improved solid waste disposal methods. The Water Quality Act, which I introduced, provides for establishing purity standards and for their enforcement on interstate waters and expands the program of grants for sewage treatment plant construction. To implement the program, the act also creates a new Water Pollution Control Administration.

Another major health bill which I sponsored will extend the construction and student loan programs for medical and other health professions and expand them by authorizing a scholarship program for needy students and aid to improve the quality of teaching in health professional schools.

Of importance to all Americans is the bold new program of grants to institutions to plan, establish, and operate regional medical programs to fight the major killing and crippling diseases—heart, cancer, and stroke. Another major bill authorizes grants for the initial personnel needed to staff the vitally essential community mental health centers approved in the 88th Congress.

In addition to these major new programs we enacted a number of other health bills, ranging from that improving controls over depressant and stimulant drugs to extension of the vaccination program.

ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY

This Congress has approved several measures which will, I believe, improve the lives of literally millions of people in the Nation and contribute to the health and growth of our economy.

The antipoverty program was doubled to create new and to expand existing opportunities for young people to obtain work, education, and training and to provide community action and adult education programs.

Also approved was a comprehensive 5-year program of grants and loans for public works and development/technical aid for economically depressed areas throughout the country. The bill includes authority for multicounty and multistate planning through regional commissions. And we also approved the essential bill geared specifically to rehabilitation of the long-depressed Appalachian region.

I was particularly heartened by the extension and improvement of the manpower development and training program, which has been of such value to New Jersey. I anticipate it will continue to benefit our State, with its highly varied and complex industrial structure.

TAXATION AND AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

One of the long proposed moves to stimulate our economy and aid business was the bill eliminating excise taxes. Most were eliminated last July, while the remaining few will be completely wiped out by 1969.

This and other measures I have already mentioned will help to create the kind of dynamic climate needed to help business and industry flourish. In addition, some specific measures became law to aid small business: the maturity of SBA disaster loans is increased from 20 to 30 years, with discretionary authority to suspend for up to 5 years payment of the principal and interest; the SBA revolving fund was increased by $120 million; and the portion of the revolving fund which may be on loan to small business investment corporations was also increased by this amount.

I had the privilege of presiding when the House debated another important bill, the State Technical Services Act. Under this act, $60 million over a 3-year period is authorized for matching grants to States which establish technical serv-

ice programs to provide business and industry with the latest scientific and technological information.

As ranking member of the Judiciary Special Subcommittee on State Taxation of Interstate Commerce, I had the opportunity to expedite and introduce legislation developed as a result of our 4-year study of this complex problem. It was introduced on the last day of the session so all interested individuals and governments can study it before the hearings I will press for early next session. The bill should achieve a more orderly and equitable method for States taxing businesses which sell across State lines, and I believe it will benefit both business and the States.

NATURAL RESOURCES AND THEIR CONSERVATION

In the last several years we have made great progress in preserving our dwindling natural resources throughout the Nation. I am particularly glad to report that three new bills will create recreational and historic areas close to people in northeastern New Jersey. Across from Jersey City, the Liberty National Monument will be developed on Ellis Island, with special attention to its role as the threshold to America for so many immigrants. Within a day's drive, there will be developed around the Tocks Island Dam a magnificent recreational asset in the Delaware Water Gap National Recreation Area. Down the Atlantic coast, off Maryland and Virginia, the Assateague National Seashore will be available to residents of the Northeast. And the new highway beautification bill, providing for control of billboards and junkyards and aid for landscaping, will transform many ugly highways into roadsides of charm and beauty.

Water: Beyond a doubt, this priceless resource loomed greatest among resource conservation needs for the 10th district and the entire Northeastern United States. We faced, and will in the future, a water shortage problem. But several vital measures enacted in the last session will bring all feasible efforts of the Federal Government to bear on the problem.

When the crisis developed, as dean of the New Jersey congressional delegation I called a bipartisan meeting, and as chairman of an ad hoc committee formed we investigated all possible sources of relief. As a result of our study, and fine cooperation from governmental agencies and the White House, I developed an amendment which was approved as part of the omnibus public works bill. This will authorize a system of reservoirs and conveyance facilities in the Northeast.

In addition to the Water Quality Act, which should help make now unusable water fit for varied uses, we also expanded and extended the saline water conversion program. This is a promising effort which I have advocated for some time, both here and also internationally, as a member of the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference Scientific and Technical Committee.

URBAN AFFAIRS AND DEVELOPMENT

Many measures I have previously mentioned, ranging from air pollution control to manpower retraining, are, of course, of special interest to urban areas, such as our heavily congested 10th district. There are in addition several of immediate impact.

We have now established a Cabinet-level Department of Housing and Urban Development, a bill I have introduced and long advocated. For the first time we have recognized that America is rapidly becoming an urban society. With concentration of urban problems in one department, we can begin to effectively attack and solve the mounting problems of our cities and suburbs.

The omnibus housing bill expands the urban renewal, elderly and public housing programs and extends the FHA loan insurance program, all of which have meant so much to our district and State. It also assists urban planning and open-space preservation and authorizes community facility grants for basic needs such as sewage treatment works. The bill also provides an imaginative new program for rent supplements for certain low-income families. These programs, coordinated by the new Department, should help turn back the tide and revitalize our decaying older cities.

Mass transportation has been a chronic problem for our State, and with passage of a new rapid transit research bill we hope to develop an effective solution to this problem which plagues the entire Northeast.

VETERANS

Measures of importance to our veterans were approved last session. One measure increases service-connected disability compensation benefits and the related additional allowances an average of 10 percent, another provides for a realistic cost-of-living increase in subsistence allowances paid to disabled veterans pursuing vocational rehabilitation training.

Two issues of special interest to New Jersey veterans are the need for expansion of the Beverly National Cemetery and veterans' hospital facilities. I will continue to work closely with the State in seeking from the Army Department a feasible solution to the Beverly Cemetery situation. Earlier I introduced a bill requiring that additional beds be made available at the East Orange hospital, and I am glad to say Congress approved this session a resolution urging an increased bed capacity for all veterans hospitals.

THE WORK AHEAD

Despite the phenomenal record of this past session, there is still work to be done. In the labor area, still pending are the measures to increase and expand the minimum wage, to improve the unemployment compensation program and repeal section 14b of the Taft-Hartley Act, which has been used to lure industry to move from New Jersey. Home rule for the District of Columbia, revision of our copyright laws, and a fair but effective firearms control bill still remain to be acted upon.

I shall also continue to work for several bills of my own. Particularly, I shall press for my bill to establish a Foreign Service Academy to give us a pool of highly skilled and trained talent to represent us abroad; for income tax deductions for the disabled for expenses of transportation to work; and a tax deduction for expenses of higher education. Also urgently needed is action to combat the narcotics problem and to curb the dissemination of obscene literature. I have introduced legislation to provide aid for hospital facilities for the rehabilitation of narcotic addicts and to increase the penalties for mailing and distribution of obscene materials. These will be of high priority on my legislative program next session.

This recital of legislative activity is necessarily restricted to a summary of the most important actions of the last session. But it indicates without doubt an extraordinary record of solid achievement by an industrious Congress working with an energetic President for the national benefit.

As in previous years, the Speaker appointed me a representative of the House to two international bodies, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and the NATO Parliamentarians' Conference. The former deals with problems of refugees and their resettlement, as well as ordinary immigration among free world nations. The NATO group deals with policy matters affecting the security and economic and political progress and development not only of the NATO nations themselves, but also that of the emerging nations of the world.

Despite the heavy burden of legislative work, I also spent considerable time providing assistance whenever possible to residents of the 10th district in expediting or clarifying personal problems they encountered in dealing with governmental agencies. It continues to be my desire to be of all possible service and help to people, either through my district office in Newark or my Washington office. So please call upon me whenever I can be of help or whenever you have views or suggestions on legislative issues.

Jimmy Roosevelt

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, it is an honor and a pleasure for me to join my colleagues in paying tribute to our beloved friend, JIMMY ROOSEVELT.

In my 17 years in the Congress, I have never known a more affable, hardworking, and dedicated Member of the Congress. JIMMY ROOSEVELT'S warm smile and sense of humor have become a tradition in this great institution. It is always refreshing to meet JIMMY ROOSEVELT in the corridors and on the floor of this House. He always had a relaxing influence on us during debate and times of tension.

JIMMY ROOSEVELT represented his district with dedication, devotion, and ability. The United States and the free world are fortunate that JIMMY ROOSE-

VELT will now help carry the banner of freedom in the United Nations. While we will miss him here and hope for his return, nonetheless we will gladly share his talents in the cause of world freedom.

What About Creeping Socialism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. FRANK CHURCH

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the 89th has been a remarkable Congress, but as many observers have pointed out it has been involved primarily in fulfilling the unmet promises of the New Deal. This Congress has helped America catch up on a tremendous backlog of needs, such as the plight of the forgotten fifth of our population, and the need to expand educational opportunity. But much remains to be done.

Still the cries of "creeping socialism" and "the welfare state" fill the air as a shorthand way of criticizing the work of the Congress. How much truth is there in the charge? How close are we to socialism?

I discussed this question in the Gaston lecture at Georgetown University April 7. I attempted to provide some sense of perspective on such questions as the size of the Federal debt, the number of Federal employees and the role of State governments. I ask that the lecture be included in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objecion, the lecture was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LECTURE BY MR. CHURCH

Ever since I can remember, I have been hearing about "creeping socialism" in the United States. After all these years, I am prepared to admit there is something to the argument. Since the end of the Second World War, socialism has been creeping, not into, but out of, our national life.

"Socialism" is defined by Webster as "the collective or governmental ownership • • • of essential means of production of goods." Just how does our Government stack up against that definition?

Immediately following the war, the Federal Government commenced to divest itself of manufacturing plants, food processing establishments, warehouses, and other holdings of a business character. Many of these properties had been built at public expense for wartime needs. They were sold, often for a few cents on the dollar, in order to place this productive potential in private hands. The program of divestment, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, has been a direct repudiation of socialism, and a deliberate endeavor to bolster and enlarge the private sector of our economy.

After World War II, the Government gave away or sold at a fraction of its cost $40 billion worth of factories and other real and personal property. In 1954, total proceeds from sales had dropped to only $8.6 million. Since then, however, the acceleration of the Government divestment program has been consistent and impressive. In the years since 1960, sales proceeds from real property have never fallen below $70 million a year. In 1964, the Federal Government disposed of over $90 million worth of its realty. Since 1955, the Government has sold personal property worth $261 million and given away $3,075 million in personal property.

Indeed, we are now engaged in an effort to close down Government-owned Navy years—Socialist operations going back nearly a hundred years—for the purpose of strengthening the private shipbuilding industry.

With a similar intent, the Kennedy administration opted against putting the Federal Government into the telestar business, out of preference for private enterprise. Even though the research had been almost entirely financed by the Government, the satellite communication business was turned over to a special corporation, created by an act of Congress. The Federal Government now leases facilities back from the corporation.

Under the present administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity is letting contracts to private business to render social services exactly as the Pentagon lets contracts to produce missiles, putting a profit motive even into the war on poverty. Already four private corporations have contracts totaling $44 million to run Job Corps camps, and there are more to come.

Creeping socialism? Pierre Salinger was asked about it at an Idaho Press Association meeting last year. His reply was: "I've spent a lot of time around the White House, and believe me, none of it is creeping around there."

There was a time when socialism was a living force in American politics. A few years before I was born, Eugene Debs, running for President on the Socialist ticket from a jail cell, collected nearly a million votes. During the depression years, many Americans still considered socialism as the only answer to chronic unemployment, spreading poverty, and general misery.

The industrial societies of Western Europe turned increasingly to socialism as a solution to the problems brought on by the sweatshop, the factory town, the inequitable distribution of wealth, and the excessive concentration of economic power in the hands of the few. The movement toward socialism carried many a European country far down the road, but the momentum is waning at last. It now appears, more and more, to be a spent force, except in the underdeveloped regions of Africa and Asia, where the lack of private capital makes socialism the only choice.

To be sure, we have been living through a time of ferment, marked by rapid political, economic, and social change. In the least fortunate lands, this upheaval has led to the extremes of the right and left—to fascism or to communism. But nowhere have these changes been better contained, or more restrained, than in the United States.

The New Deal harnessed the wild horses of revolution to the wagon of measured reform. Roosevelt sought to build, upon the foundation of free enterprise, a system of stability truly responsive to the needs of the Nation, a peoples' capitalism of wealth widely shared. For four-fifths of our people, that goal has now been achieved.

Look, for example, at how we are solving the problems created by our massive urban population: the need for housing, for old-age protection, and for electrical energy:

1. While other industrialized countries put the Government in the business of building most of the housing, we chose a system of tax incentives and an FHA program of low-interest loan guarantees, which left the vast majority of building and lending in private hands. The Federal Government now finances housing projects almost exclusively in those areas of low income where private capital cannot, or will not, venture.

2. Other industrialized countries, such as West Germany, spend as much as 20 percent of the gross national product on social security, 24 of them spending a larger part of their national budgets on the program than do we. The United States has maintained a relatively modest social security program, while encouraging private retirement plans to assume the bulk of the load.

3. While other countries have nationalized their power systems in the United States, 76 percent of our power is today generated by private industry, with only 13 percent generated by the Federal Government. Since John F. Kennedy—one of those so frequently accused of promoting creeping socialism—became President, private power companies have each year obtained a larger share of the market, while that of public power has steadily declined. Now, President Johnson is joining private and public power agencies in compacts to build joint transmission lines, with the benefit going to both sides, and to the consumer.

It is true that our economy is a mixture of things. There is a certain amount of Government ownership, particularly at the State and local level. We also have our farm cooperatives, our REA's, and our nonprofit associations. But the essential character of our economy has been sturdily preserved. Even public transportation—railroads, airlines, buses, steamships—and public communications—telephones, telegrams, radio, television—all have remained largely in private hands.

In fact, the privately owned and operated sector of our economy has been experiencing unprecedented growth. Never has new investment been greater, or earnings higher, or employment larger, than in recent years. By any standard of measurement, free enterprise in America is just doing fine.

This is not to say that all our problems are solved, not by any means. Nor is it to say that our present affluence, enjoyed by 80 percent of the American people, just happened that way. It didn't. What we have today is, in large measure, the result of what we have learned in the art of government over the past 30 years, the assured retirement income we have provided the aged, the unemployment compensation for between-job grocery money, and the minimum wage standards we have written into law. Also noteworthy are the tools for fiscal management of the economy that we have perfected, such as the control of interest rates to stimulate or contract capital investment, or the resort to public works in order to stem a downward turn in the business cycle.

More recently, we have been learning about the dramatic growth that can be achieved from a calculated tax cut. Contradicting every orthodox preachment that taxes must not be reduced during a period of deficit spending, three consecutive tax cuts for business, with a fourth coming this year, have resulted in a business expansion so pronounced that unemployment has fallen to the lowest level in 84 months. The resultant increase in overall revenue to the Federal Government now promises the prospect of a balanced budget 2 years hence. Henry Ford's discovery that more money could be made by selling a cheaper car has finally been recognized on the banks of the Potomac.

But if it be true that the United States is moving away from socialism, what about those other charges—the ones about the welfare state—which have become so familiar, and which go something like this:

The do-gooders have taken over. They want the Federal Government to act as wet nurse for the whole population, from the cradle to the grave, insuring that every want is uniformly satisfied. They are extracting, through high taxes, the good citizen's money, and doling it out to shiftless, improvident citizens. In the process, the Government is becoming insolvent, and a

monstrous bureaucracy has arisen which stretches its tenacles around the 50 States, slowly squeezing them to death. Our traditional system of checks and balances is thus being undermined, and the liberties of the people eroded away.

For those more interested in pulling the sheets off hobgoblins than quailing before them, just what are the facts about this somber indictment?

To begin, what accounts for the big government we have in Washington today, and the relatively high level of Federal taxation needed to support it? A look at recent Federal budgets will make the answer at once evident. Big government on the Potomac is chiefly the product of the warfare state, not the welfare state.

More than half of the Federal budget goes directly to the Armed Forces. Nearly $10 billion a year goes to pay the $269 billion portion of the national debt accumulated in World War II. More than $5 billion goes to the space budget. Other expenses, such as those for the Atomic Energy and Central Intelligence agencies, and the swollen costs of diplomacy and foreign aid, including military assistance to our allies, all relate directly to the security requirements of the United States.

Add these up and the total amounts to about three-quarters of the entire budget. Of your Federal tax dollar this year, the Government will spend about 11 cents on all of its programs for health, housing, and welfare.

Far from strangling the States, the Federal Government is assisting the States to finance their programs of public assistance, roads, and education. Here, for example, are three measures either recently enacted or awaiting congressional action:

1. Appalachia, which provides slightly more than a billion dollars to promote the recovery of a chronically depressed area. It will actually be subject to the control of the Governors of the 11 affected States.

2. The much-discussed war on poverty program, which is basically a community action approach. Local communities draw up their own plans for needed social services, retraining courses, or new industry, and come to the Federal Government for seed money and technical assistance. All begins and ends at the local level.

3. The aid-to-education bill, now before the Senate. Again, the money will go directly to the States and local school districts for use within general categories, but administered entirely by local people. Even with passage of this bill, less than 2 percent of the Federal budget will be spent for education.

Everyone recognizes that public relief, as carried on by most State and local governments, merely perpetuates poverty. The new programs approved by Congress, such as area redevelopment, Appalachia, and the so-called war against poverty, are directed toward job training and the building of new industry. They are calculated to get people off the relief rolls and onto payrolls. I don't see anything wrong with that.

As to the next hobgloblin—the alleged growth of the Federal bureaucracy—let's compare it with that of the States. Actually, Federal employment no longer keeps pace with the growth of the country. Twenty years ago, there were 16 Federal employees for every 1,000 inhabitants. Today there are only 12. In the same period, the number of State and local government employees rose from 24 to 37 per thousand. Since 1946, Federal employment has increased by only 4.2 percent, while State and local government employment has gone up 114 percent.

And what of the Federal debt? Most of it was accumulated in wartime. Since 1947, it has risen by 16 percent. In the same period, private debt held by individual citizens increased 586 percent, that of corporations by 323 percent, and that of State and local government by a whopping 578 percent. If debt accumulation is the measure of fiscal irresponsibility, the self-styled sentinels would do better if they stationed themselves closer to home.

This brings us to an examination of the last hobgoblin in the spook-show version of the welfare state to which I earlier referred, the familiar assertion that the huge Federal octopus is crushing our basic freedom. This question ought to be paramount in any appraisal of the larger role the Federal Government has come to play in our society.

The expanded scope of Federal activity has naturally engendered suspicion. The Founding Fathers assigned a very limited role to the National Government, one suited to the life of a rural and sparsely populated colonial America. They could not foresee the sweeping changes the future held in store for their infant country. They could not possibly have envisioned how our lives would be transformed by stampeding science, by mammoth industries, and by the burgeoning growth and urbanization of America.

Our own history furnishes the evidence that the Federal Government has been extended, not because anyone planned it that way, not in pursuit of any conspiracy to concentrate power in Washington, not, indeed, because any body of doctrine required it, but simply because the country grew and changed, new problems arose which existing machinery could not solve, and new ways were worked out, usually on a trial-and-error basis, to meet them.

Has this expanded role of the Federal Government infringed upon our freedom? If by freedom, one means the bundle of individual rights guaranteed to each citizen by the Federal Constitution, then there is no evidence to support the charge. The whole movement of our history has been in the direction of enlarging the bundle: Slavery has been abolished, women's suffrage has been won, the many restrictions that once made voting the privilege of the propertied few have been steadily sluffed away.

And the process continues. This very day, Negro citizens are engaged in an heroic endeavor to secure for themselves, in practice, the equality which the Constitution promises them in principle. Their racial revolution is further extending the frontiers of freedom in America.

Our political ancestors did not bestow upon us a system of freedom, finished and fine. Rather, they set us upon the road that leads toward freedom; they lighted a lamp for us, and they gave us a Constitution as a vehicle; but it has been up to those Americans who came after them to make the long journey. The history of the United States has been one of steady progress along the road. As long as we continue the march, so long shall we keep the faith of our fathers—so long shall we be able to share an honest pride in the greatness of our country.

A Republican editor from my State has written some wise words recently about this historical course:

"We would do our children a favor—seeing to it that so many of them do not remain children politically all their lives—if we taught them not merely the greatness of a few men dead but also of the relative lack of dignity in which our recent ancestors lived.

"At this country's birth you could not vote it were you female, if you owned no land (as most did not), if you were indentured or a slave. Most children didn't go to school as we know school; they were chattel.

"In mills and factories and mines, tens upon tens of thousands of children worked for as little as 50 cents a week paid to their parents or to owners-by-indenture.

"Many Birchers are at most the great-grandsons of Irishmen who died for no greater offense than being Irish; Calvinists, Catholics, Jews, and then Mormons, lost life or property or citizenship because of their religion or nationality.

"A hundred years ago our American ancestors were slaughtering each other; less than half that long ago real warfare was waged in the mining camps and railroad yards and in the streets and docks of industrial cities.

"In hundreds of communities it was only in the schools, as education became a birthright, that children of different ancestry met—and by no means unanimously, and by no means is the process over—and learned however grudgingly, to believe that persons reared differently from themselves might be entitled to the same rights and opportunities as themselves in a free society.

"We have come a long, long way. We are freer, happier, healthier, and more knowledgeable and peaceable than any generation of our ancestors. The difference is phenomenal. Many an extremist is simply a child who never learned this, and so remains a child."

In concluding, I do not want to leave any impression that we Americans can be either smug or satisfied with our past achievements. A fifth of our people still live in squalor and ignorance. Slums fester like open sores in every major city. Our rivers are contaminated, and our air is befouled. Millions of our people are still denied fundamental rights. There is much to be done.

But there is much to which has been done—accomplishments in which we can take a rightful pride. The federal system has been preserved, excessive concentration of political power has been averted, our private economy has been made to flourish for the many instead of a few. Ours is a great and free land, rich beyond dreaming, powerful beyond belief; a land still striving to reach the goals of personal liberty, equality and opportunity to which we pledged our Nation in the days of its infancy.

God only knows what our fate is to be, but on this earth we can shape our destiny. We can best prepare for it by facing the future, instead of the past, and by recognizing that our society, as we know it today, has been fashioned by the effort of freemen to regulate their affairs in the response to the needs of the changing times.

Let the process continue, for it cannot be stopped. And let us pray that it will be directed in the future as it has in the past, by unbigoted and pragmatic men, who have no fear of hobgoblins, and who are dedicated to the everlasting quest of keeping our society open and free.

Speaker John McCormack

SPEECH
OF
HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN
OF SOUTH CAROLINA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, our beloved Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK, is one of the very ablest Speakers in the history of the U.S. Congress. As Speaker, he has guided us through the most momentous and historic session in the history of Congress. This session will largely determine the course of history in the Western World for the next 100 years.

Speaker MCCORMACK has presided over this House with a dignity, dedication, and loyalty so reminiscent of the Found-

ing Fathers of our country. He has presided over the House as Washington presided over the Constitutional Convention, as John Hancock over the Continental Congress, and as the late Sam Rayburn. I believe that history will record JOHN W. MCCORMACK'S name alongside these illustrious leaders.

May I remind my collegaues that for 14 months our distinguished Speaker was next in line for succession to the Presidency. During this period he was a tower of strength and reassurance to the American people during a trying and tragic hour. Speaker MCCORMACK sustained and supported the President and earned the gratitude of all those who love freedom throughout the world.

American prestige, economic growth, and U.S. military strength is now at an alltime peak. This alltime high is due largely to the illustrious leadership of our beloved Speaker, JOHN W. MCCORMACK.

The Poverty Battle—Welfare or Warfare?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ROMAN C. PUCINSKI
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PUCINSKI. Mr. Speaker, the Chicago Sun-Times, in a recent edition, carried two excellent articles by Mr. Thomas Day and Mr. Tom Littlewood about the war on poverty.

We in Chicago are extremely proud of the fact that, under the leadership of Mayor Daley, our antipoverty program is further advanced than any other community in the United States. We are the first to admit our problems involved in such a huge effort, but the article by Mr. Day clearly illustrates how effectively Chicago has undertaken this vast task.

I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to these two articles because in them I believe they can find many excellent suggestions for their own communities.

Mr. Speaker, the articles follow:

THE POVERTY BATTLE—WELFARE OR WARFARE?

(NOTE.—Depending on the viewpoint, the war on poverty in its first year was a mere slogan, an inspired crusade, an overdue economic program, a bureaucratic boondoggle. But nearly all agree that it was an ambitious concept, introducing novel approaches to some age-old problems. On balance, how has the campaign progressed and what are the prospects?

(By Thomas Day)

Viewed candidly, it's an impossible problem—this business of wiping out poverty.

No solution can come fast enough for the poor people of Chicago. They want a better life, and they want it soon.

But there are no quick or easy victories in the war on poverty. It is a conflict dominated by economic trench warfare—a long battle that must be won family-by-family and ghetto-block-by-ghetto-block.

Dollars are all important in this endless war. It hasn't happened yet, but the time may come when the battle plan is reduced to this simple equation: X numbers of dollars will cure X cases of poverty.

This is a war that is certain to grow rapidly in Chicago in years to come. Already mystifying to most persons, it will become more and more difficult to follow. Comprehensive evaluation will become nearly impossible.

Asked how the war is going, officials gingerly sidestep, saying it is too early to tell.

The only test I can make is a relative one, said Dr. Deton J. Brooks, Jr., who directs the Chicago effort. We've tooled up fast in Chicago.

This would be the test: If the program were to be withdrawn in 3 or 5 or 10 years, would the people be reinforced enough to be somewhat self-directed?

One thing is certain: Huge sums of Federal cash now are becoming available for the effort toward self-direction here. Funds approved for the city now total $17 million. Next year the Federal budget here will be at least $30 million.

If you are one of the poverty stricken—and in a family of four this means an income of not more than $3,140 a year—there is a good chance that some of this money will be used for your benefit.

Chicago has spent much of the money received so far to expand and decentralize public and private services. The city administration has kept tight control over all funds, including those allotted private agencies.

Antipoverty officials contend their control assures responsible handling of the cash. Moreover, they assert, if Chicago residents don't approve of the way the money is spent, they can always throw out their elected representatives.

Critics say the program is designed to benefit the Democratic Party machinery more than the poor. The poor, they point out, have been allowed little say in planning the programs that are supposed to help them.

Some community leaders have contended that they—not the city administration—truly "represent the poor."

Mayor Daley himself gave ammunition to the critics of the poverty war when he said last December that Chicago's urban progress centers would be like neighborhood city halls. Daley's detractors promptly replied that one downtown city hall is as much as the people can bear.

The urban progress centers mentioned by Daley are a crucial part of Brooks' plan to reinforce the poor.

Six centers have been established so far, at 4622 South South Park, 1935 South Halsted, 839 West 64th, and 1030 East 63d on the South Side; at 3138 West Roosevelt on the West Side; and at 901 West Montrose for the North Side's uptown and lakeview areas.

A seventh center will open shortly at the Garfield Park Fieldhouse, 100 North Central Park. Several more centers will be opened in coming months, plus a number of substations.

Fully staffed, a center employs between 160 and 170 persons.

Housed in the centers are representatives of public and private agencies such as Cook County Department of Public Aid, Chicago Housing Authority, Illinois State Employment Service, the building, fire, and health departments, Small Business Administration, and the Legal Aid Bureau of United Charities of Chicago.

The antipoverty planners hope to cut away some of the red tape and frustration at central offices by setting up these branches. The branch offices are also easier to approach than downtown offices, which frighten many Chicagoans.

Each little city hall has an advisory council of anywhere from 65 to 80 persons to help chart policy. The council must approve all poverty programs in the neighborhood.

Repeated criticism of the poverty program by the Woodlawn Organization on the South Side resulted in all of its 21 nominees being appointed to the Woodlawn council.

TWO's president, Rev. Lynward Stevenson, had charged that the poor, whom he claimed to represent, had not been given a voice in the expenditure of antipoverty funds.

The appointments announced by Brooks did not end the running battle between TWO and the antipoverty officials. The Reverend Mr. Stevenson claimed that Mayor Daly had promised TWO a majority voice on the council of the Woodlawn center, at 1030 East 63d.

The council was the fourth to be selected, and its membership of 75 was about average in size.

Brooks asserts that the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity, which directs the city's efforts, is beseiged by so many groups which claim to represent the poor that it sometimes cannot push past them and reach the persons who really need help.

One of the CCUO's chief means of reaching them is certain to erupt in controversy.

The eyes and ears of each progress center, in the words of the CCUO, will be at least 50 community representatives. More than 200 have been hired already. They are persons living in the neighborhood who are defined as poor and are either unemployed or underemployed.

An underemployed person is a laborer, for example, who has the intelligence and ambition for a white-collar job.

The community representatives, according to a CCUO spokesman, are expected to "let the people know what we have to offer, find out what they want, and recruit people for the war on poverty."

The community representatives, it is hoped, will include persons with "leadership ability," even if they cannot read or write. The annual salary is $4,074.

To blunt criticism—one observer warned the jobs could be used to buy off potential troublemakers—the CCUO hired the management consulting firm of Daniel D. Howard Associates, Inc., at 307 North Michigan, to screen and train applicants. Final selection of the community representatives is up to a panel composed of a representative of the consultant firm, of the CCUO office at 1 North Wacker, and of the urban progress center.

Another 60 or so neighborhood residents will be hired by each center as program representatives. These employees will act as aids in various neighborhood centers such as libraries, day camps, social agencies, and recreation programs.

In the controversy over the "maximum feasible participation" of the poor required by the Office of Economic Opportunity, which oversees the Nation's war on poverty, CCUO points, among other things, to these 110 jobs or so at each center.

Moreover, it says, the director of each center and its advisory council are selected at 1 North Wacker from residents of the neighborhood.

Hiring neighborhood residents without social work training as, in effect, social workers, is one of the poverty war's radical departures from the traditional government welfare approach. It is not confined to the urban centers. Huge grants have been approved for private social agencies to hire persons from the neighborhood for informal social work.

The Chicago Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers got one of the largest grants, for $583,396.

Explaining its use, the federation's executive director, Clarence W. Boebel, noted that "there has been a lot of talk in recent months about self-determination. The talk is that people in need of help should determine what they need."

Each of 16 agencies in the organization will hire 12 persons—a project director who has experience in the field; 3 persons from the neighborhood who are unemployed

or who could handle a better job, for full-time work; 4 part-time workers from the neighborhood, and 4 part-time specialists, such as psychiatrists, carpenters, or seamstresses.

Among agencies involved are Erie House, Marcy Center, Henry Booth House, Hyde Park Neighborhood Club, Firman House, and Association House.

What will all the workers do? Boebel illustrated the hopes of the project by relating an experience at Marcy Center, 1539 South Springfield, on the West Side.

Two years ago, with a grant from the United Settlement Appeal, the center "sent people into block clubs," Boebel recalled. "They asked what the people wanted, and they said a day care program. The center said its program was filled up."

The parents in the neighborhood raised $100 and the settlement house put up $200. Marcy Center assigned some of its staff to watch over the children 2 days a week and take them on trips to museums and the beach.

Before long, Boebel said, the mothers were running the program by themselves. There are now four groups in the neighborhood with day care programs.

When the federation submitted its proposal for Federal funds under the war on poverty, it ran into a problem, however.

"You submit a proposal like this," according to Boebel, "saying you want to do what the people in the neighborhood want, and the first thing you're asked is, 'What are you going to do with the money?' "

After rewriting the proposal five times, the federation got a green light. Officials of the federation had told the poverty war authorities, Boebel said, that it knew of "35 areas, which, on the basis of 60 years experience, will be of concern."

They included financial help, possibly through credit unions: educational assistance, such as organizing a group of mothers to spend part of 1 day a week watching over neighborhood children while they do their schoolwork, and consumer education programs, with the neighborhood stores the scope of the study.

Brooks, Boebel recalled, had "ruled that any agency named in a proposal had to be ready to move instantly," and this was one criterion for choosing the particular 16 from the federation's membership of 27.

Another community-action grant went to the Department of Public Aid to hire 20 housing consultants and 60 nonprofessionals to check complaints and gather information about substandard housing.

The nonspecialists, who are being hired from the relief rolls, will help the welfare institution expand its tactic of withholding rent from landlords who persist in violating housing codes.

In the West Side, the American Friends Service Committee has a grant of $65,446 to bring together interracial groups of children for work, play, and field trips.

The funds will help pay for a small administrative staff, several counselors, a secretary and a bookkeeper, and the expenses of an expected 120 volunteers.

Groups of four to six children of elementary school age will meet under supervision of a counselor. Half the children in a gathering will be from the Negro areas of Garfield Park and half from the Old Town Boys Club, American Indian Center on Chicago's North Side, or similar agencies.

Another of the more than 30 grants—with Federal funds approaching a total of $5 million—was given to the Chicago Small Business Administration, a branch of the Small Business Administration.

Agencies, whether public or private, must come up with 10 percent of the Federal cost. The payment may be either in cash or in kind, or in a combination of the two. Payments in kind would include the fair rental price of a room that has not been in use, plus the maintenance costs and depreciation.

In an effort to guard against waste and deception, the CCUO does not dish out the cash and hope for the best, but instead reimburses agencies for money already spent. This policy, the CCUO has discovered, is hard on the poorer agencies. It could discourage their participation. A system of advances of funds is being considered.

Indicative of the poverty war's emphasis on young people is Project Head Start, an effort to give children between 4 and 6 a taste of school.

More than 23,000 children, the second largest number in any single city in the Nation, took the 7-week course. CCUO officials do not claim it has benefited all of them.

The project—to give children who could not attend nursery school a head start on regular schooling—has been widely hailed as a real help to thousands of young children.

With support from many sides, including public, private, and Roman Catholic schools, Head Start is commonly recognized as an honest, if somewhat hastily put together, effort.

The project has also taught hundreds of volunteers a good deal about children from poor neighborhoods.

Through the Neighborhood Youth Corps, about 9,500 Chicagoans between 16 and 22 have taken full- or part-time jobs with public and private organizations.

This is one of several antipoverty programs that has aroused controversy.

Alderman Edward T. Scholl (41st) and Alderman John J. Hoellen (47th) have demanded a city council investigation of the project, contending it is wasting tax funds "on a grand scale." The aldermen charge the youths are engaging in made-work assignments duplicating those of employees already on public payrolls.

But leaders of the poverty program deny the charges, insisting the aldermen don't understand the project.

Under the Neighborhood Youth Corps program, more than $5 million is being spent to give full- and part-time jobs to young Chicagoans.

Students work 15 hours a week at the NYC uniform rate of $1.25 an hour. The $18.75 weekly gross income will keep impoverished youths from dropping out of school to take a job, it is hoped.

Out-of-school youths, some of whom have not been graduated from high school, work 30 hours a week at the same rate. NYC jobs are at 32 public and private institutions, including the Chicago Park District, the city department of streets and sanitation, Chicago Board of Health, Chicago Board of Education, and the YMCA.

Another $3 million is being spent on jobs in the Summer Neighborhood Youth Corps.

Available under the two programs were 11,000 jobs. Some 9,500 were filled.

The YMCA hired 258 persons under the NYC.

Seventy-eight were terminated, according to an official. About 10 went back to school or another job, 5 or 6 left for medical reasons, including pregnancy, and the rest either quit, were jailed, or simply didn't work out.

Here are a few extracts from reports on youngsters:

A young man, who worked in a cafeteria, did a good and honest job. He finally went back to school.

A young woman's IQ was too low, and the "Y" was "running out of things she can do."

A young man, hired as a janitor, has been hired full time by the "Y" from the Youth Corps.

Another boy "has no concept of authority."

Another is sitting down on his maintenance job.

But a young woman "has shown an eagerness to learn and has taken a typing course."

Of the young men and women who are still on the payroll, the "Y" has found them to work, on the average, just about as well as other employees.

The NYC, according to a CCUO spokesman, "is not designed primarily to give anyone a specific skill, but to put them in a job so they can get good job attitudes and learn how to work for somebody.

"A lot of them have never had a boss. And we hope that a school dropout, for instance, will learn from experience that education is necessary. You can't tell him that."

The CCUO hopes to expand the NYC to about 13,000 persons next year.

Of the many antipoverty programs now getting underway here, perhaps the most unique is one aimed at reuniting deserting fathers with their families.

A $719,000 grant has been authorized for this experimental program, which will be administered by the Cook County Department of Public Aid.

Under the project, the public aid agency will seek out 300 deserting fathers with the help of courts and caseworkers. Because the agency has found that unemployment is a key cause of desertion, efforts will be made to train the fathers for steady work.

A big percentage of the trainees will be Negroes.

If the program is successful, it could point the way for a national assault on a problem outlined in a recent confidential report of the U.S. Department of Labor—the breakdown of Negro family life.

The Labor Department report noted that almost one-fourth of all Negro families now are headed by females—more than double the percentage for whites. High rates of desertion, separation, and divorce were blamed for the trend toward a matriarchal Negro society.

The antidesertion program is indicative of the widening scope of the poverty war. And as the war grows, so does the controversy surrounding it.

Underlying the arguments in the first year of the war are both political and intellectual conflicts.

The threat of independent organizations armed with Federal funds to the established structures has been noted by many.

A $500,000 proposal by the interreligious council on urban affairs to train neighborhood leaders is an example. The proposal is under discussion by the ICUA and the staff of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity after its initial rejection by poverty war officials.

Rabbi Robert J. Marx, chairman of the religious council, explains the proposal this way:

"Basically what we hope to do is to help them (West Side residents) handle the real problems of their area—housing, jobs, the businesses of the area and their responsibility, and the political structure, for example," he said.

Asked if the new leaders would pose a threat to the existing political organization, Rabbi Marx replied:

"This may be a fear of some people out there. But I feel the important thing is that the people in the area learn to be responsible leaders. This is a legitimate function of the Federal Government."

Brooks disagrees, though he noted that the proposal has not been turned down by the CCUO.

"They could establish their own precinct programs on Government funds without the representation of the people.

"If we fund it, we would have no way of knowing if the people on the West Side wanted it," he remarked.

Also involved in the hassle are the methods of Organizer Saul Alinsky, head of the Industrial Areas Foundation, which founded the Woodlawn Organization.

The West Side Federation, which helped prepare the $500,000 proposal, has discussed retaining Alinsky's services.

Alinsky is a highly controversial grassroots organizer known for his belief in agitation and conflict to bring about social change. He does not believe that the existing political, social, and economic structure will accommodate itself to the needs of the poor unless forced.

Brooks disagrees, asserting that conflict is unnecessary because city hall is committed to directing its efforts to help the poor—a claim that many have disputed.

Representative ROMAN C. PUCINSKI, Democrat, of Illinois, a strong supporter of the Democratic organization in Chicago and Illinois, maintained recently that Alinsky is the hero of the Washington staff of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Alinsky's writings, he claimed, are studied carefully and set the intellectual tone for some of the OEO kingpins.

Brooks has had a good deal of difficulty with this staff. He is known to believe that OEO head, R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., should get rid of some of his aids.

The composition of the Chicago Committee on Urban Opportunity has come under fire from some quarters, including the Woodlawn Organization and Representative ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, Democrat, of New York, for its failure to include "the poor."

Dr. Brooks has named the directors of the urban progress centers to the citywide policy committee.

The committee also includes alderman, heads of some of the private agencies that will administer funds, heads of large government agencies, such as the Cook County Department of Public Aid, Edwin C. Berry, executive director of the Chicago Urban League, businessmen such as John D. deButts, president of Illinois Bell Telephone Co., and labor leaders.

Most, though not all, of Chicago's battles in the war on poverty are in Negro areas. The Uptown-Lakeview area is an exception.

Indicating the limits of the antipoverty effort, Economist Leon Keyserling has said that, even if it were 100-percent successful, it still could not do more than 5 percent of what would constitute a war on poverty.

Also containing the implication that the war on poverty has been unrealistically named was a statement by Raymond M. Hilliard, director of the Cook County Department of Public Aid and a supporter of the nationwide effort.

The funds allotted for the war, he stated, are "only a drop in the bucket compared to the education and training programs needed to alleviate deprivation and misery."

POLITICAL RIVALRY OVER THE POOR

(By Tom Littlewood)

WASHINGTON.—The turbulence through which the antipoverty program is groping becomes more discernible when one reminds himself what it is: the investment of tax funds to subsidize a social revolution.

"We're finding out," an astute Democratic Congressman observed recently, "what everyone should have expected all along, that when you try to bring the poor into the democratic process you shake the power structure, you stir things up plenty."

The war on poverty is the expenditure of large sums of Federal money to create economic opportunities for the poor in the hope that some will be able to earn their way out of poverty.

The Federal Office of Economic Opportunity, which thought originally it would need a staff of 300 to 700, and now has nearly 1,000, was set up last October 8. The first disbursements were not made until the day after the November election. In 10 months slightly less than $700 million has been allocated—a pretty fair initial injection for an untried program, even in Washington.

Congress is in the closing stages now of more than doubling the second-year allowance to $1.8 billion. The administration had asked for only $1.5 billion.

Largest of the several parts of the operation is the community action program.

About $170 million in grants has been distributed to public or private groups in 530 communities, directed, the Government estimates rather vaguely, at some 600,000 people.

Political struggles have unfolded in the larger cities for control of these projects—also for quite logical reasons.

The money is intended, fundamentally, to organize poor neighborhoods for self-improvement.

Authorized already are 24,000 jobs—"nonprofessional aids"—enlisted from the community and paid to help their neighbors. These field workers are expected to assist their neighbors in pressing for correction of housing code violations, obtaining more reasonable rents, expediting public assistance payments, finding employment, and solving their consumer credit complications.

Many of these workers obviously can be expected to achieve status and influence in the neighborhood. In other words, sort of like a good big city precinct captain ought to be—if all precinct captains thought and acted like social workers.

Such a bounteous setup titilates the ordinary ward committeeman.

Director R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., who is in charge of a worldwide enterprise, the Peace Corps, too, has discovered that the fellows whose opinion commands attention all the way to the White House may not care who is battling beri-beri in Brazil but they darn well care who snatches a neat package of nonprofessional jobs in the 24th ward.

So the relevant question seems to be: Who owns the poor? Will the community action grants be used to reinforce the entrenched big city political organizations under the mayors? Or might they go to rival independent groups who might have bold new ideas about tackling poverty but might also use the resources to try to overthrow city hall?

Several weeks ago Shriver was summoned to a gripe session of the House Education and Labor Committee Democrats which must have perplexed even the fast-talking wonder worker of Washington.

Chairman ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, who would like to run the New York City program, complained again because the city agency had not sufficiently involved the poor.

Democrats from the big cities protested because of "kooks" and other social worker types on Shriver's staff were imposing their will on the city agencies and holding up the cash unnecessarily.

Two from Los Angeles, Augustus F. Hawkins and James Roosevelt took violent exception to the planning committee finally assembled after Federal nudging by Mayor Samuel Yorty following the recent riot.

The upshot of it all was that POWELL's committee now has an extra $100,000 with which to carry on a continuing investigation of the poverty program and further complicate Shriver's busy life.

It is Shriver's belief that, local administration being preferable to total Federal control, local conflict is inevitable; that the various local pressure points were anticipated in the law; and that some local unity is necessary under the city agency so that "just like in the Confederate States before the Constitution, soldiers don't go home when it snows."

Next to community action, the Job Corps has been a target of criticism. About 12,000 youths, school dropouts at home, have been placed in 59 job training centers at a contracted cost of $96 million. About 13 percent of the enrollees have dropped out and returned home.

Other aspects of the program:

Neighborhood Youth Corps: Summer and part-time jobs in hospitals, libraries and other public facilities for 300,000 underprivileged youths age 16 to 21. Cost so far: $154,500,000.

The goal is to encourage the youths to stay in school by making it possible for them to contribute something to the family income and, hopefully, to gain some self-respect. Their jobs tend to be the janitorial and other maintenance chores that have to be done in any public facility, rather than those which would require learning of technical skills.

In some communities, the level of poverty of the Government-subsidized workers has been open to question.

"See that lad over there sweeping the floor?" pointed out an airport terminal employee in Evansville, Ind., "Youth Corps. His dad drives him to work every morning in a new Buick."

Operation Head Start: Prekindergarten training this summer for 561,000 youngsters, many of them so unexposed to wholesome family and neighborhood living that they would begin school with little chance of success.

VISTA: Volunteers in Service to America, Shriver's version of the homefront Peace Corps. About 1,000 volunteers now working for $50 a month in slums, migrant farm labor camps, Indian reservations.

Almost 25,000 applications from volunteers 18 and over have been received, according to OEO. Applications averaged 2,350 a month during the first 6 months. Requests for 2,600 volunteers have been submitted from 218 different local antipoverty programs. Future enrollments will depend on requests received and approved. About 200 volunteers are now engaged in the required 6 weeks' training.

College work study: This fall, 115,000 students in dire financial straits will have part-time jobs subsidized by the Government at a cost of $30,400,000.

Work experience: Similar jobs and training for 91,400 unemployed heads of families with dependents. Cost: $114,500,000. Side benefit: Aid to dependent children costs are sliced in many of the States.

It is too early for any accurate evaluation of the program and how much is stolen or wasted. Washington is handing out the money so fast that it can't really know how it is being spent.

In any program of such enormous scale there are both good and bad examples—of youths who are working and might otherwise be in jail; of the 16-year-old who stuck with his woodworking class and school janitorial job in Paw Paw, Mich., only long enough to make a downpayment on a black leather jacket and a motorcycle.

Administrative chaos has typified much of the Washington operation so far and both Shriver and the program are under steady attack.

Academic Support for Our Vietnam Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in a column which he wrote in the New York Post on April 30, 1965, the distinguished writer and historian, Mr. Max Lerner, said that he had traveled on many campuses, and he found that scholars close to Asian studies support the President, because

they know what would happen in Asia if America were to withdraw from Vietnam. He said that there was an inverse relationship between militancy or hostility to the President's policy and closeness to the subject matter.

I think it is noteworthy that of the 10,000 political scientists teaching in American universities, only 65 were listed as sponsors of the National Teach-In Committee, and the great majority of these were completely unknown juniors. And the several thousand academic names that have thus far been printed on public petitions opposing our Vietnam policy included only a bare handful that can claim any expertise on Vietnam and southeast Asia.

I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD a remarkable letter to the editor signed by 20 scholars and specialists who have devoted much of their adult lives to study and work in southeast Asian affairs.

The letter strongly supports the administration policy. It says:

The surest guarantee of peace in Asia is what it has always been everywhere: recognition by all that our commitments to our allies will be honored.

This letter has already been printed in the New York Journal American and several other papers. I hope that all my colleagues will find the time to read it, because the men who signed this letter are not amateurs but the most knowledgeable professionals in the free world.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

To the EDITOR:

We, the undersigned, write as scholars and specialists most of whom have devoted much of their adult lives to study and work in southeast Asian affairs. Included in our number are most of this Nation's small nucleus of specialists on Vietnam. Many of us have lived in Vietnam itself.

We feel compelled to write in response to what we consider the distortions of fact and the emotional allegations of a small but vociferous group of fellow university teachers regarding the war in Vietnam. We must first observe that those who have signed advertisements and petitions represent a very small proportion of all university professors. Further, the petition signers include disproportionally fewer scholars in the fields of government, international relations, and Asian studies. To our knowledge, no acknowledged expert on Vietnam itself has signed the advertisements appearing in the New York Times protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam. A mere handful of scholars with Far East credentials identified themselves with these protests.

Quite apart from the merits of American policy—past or present—we believe the manner in which the petitions and many "teach-ins" have been presented is a discredit to those who would call themselves scholars. The Vietnamese war and its related political context are enormously complex. Even the most qualified experts disagree on important facts or the meaning of those facts. It is no surprise that they also disagree on alternative courses of action.

It serves no useful purpose, therefore, to engage in namecalling, distortion, emotionalism, and gross oversimplification. Many of our fellow scholars, no doubt eminently qualified in their own fields, are in our view guilty of unacademic behavior in their protests of Vietnam policy.

For the record, therefore, we feel compelled to make the following assertions of fact:

1. The Vietcong initiated the present war in South Vietnam. They did so in gradual stages, beginning with assassination, terror, and bellicose propaganda. This was followed by sabotage, subversion, and small-scale guerrilla attacks; in later stages, large-scale frontal assaults were employed. Only in the last stage did the U.S. Government feel compelled to increase its military involvement substantially.

2. The Vietcong is a Communist-led and Communist-controlled political movement. Its aim is to establish, by any available means, a Communist rule in South Vietnam.

3. It is false to compare the war now being fought in Vietnam with that which was fought by the French between 1946 and 1954. That was a colonial war, fought by Vietnamese of every variety of political complexions to achieve national independence. The Government of Vietnam since 1954 has been a truly Vietnamese national regime, and it is fighting now to maintain its independence. That it is not without faults goes without saying. This, however, is not the issue. Surely it is of some significance that not one prominent nationalist of all the thousands of such men in South Vietnam has defected to the Communists since 1954.

4. The People's Revolutionary Party, which leads the Vietcong, is a segment of the Lao Dong (Communist) party of North Vietnam. The Vietcong itself was organized by the North Vietnamese, armed by the North Vietnamese, and trained by the North Vietnamese. This is not to deny the fact that many of its cadres were originally born in South Vietnam, and later trained or indoctrinated in the North. Nor is it to deny that thousands of South Vietnemese were persuaded or forced to join the Vietcong in the South.

5. The Vietcong have employed methods of terror, torture, and outright murder that, on a smaller scale, rival the atrocities of the Axis powers in World War II. Thousands of innocent people (including women and children) have been deliberately slaughtered by the Vietcong as "examples for the other South Vietnamese. Beheading and mutilation are not uncommon. For American academics to bemoan the "brutality" of the South Vietnamese response, without the slightest comment on the initiators of the brutality, is the epitoms of bias.

6. The Communist regime in North Vietnam is among the harshest and most brutal in Asia. All opposition has been exterminated. The society is organized into cells of mutual surveillance. No free elections of any kind have been permitted. The living standards of the people are low even by Asian standards.

7. In contrast, the people of South Vietnam, until the stepped-up Vietcong attack, were enjoying a far better living standard. Hunger was virtually eliminated. Industries were expanding. Schools, clinics, and social welfare services were proliferating rapidly. Between 1954 and 1961, there were four elections, conducted with varying degrees of freedom.

8. The Geneva Accords were broken first and repeatedly by the Communists, as documented by the records of the International Controls Commission.

9. The President has offered to hold unconditional peace talks with Hanoi and has been rejected repeatedly by Hanoi, Peiping, and Moscow. The burden of proof is now on the Communists.

10. Communist conquest of South Vietnam would, in our view, lead inevitably to a deterioration of resolve throughout South and southeast Asia. While the non-Communist states in the region are not likely to fall in actual geographical sequence (i.e., the "domino" theory), we believe these nations would eventually succumb politically and/or militarily to Chinese expansionism following an American withdrawal from Vietnam. We further believe that Chinese hegemony over southeast Asia would be disastrous to American national interest and will severly compromise the capacity of Japan, the Philippines, India, and Pakistan to survive as independent nations.

If there is any lesson that should have been learned by us since 1919, it is that collective security is the only effective means to deal with totalitarianism on the march. Our negotiations and agreements must not be "Munichs." Rather they must be backed by clear evidence of our determination to maintain the arrangements agreed to as the conditions for peace. Men who prize liberty are unwilling to settle for peace at any price. Nor does negotiation from weakness and without conditions serve to placate imperial ambitions. The surest guarantee of peace in Asia is what it has always been everywhere: recognition by all that our commitments to our allies will be honored. And we shall use the peace thus secured as Americans used it in postwar Europe, and as President Johnson has pledged to use it for Asia. The basis for a lasting settlement in Asia will be built as we create the conditions for freedom through social and economic programs no less than through military means.

SIGNERS

(Organizational affiliations listed for identification purposes only)

Dr. Wesley R. Fishel, Michigan State University.
Prof. P. J. Honey, University of London.
William P. Maddox, New York City.
Prof. Ralph L. Turner, Michigan State University.
Dr. Charles Wolf, Jr., the Rand Corp.
Dr. George E. Taylor, University of Washington.
Prof. William B. Dunn, University of the State of New York.
Prof John D. Montgomery, Harvard University.
Dr. Frank N. Trager, New York University.
Rev. Francis J. Corley, S.J., St. Louis University.
Dr. Chester L. Hunt, Western Michigan University.
Dr. Lucian Pye, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
Dr. David A. Wilson, University of California.
Dr. Amrom H. Katz, the Rand Corp.
Dr. John T. Dorsey, Vanderbilt University.
Dr. I. Milton Sacks, Brandeis University.
Dr. Charles A. Joiner, Temple University.
William Henderson, Socony Mobil Oil Co.
Dr. Ralph H. Smuckler, Michigan State University.
George K. Tanham, the Rand Corp.

Skydiving Has a Right To Share in the Safe Use of the Airspace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, many young men and women in Minneapolis and throughout the Nation are engaging in the fast-growing sport of skydiving.

They should be encouraged.

This can be a safe sport that can share the airspace with other users.

Because of the current discussion of possible changes to Federal Aviation Agency regulations, I wish to set out a few of the excellent letters I have received from skydivers in Minnesota. In addition, the following excerpts are given to show the views of the Defense Department, the Aircraft Owners & Pilots Association, and the Air Transport Association in this discussion.

Letter from Mrs. David F. Turner, 4247 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

My husband is president of the University of Minnesota Skydiving Club. The attempt by the ATA to amend the FAA regulations, if effective, will eliminate sport parachuting throughout the country. The complaint they present involves the possibility of an airliner-parachutist collision due to sport parachuting in controlled airspace.

My husband's club jumps in the vicinity of Monticello and I feel there is no danger of such an accident occurring. Before each day of jumping he phones the FAA to notify them that there will be parachuting in the area and this information is passed on to planes. The novice jumpers are thoroughly instructed before they are allowed to make their first jump. My husband served in both the 82d and 101st Airborne Divisions and is very safety conscious. He takes his responsibility of jumpmaster seriously and conveys these feelings to the other members. The club is made up of university students (and not a draft card burner among them). They enjoy a break from the books and part-time jobs by sport parachuting. Should these people be denied recreation because of problems developing in other parts of the country?

Letter from Michael A. Dolan, 3815 18th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

I am a member of Riverside Parachute Center which conducts regular jump activities at River Falls, Wis. We have made a total of 300 parachute jumps during the past 6 months, none of which involved a close call or a near miss with an airliner or any other type of aircraft. Our operations are closely coordinated with the Aviation Agency, Minneapolis-St. Paul International Airport.

All the members of our club are required to become members of the Parachute Club of America and follow closely the basic safety regulations of the national body. All our parachuting activities are conducted with one paramount objective: Safety. Our record speaks for itself, no fatalities, no incidents, only one minor accident (broken leg), and, as mentioned above, no close calls with airliners.

Parachuting is an integral part of general aviation and parachutists are airmen just as are private pilots, glider pilots, and airline pilots. We constantly strive to improve the sport of parachuting in all its facets and have made a large financial contribution to general aviation.

Letter from James A. Hovda, 4701 Elliott Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minn.:

Here in Minnesota, sport jumping has been very safe. I belong to the Minn Sky Divers, Inc. Our club was organized in 1958, and since that time we have logged over 7,000 sport jumps to date, with no serious injuries to date. At no time have we ever had a near miss with any aircraft.

Minnesota is one of the few States that has its own laws governing jumping. Minnesota has had an excellent safety record to stand on. To eliminate jumping in this State would be a shame.

I sincerely hope that you will look into the matter and give it careful thought as I sincerely believe that with proper safety regulations and observing the safety of others I have just as much right in the airspace as anyone else.

Thank you very much for your time in this matter.

Letter from Phil Halper, president, the Minnesota Skydivers Club, Inc., 1076 Wakefield, St. Paul, Minn.:

The Minnesota Skydivers Club is composed of 85 members and we hold our jumping activities at Stanton, Minn., which is 20 miles south of the St. Paul-Minneapolis International Airport. Since its organization in 1958, our club has made 4,500 jumps with no incidence of a near miss or a close call with an airliner or any other type of aircraft. Our operations are closely coordinated with the FAA tower at international airport, where our notams are filed.

Members of our club are required to strictly adhere to the basic safety regulations of the national body. We must also comply with the regulations of the Minnesota Aeronautics Board. All our parachuting activities are conducted with one paramount objective: safety. The current regulations (FAR pt. 105) are sufficient, and when enforced, regulate parachuting with all the necessary controls. Our present regulations are more than adequate to provide safe operations for parachutists and pilots alike.

Mr. Speaker, following are various statements regarding parachute jumping:

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

I am Col. John Marr, and I am presently assigned to the Aviation Directorate, Office of the Assistant Chief of Staff for Force Development, Department of the Army.

I have been designated to appear in this proceeding as the spokesman for the Department of Defense.

The Air Transport Association petition to the Federal Aviation Agency seeking amendment to part 105 of the Federal Aviation Regulations in regard to nonemergency parachute jumping has been carefully reviewed by each military department. Although many of the proposals would not interfere with military operations and training because of the military waiver clause, there are portions of the petition that are not desirable.

The proposal to prohibit military jumps in or into an approved off-airway route is unduly restrictive and imposes an unnecessary administrative onus on military parachutists. Off-airways routes are not depicted or contained in publications normally available to parachutists and it would be difficult for them to determine in advance the location of such routes. It is proposed that 6-hour notification, as contained in part 105.25 of the FAR, be applicable to all uncontrolled airspace.

By this procedure, FAA could notify aircraft and advise parachutists of the pending utilization of these off-airways routes. The infrequent aircraft usage of off-airways routes makes elimination of parachuting an unnecessary restriction.

The proposal to prohibit jumps that conflict with the flow of air traffic is vague and subject to diverse interpretation. The requirement for some control is recognized; however, this proposal cannot be fully analyzed without further explanation of its intent. It is recommended that the existing regulation be retained.

The proposal to prohibit parachute jumps into controlled airspace would deny a rightful user of the airspace a privilege that is extended to other users. It is recognized that if parachutists are to use controlled airspace, it should be accomplished under the same control as other users of the airspace. It appears that the proposed 105.19 should be revised to permit authorization for parachute jumps but require that all users be controlled by the same agency and under the same rules.

STATEMENT OF THE AIRCRAFT OWNERS & PILOTS ASSOCIATION ON PARACHUTE JUMPING RESTRICTIONS

We hold that sport parachuting is a legitimate use of the airspace and that reasonable and adequate provision for its requirements must be made and in places reasonably proximate to the participants. We cannot and will not support any proposal which has as its central theme, "Let's get those guys out of our sky." We have had to fight this concept vigorously in previous years to enable our own segment of aviation to grow and we will not take a self-serving, "dog in the manger" attitude about it now that general aviation is beginning to receive the consideration it properly deserves.

The proposal would prohibit sport jumps in any controlled airspace or scheduled carrier off-airway route. Designated airways and off-airway routes lace the country to such an extent that only in the sparsely populated portions of the country would it be reasonably easy to find a jumping site. Lacking people, it would be of little use or value.

What do we know about sky diving and sport parachuting? We know that there are approximately 500 parachute clubs in the country and perhaps 30,000 to 40,000 jumpers making at the most something like an average of 50 or so jumps each during the year. We know that divers can control the vertical component of their speed between about 120 and 220 miles per hour (or 176 to 322 feet per second) and the horizontal component between zero and 60 miles per hour (or 0 to 88 feet per second). This means that in a free fall it takes a diver only 1 to 2½ seconds to pass through the cruising altitude strata normally occupied by an individual aircraft. And in five seconds he can travel half the span of most large aircraft.

We know that with the canopy open the parachutist descends at the rate of 10 to 12 miles per hour (or 15 to 18 feet per second) and therefore it takes him between 22 and 27 seconds to transmit the cruising altitude strata normally occupied by a particular aircraft.

We know that most parachute training jumps occur about 2,500 feet above ground since this is the preferred altitude to open a chute and permit reasonable maneuvering for accuracy landings after a free fall.

We find that most jumps involving diving occur from about 7,500 feet above terrain because that permits a 30-second free fall and still provides for opening the chute at 2,500 feet. Another favorite jumping altitude is about 12,500 feet above terrain since that permits a one minute free fall. There seems to be relatively little jumping from altitudes above 14,500 feet. Thus even with the maximum possible horizontal speed component and a free fall lasting one minute, in a no-wind condition the diver can travel no further than 1½ miles from the point over which he jumped and he is in the air for only 3½ minutes altogether. Jumping activity apparently falls off rapidly as winds go above 10 miles per hour and ceases almost entirely above 18 miles per hour.

So far as we have been able to learn there has never been a midair collision between a diver or chutist and an airplane. The variants of time and space and frequency appear to make the probability of one very, very small. Certainly, they do not appear great enough to warrant severe restrictions to the development of this sport. In the only roughly comparable situation that we know of, MIT calculated that the probability of a collision, between a free balloon and an aircraft anywhere in the United States, was 800 million to 1.

What then is the proper course? There is a problem of some kind and it has generated some degree of real fear, otherwise we would not be here now engaged.

In AOPA's view the present proposal should be discarded—but the problem which generated it should be taken under study to determine what its true nature is and what practical and reasonable solutions are available.

It may turn out to be the kind of problem that requires enforcement, educational and procedural, as well as regulatory responses. Perhaps some of these responses should come from the sport or the aviation industry rather than the Agency.

As a part of this study, we think that the following things, among others, should be involved. The list is by no means intended to be exhaustive.

What is the record of validated or bona fide near collisions?

Is it feasible to conduct simultaneous jumping and flying operations at an airport without undue penalty to either? Would this increase stability of jump site location and activity? Would it create more control problems than it solves? Or would it minimize them?

What is the actual volume of jump activity? At night? Through scattered, broken or overcast clouds?

Is it practical to light parachute canopies with a flashlight anchored to the harness much as is done with sailboats operating at night? Is a battery operated flashing light on the jumper's helmet feasible?

Would it be more useful to modify the present notification procedures so that FSS and centers, or towers if appropriate, were notified only 5 or 10 minutes before a jump as to location, altitude, and duration of a jump or jump series so that advisories reflecting the current situation can be issued?

Should jump sites be charted? Are suitable criteria available or devisable to prevent the charting of stale, misleading or unused information?

To what extent do carrier and private operators modify their flight operations as a consequence of the jumping information now available?

Would it be worthwhile to try to enhance parachute visibility by using alternate or periodic gores of cloth in colors such as international orange?

These and other questions, properly studied, might well reveal a need for only minor regulatory action and point out avenues of other action which will help parachute jumping participants to do what they want to do, safely and with little adverse impact on themselves or other users of the airspace.

STATEMENT OF AIR TRANSPORT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

The airline concern with the potential hazards of uncontrolled sport parachute jumping is not a selfish attempt to eliminate a sport enjoyed by thousands of red-blooded Americans. But this concern does reflect the obligation of the airlines to focus attention on an air safety problem that exists and potentially affects the safety of airline passengers in the United States each year. In our bringing this matter before the Agency, the airlines have no intent to ban the sport of parachute jumping or "put it out of business." As a former jumper, I know that it is a great sport. But for such a sport to operate safely in the busy airspace activity of today, it needs better control. Drag racing is also a recognized sport, but it is conducted under controls and at places set aside specifically for it. These controls do not allow drag racing on our busy freeways and turnpikes, at any time of day or night, merely by a general public notification of intent to race.

We recognize that there are many professional and expert parachute jumpers who are equally dedicated to safety in the pursuit of their sport. But our obligation to strive for the highest possible degree of safety compels us to seek more comprehensive controls over this activity. This control is considered essential before a catastrophe might occur. We would be remiss in our obligation to the American traveling public, the millions of passengers carried by the airlines each year, if we were to ignore the existence of this potential threat to safety.

That there is a real and present danger of possible collision between aircraft and those engaged in uncontrolled parachute activity, we submit, cannot be denied. In the ATA petition, we outlined the development of the regulatory history leading to the adoption of FAR part 105. We indicated our understanding of the great and immense growth of nonemergency parachute jumping as a sport in this country in the past few years and our understanding that it is on the upswing. In the petition we cited but two of the many recorded incidents involving parachute activity near air carrier aircraft. For example, Northwest flight 77 on March 6, 1965—while being vectored under IFR for a final approach descending from 5,500 feet to 4,500 feet MSL in controlled airspace, the report says, a "red-ball-like object was observed falling vertically in close proximity (no more than 300 yards and possibly less) to the flight. The skydiver's proximity was close enough not only to observe his manner of dress but to see that his legs were drawn against his chest and that arms were outstretched in a clawlike gesture."

We are not here to deliberate the definition of a near miss or a close call. A review of the docket on this notice shows that advocates of the sport of parachute jumping, practically to the person, indicate they are not aware of any near misses or close calls between a parachutist and an aircraft such as those we have cited. However, if an airline pilot with many hours of experience in the air becomes greatly concerned because of coming too close to a parachutist, it is a close call. If evasive action is required, and this occurs in locations such as over the outer marker to runway 1–R Dulles International Airport, then for this pilot the incident is a near miss regardless of any technical definition that we in this room could put together.

We haven't hit a parachutist and hope that something constructive can be done before such an event occurs.

We recognize that a parachutist is in control of himself and that his maneuverability is such that he should be able to avoid a compromising situation provided he has sufficient warning. We do not believe, however, that every parachutist jumping on the airways can see every aircraft that may be approaching in time for evasive action. Much of the sport parachutist's attention must be focused on the ground. In anq event, under the provisions of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, a parachutist who can navigate in mid air should be considered an airman, and as such, like other airmen he should be properly licensed and controlled by the Federal Government.

The issue here is clearly one of assuring an adequate level of safety. If, as we contend, a parachutist cannot with certainty maneuver out of the path of an approaching airplane traveling at speeds of 150 to 250 miles per hour, then controls must be applied so that he does not jump at random into the airplane's path. If as the parachutists contend, they are able to navigate, then they should be required to live up to the certification requirements imposed on other airmen. The present FAR 105 requires neither controls—as the first case suggests—nor certification, as the second case suggests. We submit that this compromises safety and should be corrected.

Address of Postmaster Lawrence F. O'Brien

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following:

ADDRESS BY LAWRENCE F. O'BRIEN, POSTMASTER GENERAL, TO POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT EMPLOYEES

I have asked you to assemble here today—my first working day as Postmaster General—to make a commitment to you:

A promise that beginning here and now, I join with you to devote all of my energies toward providing the best possible postal service for the Nation.

Better service to the American people will be the overriding goal of my administration.

We will spend the taxpayers' money wisely, frugally, while fulfilling our mission to deliver the mail on time and in good condition.

We will consider each one of our 600,000 employees as a partner in improving the postal service and with our employee organizations we will strive for the best working conditions and salaries.

I ask those of you in this hall today and those of you who have joined us across the country in our regional offices to carry that message from me to every member of the postal family.

When President Johnson gave me this assignment, he told me that I would be moving from an 18-hour-a-day job of searching for votes to a 24-hour-a-day job of delivering the mail.

My responsibilities are clear.

A responsibility to administer the Post Office Department in the most progressive, most efficient, most economical way possible.

And a responsibility to give our citizens the quality of service they need and deserve.

The President insists that we strive for excellence in the postal service—nothing less.

After I leave this office, I want to look back upon my term as Postmaster General with a sense of satisfaction in having applied the best business practices to one of the most vital Government services.

To do this, I need your cooperation and I need your loyalty.

My predecessor, John Gronouski and Ed Day, have accomplished a great deal in the last 5 years and we can be proud of the really significant contributions they made.

Ambassador Gronouski, who now goes from delivering the mail to delivering the peace, has told me that I am joining one of the finest organizations in the land and I know he is right. He has told me of the excellence of the managers we have here in Washington, in our regions, and in our local post offices. He has told me of the great army of workers in our nearly 40,000 installations.

Wherever I go in the United States, he said, I will have friends, because there will always be a post office close by.

I take great comfort in this and in turn I want you to know that you have a friend in Washington.

You have a friend who wants your ideas and your suggestions on how we can make our service better than it has even been. You are the people who will make my administration successful. You have the experience and the know-how.

I know that the problems we face are great and that our mission is important. The postal service touches the lives of every one

of our citizens. It has a profound effect upon the economy of our Nation. And it is experiencing an incomparable rate of growth.

The fact that mail volume is increasing at an unprecedented rate is something we should welcome because it means that the economy of the Nation is strong. I need not tell you that 80 percent of the 72 billion pieces of mail this year is generated by business.

The unprecedented period of prosperity our Nation is experiencing has given the postal service its greatest challenge. The old ways of moving the mail will no longer suffice. The traditional concepts must give way to modern technology and we must plan today for even greater challenges 10 or 20 or even 50 years from now.

Since 1961, under Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, the postal service has made amazing progress. While I was in the White House, I had a close working relationship with the Department. I know that the last 5 years have been filled with change and innovation. But there were many prior years of indecision and aimless drifting to overcome.

Recently, I noted an article in the October issue of the Postal Record, the magazine of the National Association of Letter Carriers. The article discussed our ZIP code program and the new network of sectional centers.

"The Post Office Department is the largest business * * * in the world," it said. "Every change in its operation affects every business and every individual in the country in one way or another. The responsibility involved in effecting major changes is enormous. For this reason, postal administrations for many decades were absolutely resistant to even the most obvious improvements."

And then the article concluded:

"The administration of the past 5 years must be congratulated on its courage and imagination in undertaking such massive programs aimed at improving the service. Time will tell whether or not these changes accomplish what is hoped for them."

Ladies and gentlemen of the postal service, I ask you to join with me in proving that we can innovate, that we can modernize, that we can administer this vast organization with efficiency and skill.

We will not allow any special interest groups to turn back the clock on progress in the Post Office Department. We will always be guided by what is best for the American public and not by what is best for individuals or groups with axes to grind.

I want and I need the continued cooperation of the business mailers. We are well aware that many mailers in recent years have made sacrifices of time and money in behalf of better postal service. The investment will bring dividends for all of us.

I want and I need both the loyalty and the constructive criticism of our employee organizations. Our employees have benefited greatly since President Kennedy's Executive order provided for recognition of postal unions and I am totally committed to that policy.

I want and I need the continued friendship and the help of our friends in Congress—in both Houses and on both sides of the aisle. We will work together and I will consult frequently with them on legislation and other matters that are important to their constituents and important to the postal service.

One of the most satisfying thoughts to me as I take on this assignment is that I need not start from the beginning. The framework is already built.

The ZIP code program and the 552 sectional centers give us the opportunity to make dramatic improvements in mail service. With the cooperation of the public and the business mailers, we will have the most modern, most efficient method of routing and distributing mail of any postal system in the world.

With the optical scanner and other advances in mechanization, we will be able to keep pace with the continually growing volume of mail.

With proper planning and with the necessary legislation, we will be able to provide a new class of priority mail that will be delivered overnight almost anywhere in the country. The artificial distinctions between first class and air mail will be abandoned.

With real dedication to the cause of equal employment, we will make certain that no one is denied a job or a promotion in the postal service because of his race, his creed, or the color of his skin.

With proper direction and emphasis from headquarters, we can make use of all of the talents of our 34,000 postmasters to be managers in a real sense.

We can achieve these goals. We can take pride in working for one of the finest service organizations anywhere. Let us continue our effort to do the best possible job for the people we serve.

You have the blueprint for the future. Together, we will make it a reality.

Thank you.

Perspective: U.S. Foreign-Trade Zones

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am pleased to insert a recent statement by Richard H. Lake, Executive Secretary of the Foreign-Trade Zones Board:

PERSPECTIVE: U.S. FOREIGN-TRADE ZONES

(By Richard H. Lake)

The opportunity to manufacture at a foreign-trade zone in the United States combines the advantages of a domestic operation with those advantages usually attributed to an overseas production site. This accounts for most of the current interest now focused on foreign-trade zones. A relatively new idea here, the zone approach has proven itself abroad for several centuries in the form of free-trade zones and free ports.

The Celler Foreign-Trade Zones Act of 1934, as amended, established the Foreign-Trade Zones Board to administer the act which provides for the establishment and operation of the foreign-trade zones "to expedite and encourage foreign commerce." The Board consists of the Secretary of Commerce, as chairman, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of the Army, and is headquartered at the U.S. Department of Comemrce in Washington.

A foreign-trade zone is best described as: an isolated, enclosed, and policed area, in or adjacent to a port of entry, operated as a public utility by a public or private corporation, and furnished with facilities for receiving, handling, storing, processing, manufacturing, and exhibiting goods, and for reshipping them to world markets by land, water, or air. Any foreign and domestic merchandise, unless prohibited by law or classed as deterimental to the public interest, health, or safety, may be brought into a zone without being subject to the customs laws of the United States governing the entry of goods or the payment of duty thereon.

In the zone this merchandise may be stored, handled, processed, and used in the production of various products and, in original form or otherwise, may be shipped from the zone to foreign and domestic markets. Merchandise is subject to prevailing import controls and duties if sent into the customs territory of the United States, but not if shipped abroad.

Subject to these limitations, the only merchandise permitted to enter U.S. customs territory from a foreign-trade zone is merchandise which could otherwise be imported from abroad. In either case it would be subject to the payment of customs duties. This assures maintenance of safeguards without subjecting domestic industry to unwarranted restrictions which would provide production and marketing advantages to producers located abroad.

Many business and economic plus factors are derived from features of the foreign-trade zone concept which permit:

1. Duty-free and quota-free manufacturing for export using foreign as well as domestic components.

2. Employment of labor, machinery, technology and management in the United States at zone sites outside of U.S. customs territory.

3. Manufacturing in the United States with no need to outlay working capital for payment of customs duties unless and until output enters U.S. customs territory for consumption. In effect, even certain "imports" could be "Made in the U.S.A."

4. Determination of customs duties on zone-produced goods entering U.S. customs territory based upon duty rates applicable to foreign components, rather than duty rates applicable to the overall product.

5. Access to quota-restricted production components under the same competitive conditions available to producers located abroad.

6. Capital investment opportunities in the United States as an alternative to similar investments abroad.

7. U.S. products, competitively produced and competitively priced for world markets.

8. Economic utilization of unused domestic production capacity.

Foreign-trade zones have been in continuous operation since 1937 when the first zone was established in New York City. Development of additional zones was slow, due to the interruption of commerce occasioned by World War II and a limiting feature of the Foreign-Trade Zones Act which prohibited manufacturing in zones. An amendment in 1950 enlarged the features of the act, including provisions for manufacturing.

In addition to six zones currently established in New York, New Orleans, San Francisco, Seattle, Toledo, and Mayaguez, P.R., subzones for manufacturing are operated in San Francisco, Calif., and at Penuelas, P.R. A new general-purpose zone is schedule to open early next year as part of the State of Hawaii's economic development program.

The San Francisco subzone, opened in 1963, houses women's apparel production facilities operated by Lilli Ann Corp. of California. The Penuelas subzone, opened in May 1962, contains a petrochemical production plant operated by Union Carbide Caribe, Inc. The latter subzone was the first zone site established solely for manufacturing.

At the present time two applications for new zone sites are pending before the Foreign-Trade Zones Board. One application, from the Port of New Orleans, proposes establishment of a subzone at Taft, La., where Union Carbide Corp. would erect and operate petrochemical production facilities. The second application, from the Board of Supervisors of Bay County, Mich., proposes establishment of a foreign-trade zone and two subzones in Bay County. These subzones would house fedstock storage and petrochemical facilities operated by Dow Chemical Co., Midland, Mich.

The current moves to establish new zone sites for petrochemical production facilities employing foreign feedstocks have precipitated considerable controversy. On one hand, zone proponents view the zone approach as a means of providing domestic chemical producers sorely needed access to competitively priced feedstocks from abroad, thereby reducing present inequities which limit their procurement to the higher priced domesitc feedstocks. They point to the zone approach as an effective alternative to relocating abroad and one way to reduce an increasing flow to the United States of petrochemicals produced abroad.

Zone opponents, on the other hand, object to the zone approach as a "loophole" which, if used extensively, would subvert the objectives of the oil import control program which they feel must be maintained in the national interest.

These and related questions are being studied by industry and by various government agencies responsible for this commodity area and will probably be considered in future developments affecting petroleum import policies. Whatever the outcome, the foreign-trade zone idea has and will continue to sharpen government and industry focus on vital national issues with respect to petroleum imports and petrochemical production.

NCEC Recommendations for a More Effective Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. FLORENCE P. DWYER
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mrs. DWYER. Mr. Speaker, among the many groups and individuals who have testified before the Joint Committee on the Organization of the Congress, few can equal the National Committee for an Effective Congress in terms of their continuing interest and informed concern about the functioning of the legislative branch of the Federal Government.

The statement presented earlier this year to the joint committee by Mr. George E. Agree, executive director of the NCEC, reflects both a broad understanding of the essential role of Congress and a practical awareness of the opportunities as well as limitations of congressional reform. It is imaginative and restrained and constitutes one of the most constructive presentations I have yet seen. It is also genuinely nonpartisan.

I am especially impressed with Mr. Agree's proposal to encourage and support independent efforts by small groups of House and Senate Members who wish to undertake special studies of important public problems outside, but not in conflict with, the formal committee structure. I welcome, too, his emphasis on the need to protect fully the rights of the minority in Congress as an essential means of assuring adequate consideration of the issues before it.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following excerpts from Mr. Agree's thought-provoking statement:

EXCERPTS FROM STATEMENT BY GEORGE E. AGREE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESS

We support your objective, not out of a feeling that this institution has failed to live up to its responsibilities—on the whole, it has discharged them extremely well—but because, as at intervals in the past, the changing times require that the Congress make as effective an adjustment to future needs as present circumstances allow. There is a fundamental and organic relationship between progress and freedom. As even the Russians are beginning to learn, the complexity and the interdependence of the new world we are creating impose great and, in the long run, insupportable difficulties on governments whose decisionmaking institutions are not responsive to all information and sensitive to all interests in a society.

It is important to recognize that to attempt to alter Congress merely in the name of efficiency might be to destroy it altogether. The most efficient instrument for processing legislation would be a rubber stamp. What really is needed is to enhance the sensitivity and responsiveness of the Congress—for this is its genius.

The present condition of Members who want to pursue some subject that may not be on the legislative agenda, or to make an independent study of a subject that is on, is one of almost complete frustration. The few task forces or study groups that are organized for such purposes too frequently founder for lack of staff and facilities.

My own proposal is that any time a group of Members wishes to undertake a particular study, the Congress itself should provide them with the facilities to do so. This would not be very expensive. And it would be relatively easy to insure that such study enterprises did not conflict with or disrupt current legislative processes, and that the public funds involved would not be misused for strictly partisan or frivolous purposes.

(a) Before a study group could qualify for assistance, a minimum number of Members would have to affiliate with it—say 15 in the House, or 5 in the Senate. No Member could be counted toward meeting this minimum for more than one study group in any 2-year period. Perhaps it should be required that no more than 75 or 80 percent of the Members comprising a group could be of the same party.

(b) The Speaker and the minority leader in the House, or the majority leader and the minority leader in the Senate, would have to approve the purpose and scope of any projected inquiry.

(c) Upon receipt of this approval, the study group would be given office space and facilities, and funds for the employment of one researcher and one secretary. It would also receive funds to cover the expenses of experts it might wish to invite to Washington for consultation, and possibly for a minimum of travel by group members and staff.

(d) The study group would have no legislative or political authority, but would exist only for the purpose of informing its own members. It could not subpena witnesses, or hear them under oath. Its session would be private; and it could issue no statements and publish no reports. Any report which a group or part of a group might prepare would be submitted to, and become the property of, the standing committee of most nearly related jurisdiction.

I would stress that the work of the study groups would be collateral to that of the committees. The study groups would introduce a helpful and needed resilience into the congressional posture—and mitigate the rigidity imposed by the need to process legislation in orderly fashion. They would permit contact with ideas and problems the committees may be too preoccupied to pursue. They would provide a meeting ground for common consideration of matters of mutual and bipartisan interest by members of different committees. And, while the results may not always prove to be important, the determination of their importance and their use would always reside in the committees.

II. The National Committee for an Effective Congress is urgently interested in the improvement and strengthening of the laws governing campaign financing. We feel that any approach to this problem must be based on two facts: (1) that maintenance of a free society requires a minimum of regulation of political activity, and (2) that maintenance of a free society requires a maximum of light shed upon political activity. Present laws seem amply consistent with the first requirement. Therefore, I suggest that efforts be concentrated upon procedural clarifications which would, incidentally, provide a better informed and more realistic basis for ultimate consideration of substantive changes, if they should be desired in the future. I refer, of course, to tightening and regularizing the reporting requirements.

Several relatively minor changes could accomplish much in this regard:

(a) No political committee, as presently defined, should be permitted to solicit or disburse campaign contributions without first, and thereafter annually, filing a formal registration of its intention to do so.

(b) Each such committee should be instructed in the reporting requirements and provided with standardized forms on which to file its reports.

(c) These forms should require the listing of the full name and address of all donors of $100 or more.

(d) The names of committees which fail to file on the due dates should be given to the press immediately.

(e) Each committee should be required to publish an exact copy of each of its reports in a paid notice in a newspaper of record in the city in which it is headquartered within 24 hours of the due date.

(f) Finally, it would be desirable to extend the reporting requirements to include committees acting in primary elections, without also extending the other requirements of the law to include such committees.

These proposals would not in any way limit the activities presently permitted by our laws. They would, however, assure the electorate of a basis for making a more informed—and therefore, more free—choice between candidates.

III. We have the impression that there is wide support for (technical and other) changes in both Houses, and within both parties, and this is very encouraging. Some with which we agree:

(a) Much can and should be done to relieve individual Members of their time-slavery to nonlegislative obligations—by the way of increased staff, automated mailhandling and other facilities, more office money and greater latitude in its deployment, larger travel allowances for Members and staff, and so forth. Also, there should be some experimentation with Congressman REUSS' ombudsman idea for handling routine constituent casework. It may prove to be inappropriate to our political circumstances, but it must be tested before this can be known. Perhaps it would be possible to set up such an administrative counsel on a delegation basis, and try it out with only those delegations that are willing to conduct the experiment. Since many problems have a regional character, this might add a certain relevance to the procedure.

(b) In any free institution, the rights of the minority must be fully protected—to the point of erring, if necessary, on the side of

overprotection. This is particularly true in a time of consensus politics—to insure that the consensus is real and not just apparent. Responsible consideration of public problems requires a fixed and generous provision for minority staff on all committees. Additionally, there should be formal assurance of equitable minority time in debate on conference reports.

(c) The virtue of the seniority system is that its operation is rigid and preordained—in an unstable institution in which almost every other power feature is negotiable and uncertain. But this very rigidity is also the system's greatest vice. Its errors cannot be corrected. Some one or combination of the proposals for introducing a measure of flexibility in the operation of the seniority system should be adopted.

The rules changes accomplished in the House with bipartisan support at the beginning of this session should encourage this committee to approach these and other problems with confidence in the receptivity of the Congress and the country to many of the improvements suggested in your hearings.

Why Do So Many Americans Apologize for Their Country?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MILWARD L. SIMPSON
OF WYOMING
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SIMPSON. Mr. President, the question of why there seems to be a penchant in some quarters of American society to apologize for the affluence, which our system of personal liberty and incentive has given us, was commented on recently by an unnamed contributor to the Pinedale, Wyo., Roundup.

The article looks incisively and candidly at this phenomenon and deserves the attention of the Senate and readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I ask that it be printed with my remarks.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY DO SO MANY AMERICANS APOLOGIZE FOR THEIR COUNTRY?

(Contributed)

When I arrived in America in 1908, there were few automobiles and no TV sets. Mechanically and industrially the country had barely begun to advance beyond the civilized lands of Western Europe. But there was one important characteristic that distinguished all Americans, whether native or foreign born. It was intense pride in their political institutions and economic achievements. They had taken a vast, undeveloped continent and turned it into a major power by the sweat of their brows and the genius of their brains. Further, they had given the world a working model of a state where national power was reconciled with maximum freedom for the individual. Americans were justifiably proud to be Americans.

In that horse-and-buggy America there was no trace of the apologetic undertone that has of late become the vogue in certain circles. We, as Americans, did not feel we had to offer excuses for the prosperity we had built with our own hands, to people who lived in nations perhaps less fortunate—but perhaps also less energetic. We did not feel we had to present apologies for the few minor defects in our social and economic structure, because a great many of us knew, from firsthand experience, that far graver defects existed everywhere else. The country's mood was one of intense, patriotic pride in what it had done and was doing. There may even have been a little touch of defiance in that pride.

There had been wars in our history, but they were in the main just wars, fought for independence, unity, and the liberation of others. If our Mexican and Indian wars contained elements of what would today be described as imperialism or colonialism, they went unnoticed in the world where colonialism and imperialism of a far more objectionable nature were rampant, as indeed they are today. If our economic expansion carried our products and methods to other lands, we felt—in the main, rightly—that the advantages to those lands at least equaled those accruing to us.

Today the mood of many Americans is one of contrition. They tell us that, far from expecting gratitude from those we help, we must make amends for the fact that we are in a position to help them. The obligation, it seems, is on our side, not theirs. We must close our eyes to their patent internal injustices, their caste systems, their iron-bound social classes, their massacre of political opponents, their trampling and deporting of national and racial minorities, while at the same time we magnify every mote in our own national eye until it becomes a beam.

In the sphere of international policy it matters little that we have voluntarily rid ourselves of colonial possessions, granted independence to the Philippines, offered freedom—and had it refused—to Puerto Rico, respected the sovereign rights of smaller nations in our sphere of influence to the point of tolerating the insults and expropriations of a Fidel Castro. It matters little that the three wars which we have waged since 1908 have all had as their precise purpose to help and liberate the victims of aggression and oppression.

Had we behaved like that great apostle of anti-imperialism, the Soviet Union, we would by this time have swallowed up the Western Hemisphere equivalents of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Albania, East Germany, and part of Finland and forcibly deported to other areas 1,000,000 or so members of recalcitrant minorities.

Following the example of that other great leader in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism Communist China, we could have taken over the equivalent of Tibet, North Korea and North Vietnam, and put the squeeze on the equivalent of India, Cambodia, Laos and Indonesia.

All this we have failed to do. Yet some people abroad charge us with imperialism, and other people at home, without exactly echoing the charge, advise us to beat our breasts.

Others want us to be apologetic for so-called act of espionage. Even granting that any nation has a right to consider as territorial air space what is 60,000 feet above ground, the American of 1908 vintage would have been quick to reply that we would apologize only when, as and if other nations apologized for their countless acts of espionage on land and sea and in the air.

Most galling of all is the suggestion that we should be apoligetically humble for having achieved, by our own efforts, the highest standard of living in history, one for which other nations envy us and one that, incidentally, permits us to extend to them aid of all kinds. This suggestion reminds us of the schnorrers, or professional beggars, of the old Hebrew tradition, who claimed that those who gave them charity should be grateful to them because they, the beggars, afforded the donors the opportunity to carry out the religious obligation to give alms.

We can be sincerely humble and thankful to the God that many of our critics deny, both for our prosperity and for the ability to help others. But this emphatically does not mean that we must apologize for our wealth in the very act of giving it away.

Let us not abdicate that just pride in deference to those who would like to see us humble ourselves before nations that are, and will continue to be, unable to humble us, much as they would like to.

Cleanup Corps'

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.
OF NEW JERSEY
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, of late we have heard considerable criticism about some of the projects being carried on under the antipoverty program and difficulties of the Office of Economic Opportunity in getting into operation some of the vitally needed programs it is authorized to undertake. But it is easier to find flaws in any new effort than to seek out successes.

For this reason, I am particularly delighted that the Newark Sunday News of September 19, 1965, published a fine article describing a very positive accomplishment under the antipoverty program in Essex County, N.Y. Under the able and creative direction of Martin Lordi, director of the Essex County Youth and Economic Rehabilitation Commission, a most effective summer conservation program has been completed in which 300 boys participated in rehabilitation of several Essex County park sites. This was not a "make work" project, but essential conservation work which would otherwise have languished for lack of manpower. The work was especially meaningful for the young men involved, for they learned tool usage, appreciation of wildlife and forestry, and the program resulted in the return to school of some of the boys who had been dropouts. Under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the article describing this outstanding example of success in one of the areas on which our struggle to eliminate poverty is focused:

CLEANUP CORPS—REHABILITATION OF ESSEX COUNTY PARK SITES PROVIDES LONG-LASTING BENEFITS FOR COMMUNITY AND YOUTHS

(By Laurie Frank)

Three hundred boys from Newark and surrounding towns stormed into the Essex County parks in the beginning of the summer and began ripping up tree stumps, tearing down shrubbery and gathering broken pieces of glass and metal cans from the paths.

The boys, ages 18 to 21, were not simply working out their aggressions. Instead they were cleaning up South Mountain and Eagle Rock Reservation and Weequahic and Branch Brook Parks during a new summer conservation program conducted by the Essex County Youth and Economic Rehabilitation Committee. Working under President Johnson's Economic Opportunity (antipoverty) Act,

the boys received $1.25 an hour for a 30-hour week.

During the 10-week program, the boys were mainly occupied with conservation work. This included digging drainage ditches to prevent soil erosion, clearing overgrown areas, chopping wood, blazing new or poorly defined trails, removing tree stumps and improving the general appearance of bridle trails.

But this project was more than just a working experience. Divided into groups of 15 and supervised by a high school teacher or a college student, the youths also learned tool usage and an appreciation of wildlife and forestry.

Before the program's inception, Gene Fields, horticulturist at the Essex County Park Commission, talked to both the boys and their supervisors about safety factors and general forestry while Jack Hayes, park supervisor at Eagle Rock, explained how and why each particular job was done.

The program accomplished a dual purpose by being meaningful for both the boys and the community. According to Mr. Fields, the work in the parks would normally not be accomplished by the park commission because it does not have the manpower to handle those tasks in the scope of its daily acivities.

"We had the facilities and the needs but if it were not for these boys, the work never would have been done," Mr. Fields explained. "We also tried to instill the idea into the group that they were working for a real reason—not just to take up idle time."

Being a federally supported plan, the summer conservation program also fulfilled the objectives set forth by President Johnson: to keep the boys off the city streets and simultaneously give them guidance and direction in life. Out of the 300 high school and precollege youths enrolled, 17 were high school dropouts. By the time the program ended, eight decided to finish their schooling in the fall.

At first, many boys approached the project with the idea that "this was going to be lots of fun," according to Crew Supervisor Philip Parker of Newark. "We sometimes had to push them hard, split up cliques and make them realize they came here to work."

But once the program got underway, the boys perpetuated its ideals by themselves. Those going to college encouraged others to continue their education. Crewmembers were generally tolerant and understanding of one another's personal problems and often offered to help when others were unable to accomplish a job.

After personal talks with Crew Supervisor Jerry Simons of Livingston, one dropout quit the program to enroll in summer school so he could reenter high school. Another youth, extremely shy and uncoordinated at the program's beginning, decided to finish school after his friends helped him play softball and convinced him he could do the work if he tried.

"For some of these boys it was their first working experience," commented Paul Svem, project director. "They experienced the feeling of doing a job properly and the sense of accomplishment that goes with it."

Standing in the park after carting out a load of excess shrubbery, four of the youths agreed that the conservation plan was an excellent opportunity "to learn something so we can go somewhere in life."

One young man, George Barberi of Newark, said he was a high school dropout "going nowhere" before he joined the summer employment program. "But now I want my high school diploma," he said. "You aren't anybody these days without one. Talking to other kids who are planning on college brought my mind down to work."

Another dropout returning to school in the fall said he left because "the guys called me dumb at school. But now I'm going back because my friends here called me dumb for dropping out."

Martin Lordi, director of the program, encouraged individual moral and group enthusiasm by organizing daily softball games played at the conclusion of the working day. A championship game of the two leading crews highlighted a picnic honoring the boys at the end of the summer.

Mr. Svem pointed out that not only has response among boys and their parents been good but other members of the community have praised the work of the Summer Conservation Program. People can now ride the bridle paths without bumping into low branches or slipping in mud-filled ditches. Cars can travel through the park without the danger of the roads being obstructed with foliage. And the public can appreciate the scenery without dead trees blocking the view.

"At first we were a little leery of the program," said forestry foreman Edward Yacabone, "but now we support it all the way. The boys have done a terrific job cleaning up our parks and helping one another find a direction in life. Personally, I'd like to see this program continued 12 months a year."

Labor-Management Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, when it is closely analyzed, the debate over 14(b) is almost like a tempest in a teapot.

So far as the people of our great State of Massachusetts are concerned, the issue could be defined as quite academic, because the right-to-work law does not prevail in our State, and in general we enjoy markedly favorable, friendly relations between labor and management.

One of the most priceless and precious possessions of our American society is, of course, that the humblest citizen of our land has the right to be respected in his person and in his contractual agreements.

If there were truly a right to work and a right to a job, it would be a great boon to the many who are unable to find suitable jobs even in times of prosperity.

In the more ideal society toward which we are aspiring, perhaps this right to work in the true sense may be guaranteed, but this right certainly has no reference to and certainly should not be confused with the claim urged by the opponents that any worker on his own motion and for his own reasons should have the right to interfere with or break up a valid existing contract freely and voluntarily entered into between an overwhelming majority of workers and their employers outlining the wages, hours, and conditions of work of millions of faithful, hardworking Americans, simply because they do not want to join with their fellow workers unions and in collective bargaining agreements.

There are few things more important to the maintenance of our free enterprise system than amicable, constructive relations between labor and management and fairness and a spirit of harmony and good will between those who toil and those who employ and manage.

In fact, industrial peace is essential to the proper functioning of our great system. It is a condition precedent to our prosperity.

For Congress to encourage and bring about a situation where an individual would be legally allowed, in effect, to reach in and set aside existing contracts in the labor field and gain for himself the advantage of these contracts without assuming the obligations and responsibilities entailed by them, and inherent in them, would inevitably substitute bitterness and strife for harmony and cooperation between workers and their employers, and this is one of the last things we would want to see in our economy and the Nation.

Both labor and management must realize it, and the American people must realize it. There should be less emphasis on misconceived slogans, generalities, recriminations, and more stress upon pursuing the real interests of the working people, the business managers and the stability and prosperity of the country as a whole.

Our own State is not a right-to-work State, so-called, so here again our people, in viewing this legislation, should be mindful of the fact that we have never given our approval to so-called right-to-work laws.

At the same time, we cannot blind our eyes to the fact that our industrial strength and vitality has been and is being sapped and weakened by the loss of industries we have sustained at the hands of 19 right-to-work States where wages, conditions of work, and other labor standards are not on a par with our own and thus permit these States to pirate our industries and thus harm our economy and prosperity.

It is a plain and disconcerting fact that the right-to-work States, so-called, have been and are in a position to attract some of our industries, and this they have done and are doing today to our detriment, since they are underbidding us out of both the national and Government markets.

Do we want to see this situation get worse by impairing the stability and amicability of our labor-management relations and turning the industries of our State into hotbeds of labor-management controversy.

We do not seek to hammer others into a senseless uniformity, nor to produce blind conformity in the Nation, either politically, educationally, socially, industrially, or to permit individuals or minorities to trample upon the contractual rights of labor and management.

The soundness and perpetuity of the free enterprise system, is and must be, one of our greatest aims. The system is under fierce attack these days from many sources, and it is being weakened to no inconsiderable extent by some current trends in government and business that are narrowing the area of operations of small business and militating against the continued existence, as well as the growth of free incentives.

It should be recognized that small business is the very keystone of the free enterprise system. It is the area where personal initiative, ambition, enterprise, ability, creativity and success through individual effort, and the spirit of venture, find their easiest expression and fulfillment. It is the place in our eocnomy where free opportunity is open for those who seek it.

Since that is so, government at every level should be doing its utmost to safeguard and encourage small business. Yet I fear that in the light of many things that are happening today in government, that is not being done.

To the contrary, taxes, costly government regulations, destructive, private competition by large monopolistic units, the impact of so-called new innovations and government programs on local economies and mercantile units have been responsible for the serious decline in the number, vigor, and strength of small business in this country.

I make this observation in connection with my remarks on 14(b) merely to show the presence of harmful trends in our industrial and economic life being prompted and augmented by some governmental policies to encourage mass assault upon collective bargaining and contractual agreements stemming therefrom, could be just as harmful to the economy and free enterprise as various discriminations against small business.

Both would militate against true cooperation between different parts of our economy, both would engender bitterness and discord where amity should exist, and both would have the effect of weakening the sources of good will, mutual aid and wholehearted cooperation which our governmental and economic systems need today to carry out the great work that lies ahead of us of adapting the American way of life, under ordered personal liberty, stability, and opportunity to the rapidly changing patterns which modern science, explosive population growth and the demands of progress have imposed upon us.

It should be noted that in the discussion of 14(b), several States have already repealed the so-called right-to-work laws, after trial periods proved they had created new and serious problems for both management and labor and the various communities of the States concerned, and when it was clearly demonstrated that the people were overwhelmingly opposed to them.

It should also be noted, as I have suggested above, that millions of workers are now covered under employment security clauses in two party contracts, and that efforts to disturb present amicable contractual relationships would undoubtedly result in more confusion, dissension, resentment, bitterness, and trouble that the Nation can ill afford at this or any other time.

With due and respectful deference to those who feel otherwise about this matter, I would like to point out that in my humble judgment Congress must assiduously and continually search for solutions to great social and economic questions that will minimize conflict and bring desirable results for labor and management and every other group, and in our endeavors do the best we can as legislators to promote industrial peace, prosperity, and the true well-being of the Nation.

The Harassment of Vietnam Servicemen's Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, in the month of June, I introduced S. 2351, a bill making it a Federal crime to use the telephone or the mail for the purpose of harassing servicemen or servicemen's families, in connection with their service in the U.S. Armed Forces.

The bill was prompted by a series of articles which had appeared in the press, reporting on the ghoulish harassment by anonymous callers of Vietnam servicemen's families.

This bill was favorably reported by the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, and is now pending on the agenda of the full Judiciary Committee.

It is my hope that action can be taken on this measure shortly after Congress convenes, because there is mounting evidence of an organized campaign of telephone harassment.

An article in the Washington News of recent date, made reference to six recent cases. Sometimes the anonymous caller would inform the serviceman's family that he had been critically wounded or had been killed, when there was no substance to the report. Sometimes the anonymous caller would say that he was glad that the Vietnam serviceman had got what was coming to him.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the article captioned "Wired for Cruelty" which appeared in the Washington News recently and an article entitled "A Hero Comes Home," which appeared in the Reader's Digest. This last article tells the story of Christopher O'Sullivan, whose family was subjected to a campaign of telephone harassment after his death in Vietnam.

I also ask unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD an article captioned "Hatred for Heroes," by Michael Iachetta, which appeared in the New York Sunday News recently.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington (D.C.) Daily News]

TELEPHONE CALLS IN THE NIGHT: WIRED FOR CRUELTY

(By Thomas Talburt)

In Lookout Heights, Ky., Mrs. Pat Fort answered her phone one afternoon last week, and a voice on the other end of the line said:

"Mrs. Fort, I'm a sergeant from the Department of the Army. It is my deep regret to tell you that your son, Charles, has been killed in Vietnam."

Mrs. Fort collapsed. She later learned from military officials that her son, 24, had been neither killed nor wounded.

In Columbus, Ohio, police were told of a family that got a similar call.

LOCALLY

In McLean, Va., a mother received a call saying her son had been "critically wounded" in Vietnam. The caller said he was glad. The mother, whose only child is a 4-year-old daughter, is still unnerved by the experience.

A New York newspaper refused to print the home address of the wife of a marine in Vietnam, who had written a letter criticizing demonstrators, for fear it would subject her to abuse.

In two cases, involving phone calls made late at night to widows of Air Force personnel killed in Vietnam earlier this year, the Pentagon forwarded information to the FBI.

Nothing came of it because there was no evidence of a Federal law violation. For the FBI to enter such cases there must be a distinct threat made and evidence the call was interstate.

Neither the FBI nor the Pentagon knows how many of these cruel and harassing calls are being made to servicemen's families.

INCREASE

Defense officials say the calls—always anonymous—appear to be increasing again after a number were reported early last summer. Thus far no clear-cut pattern has evolved showing they are part of an organized campaign.

These officials stress that families of military men killed or critically injured are notified by in-person visits from local military officers at their home, or more often, by telegrams delivered to their homes.

If no one is at home to receive the telegram, Western Union has been instructed to leave word that a telegram is awaiting the family. It is to be read over the phone only if a family member insists on it.

Even in this instance, Western Union has been urged by the Defense Department to try to read such news only to a male member of the family.

[From the Reader's Digest]

A HERO COMES HOME—A STORY FOR EVERY AMERICAN TO READ AND PONDER

(By Kenneth O. Gilmore)

This is a story of one brave soldier who has come home from Vietnam. His name: Christopher J. O'Sullivan. He was born and brought up in the outskirts of New York City, but he could have been from anywhere across our land.

Chris was 10 when the family moved to a third-floor walk-up in Astoria near La Guardia Airport, in 1946. "We'll be living above a candy store," his father, William O'Sullivan, announced grandly to Chris and his 3-year-old sister, Hanora. Actually, it was a soda fountain and newsstand, but everyone called it the "candy store."

The family's piano was hoisted up outside the building, and into the small front parlor. Bill O'Sullivan and his wife Anna both loved music, and over the years they had many a session around the piano, the whole family singing. In Ireland, Bill had learned a hundred ditties, including "An Irish Soldier Boy" with its woeful words: "Good-bye, God bless you, Mother dear, I hope your heart won't pain, but pray to God your soldier boy, your son, you'll see again."

Chris loved the lore of Ireland, but what fascinated him most was a snapshot in the family album of a 12-year-old boy standing, rifle in hand. It was Bill O'Sullivan, who during the First World War ran away

from home to join the Royal Munster Fusiliers.

"I was big for my age," Bill explained. "I wore my father's pants."

"Gee, that must have been something," Chris said.

"What was something, lad," his father replied, "was coming to America when I was just 14."

He meant it. Bill had an unblushing love affair with the U.S.A. "What a fantastic heritage this country has given us," he said. "What a responsibility to live up to it."

"REMEMBER AND PRESERVE"

In the New York Police Department Bill O'Sullivan worked up from a rookie to detective. He helped a young prosecutor named Thomas Dewey convict some of the Nation's worst racketeers. But more than anything he yearned to show a son that "heritage" he spoke about. With World War II over and no more gas rationing, he grabbed every free moment for "our weekend rides"—to Albany, to Gettysburg's battlefields, to Valley Forge, and time and again to Williamsburg, the restored capital of the Virginia colony. "This is the most valuable investment we can make," Bill told Anna.

That investment earned one of its countless dividends the winter night when Chris emerged from his room and recited some verses he had written:

"Long years ago our forefathers fought.
Let not their gallant battles go for naught.
They left a heritage, a land that was free.
Remember and preserve that liberty."

Chris went to Xavier High, a military school run by the Jesuits. There, between athletics and lifting barbells at night, he grew into lean muscular manhood. At graduation in 1954 he earned not only a silver medal for class excellence but also the American Legion award for the best essay on Americanism.

"Why is it," he wrote, "that some citizens do not seem to realize that one of the greatest goals in life is the fight for the safety of our democracy and free way of life?"

A MILITARY CAREER

He believed it so deeply that he passed up a 4-year scholarship elsewhere to enroll at Fordham University; its ROTC program offered him an opportunity to become a U.S. Army officer. After graduation he went through a grueling special-service course to become an airborne ranger—Bill O'Sullivan eagerly read the reports his son sent back from Fort Benning, Ga. Then it was off to Hawaii for Chris, where he was commissioned a second lieutenant. There too he was joined by a bride, petite blue-eyed Eleanor Scott, who had grown up three blocks from the candy store.

En route back to Fort Dix, N.J., after 6 month's service in Thailand, Christ in 1962 took a 30-day observation tour in Vietnam. He was staggered by the Communist terrorism he saw and kept insisting that he be allowed to go back. Finally he got his way. Now the father of two boys—Michael, 3, and Stevie, 2—Christ drew Bill aside at the airport when he left for Vietnam in September 1964. "Please take over for me," he said. "The boys need a father, and I may be away a long time. And if you can, take them for those weekend rides."

"I SLEEP IN UNIFORM"

And so, as before, but now with Eleanor and the grandchildren, Bill and Anna went to the places Chris had loved. Meanwhile, above the candy store, Anna O'Sullivan's ear became keenly attuned for the rattle of the front door whenever the postman dropped a letter into the box.

"DEAREST MOM AND DAD: Snipers fire a thousand and one shots a day. At night the Vietcong control Vietnam, and soldiers and advisers alike pray for the dawn.

"Yesterday a mortar round landed 10 feet from my jeep. Bullets, mortars, mines, boobytraps, and strafing planes are all as accepted as the sound of the BMT subway. I am an adviser to the Vietnamese 39th Ranger Battalion. We are now encamped in a small village. If you have a map * * *."

They already had bought the map, a large one, just to keep track. Bill would spread it out on the dining-room table and try to imagine what was happening at a pinpoint called Duc Pho.

If Eleanor had received a letter, she would bring it when she came every day with the boys to visit.

"DEAREST ELEANOR: This morning a mother approached us carrying a scalded baby. But the Vietcong had controlled this village so long that their tales of American advisers eating children were totally believed. The mother screamed and ran away from me."

On the newspaper rack outside the candy store, headlines told of a worsening war—the bloody ambushes; the wholesale slaughter of the South Vietnamese; the mounting toll of Americans slain; Washington's painful efforts for a negotiated peace. Late in November an airmail envelope came to Bill O'Sullivan at work. It contained an insurance policy and a message which tightened his stomach:

"I'm sending this additional insurance coverage to you because I don't want either Eleanor or Mother to know unless the need arises. The Vietcong now outnumber as well as outgun us. We are surrounded here. The Vietcong ambushed me once, killing my driver. I sleep in uniform and socks."

At the candy store, neighbors asked Bill O'Sullivan about Chris. "He's doing just fine." His voice rang with pride. But whenever the postman rattled the front door, his heartbeat quickened. Once a tape came. Bill put the recording machine on the dining-room table. They listened to a familiar deep voice while jungle birds squawked in the background.

MOST DANGEROUS TIME

Bill O'Sullivan tried to make it a merry Christmas. He and the boys decorated a tree at the apartment. And in Vietnam Captain O'Sullivan with an armed escort drove 20 miles from Duc Pho to attend Mass and to post a letter.

"MY DEAR SONS: Tonight is Christmas Eve, and the lonesomeness may be eased if I talk to you. Through your short lives you have brought your mother and me wonderful moments of love and happiness, moments not measured in hours but in heartbeats. I cannot protect you from all the hurts of the world, but I can try to protect you from one of its major dangers. And that is why tonight we are thousands of miles apart."

Bill O'Sullivan suffered a heart attack in January. "I don't want Chris to be told," he said. "He has enough on his mind." At Columbus Hospital, Anna tried to control her voice as she read to her husband: "Over here a good fighting unit is used until ts soldiers become battleweary and exhausted. It is a tragedy that has only one ending. This battalion will some day be bled dry."

Bled dry * * * Bill's hand reached out and met Anna's.

In March Chris wrote to Eleanor:

"Here away from the phony atmosphere of the hotel heroes there is little sham. I've been afraid many times, but I can think, advise and command in spite of it. But I now have fear as a constant companion. As my time with the battalion is closing, I'm afraid of being afraid. There's an axiom here that the first and last months are the most dangerous for a field adviser."

April was the month that Chris was supposed to end his 6 months' combat duty and take a desk job. But his Vietnamese counterpart asked him to remain. "As you trained me, Dad, there was only one decision. My duty was to remain." So Chris stayed on. He had a fungus infection on his hands, intestinal disorders and dysentery. His blond hair had turned gray, and he'd dropped from 186 to 156 pounds.

"I FIRMLY BELIEVE"

On Easter weekend in Washington at a gigantic "Get Out of Vietnam" rally, one speaker compared a Vietcong terrorist with Jesus Christ. And the crowd cheered. "It's a strange thing," Bill O'Sullivan told Anna. "Isn't there any cheering for our soldiers who are helping hold off the Communists?"

Two days later, on April 19, a ferocious Vietcong force struck the 39th Battalion. For 2 hours, under murderous fire, Captain O'Sullivan darted from one gun position to another to direct a counterbarrage. He hit 15 Vietcong and saved 75 of his own men trapped by the enemy. His 6-foot-2-inch frame was so often out in the open that shouts of "Shoot the American." could be heard above the roar of battle. From that day on, the Vietcong put up a $500 reward for O'Sullivan's head.

In America, at college and university campuses across the land, the fad for denouncing the war in Vietnam mounted. Was the war merely a maneuver to reach a meaningless settlement? Bill O'Sullivan studied again an oft-read special letter:

"I firmly believe in the fight. No solution is so damning as to allow the Communists to seize more men, women, and children here. Those Vietnamese who care don't want a neutral slavery. They want the free choice of their future. And this can occur only if you and I see a purpose for the fighting—to help these people live and grow free.

"This country, like our own in 1776, must receive help."

TO THE LAST MAN

As May 1965 drew to a close, Captain O'Sullivan at last was ordered to Saigon and rest. On his way he checked into Quang Ngai. But on Saturday the 29th, a hundred Vietnamese and three Americans were trapped by the Vietcong in a nearby hamlet. All were believed lost. One was Lt. Donald Robison, who had served with Chris virtually the entire time he had been in Vietnam.

Sick with worry, Chris waited at the small Quang Ngai airport for word on Robison. Late that night he wrote a letter to Eleanor, and next morning he led a ranger counterattack. Suddenly his 300-man force was in grave trouble. More than 800 Vietcong sprang from hidden jungle tunnels. In a field of death, Chris helped carry off the wounded and, by radio, directed air strikes. He warned that ammunition was running dangerously low.

Then it happened.

Charging up a hill with Sgt. Willie D. Tyrone, he was hit by shrapnel. The sergeant carried him to the hilltop and radioed back news of his death. When helicopter relief arrived, they also found Tyrone's riddled body. Around them lay more than a hundred South Vietnamese rangers, all disemboweled. They had fought to the last man.

"ALL THAT IS NECESSARY"

It was Memorial Day in America. Bill and Anna had taken Eleanor and the children to the Catskills. On Monday they returned to Astoria and dropped Eleanor and the boys off at their home. Only minutes later Eleanor was at the candy store running up the stairs clutching the telegram. Her red eyes told the old detective: his son was gone.

Tuesday morning the tragedy was a squib in the New York papers. At Eleanor's home the phone rang with condolences. One voice, however, was unfamiliar:

"Is this Mrs. O'Sullivan? I'd just like to say how glad I am your husband is dead. He got what he deserved. He shouldn't have been in Vietnam. He should have died in a worse way." A sharp click.

Eleanor O'Sullivan stared at the phone, then crumpled to the floor, unconscious.

Next morning the phone carried another gloating taunt. "It was a good thing he was killed," a different voice told Eleanor.

On Wednesday afternoon Maj. Reginald Grier, who had served with Chris in Hawaii, came by. Once more the phone rang, and Major Grier grabbed the receiver.

"I just called to tell Mrs. O'Sullivan how happy I am that her husband was killed in Vietnam." It was a man's voice, well modulated, controlled, almost as if the caller were reading professionally from a script. "I want you to know this: the Communists will eventually win in Vietnam." Then he hung up.[1]

Thursday morning a final letter arrived in Chris' handwriting:

"DEAREST ELEANOR: Tonight my heart is sadder than it has ever been. Tomorrow we are going to look for Don and his two sergeants. I can only ask your forgiveness because in this operation I am going to do all that is necessary to find Don or his body.

"I promised you I would be overly cautious now that I am rotating so soon. I cannot keep that promise. Don has a young wife and a 3-year-old daughter. If he was looking for me, you would want him to do the best job he could. By the time you receive this letter, it will be all over one way or another. Tonight I pray it will be for the best. God have mercy on both of us. Love, Chris."

TAPS FOR A HERO

June 9 dawned clear in New York. Christopher O'Sullivan had come home to be buried. An Army honor guard formed a corridor as the flag-draped coffin was carried 50 feet along Ditmars Boulevard, through the overflow crowd, from funeral home to the packed Immaculate Conception Church for solemn requiem mass. Prowl cars cruised a 2-block area, and riot vans parked nearby. New York Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick personally commanded a 30-man security force on the scene. For it was feared the services might be turned into a demonstratoin against the U.S. role in Vietnam.

At sunset August 11 on a parade ground at Governors Island, across from Manhattan, Eleanor O'Sullivan, her children by her side, stepped forward. In behalf of her husband she accepted six medals, including the Distinguished Service Cross for "extraordinary heroism" last April 19, the Silver Star for "gallantry in action" on May 30, the Purple Heart for his mortal wounds. Bill and Anna stood by.

A cannon boomed. The clear notes of taps echoed across the field. As the 1st Army Band played "The Star-Spangled Banner" Stevie and Michael saluted with the soldiers. And Bill could almost hear Chris speaking the words he had written in a recent letter:

"Here is a country—Vietnam—with people like you and me, with families like ours, fighting for the right to determine its existence. As long as you and I believe we should be free, we must treat that feeling in others as important. So if God wills I die here, there is no finer cause today for which a man must die than the cause of these people."

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[1] In at least five other cases, the wives and relatives of soldiers killed in Vietnam have reported similar calls—apparently not crank calls but ideologically motivated harassment. The family of one dead soldier got a postcard demanding that his insurance money be donated to the Vietcong.

[From the New York News]

HATRED FOR HEROES—CRUEL NEW RED PROPAGANDA WEAPON TORMENTS FAMILIES OF SERVICEMEN WITH THREATS, ABUSE AND RIDICULE

(By Michael Iachetta)

"I'm happy your husband was killed. He didn't belong in Vietnam in the first place. He got what he deserved and I'm glad. It serves you both right."

That was one—just one—of the many anonymous hate calls that tormented Mrs. Eleanor O'Sullivan within hours after the newspapers reported that her husband, infantry Capt. Christopher O'Sullivan, had been killed in action in Vietnam.

The same callers did their best to reach Mrs. Frances Anderson, mother of three small children, when her husband, John, a marine sergeant, was cited for gallantry leading his squad in beating off a heavy Vietcong attack.

But Mrs. Anderson had an unlisted number. So the callers resourcefully reached her neighbors and demanded that they relay the cruel and callous message to the bewildered and frightened young mother.

Then came the letters • • • abusive, venomous, and threatening.

PARROT RED LINE

The calls and letters are remarkably similar, and obviously inspired by Red or Red-leaning groups with two ideas in mind: to upset the families of U.S. servicemen and, in doing it, to erode the morale of the servicemen themselves.

Though Mrs. O'Sullivan and Mrs. Anderson live in New York City, the hate corps that has badgered them seems to be national in scope.

In Chicago, Mrs. Melba Strachan's phone began ringing in less than an hour after a newspaper published an interview with her West Pointer son, James, an adviser with the South Vietnamese forces.

One caller identified herself to Mrs. Strachan as a member of a women's peace group.

"Won't you help us to get our men out of Vietnam?" she asked.

Mrs. Strachan replied with a firm "No," and the caller became abusive.

"If that's the way you feel," she shrilled, "we hope your son is killed over there."

In Oklahoma City, Mrs. Jane Sides was still in shock from the news that her paratrooper husband was missing in action in Vietnam when the hate campaign began against her.

"I know you are alone in the house," said one caller. "You will not live through the night."

These calls, many of them obscene, and the poison-pen letters are coming with such frequency that Senator THOMAS J. DODD, Democrat, of Connecticut, has introduced a bill to impose a 15-year prison term or a $10,000 fine, or both, for threatening or harassing servicemen or their families.

"There is mounting evidence that the Communist fifth column in this country is seeking to undermine the morale of our forces in Vietnam through a campaign of threats and harassment directed against the families of American servicemen in Vietnam," DODD says.

Mrs. O'Sullivan agrees.

She still closes her eyes when she thinks about the calls and letters she has received.

"They weren't the calls of crackpots or mentally ill persons," she said the other day. "They were intentional, ideologically motivated and well-thought-out calls—and not from subhumans, either. I have this quirk—names and voices stick with me. These callers were between 25 and 30 and well educated."

Speaking of the first call she received, Mrs. O'Sullivan said:

"I remember stepping away from the phone afterward and saying: 'God. How could there be such people?' Then I fainted."

One call came when Maj. Reginald Grier was with her as a "survivor officer" to help with the funeral. She remembers handing the phone to Grier as soon as the caller started pouring his hate into her ear.

Grier tried to question the anonymous caller. He got no answers. The hate monger just continued his monolog as if reading from a script: "I want you to know this—the Communists will eventually win in Vietnam."

Across the country, at least five other wives and relatives of soldiers killed in Vietnam have received similar calls. The survivors of one soldier got a postcard demanding that his insurance money be donated to the Vietcong.

Even the brass in the Defense Department in Washington has been bugged by youthful callers pouring out their hate over the phone. "I reported the calls to the telephone company," said one high-ranking officer. "I was told that it was a matter for the local law enforcement agency to handle."

"Just what can the Army do?" asked a New York military spokesman when questioned about the propaganda harassment of Eleanor O'Sullivan. "We can't police domestic domain. After you suggest that she move and get an unlisted phone number, what can you do? Sure, I'd like to get my hands on those callers, but • • •."

FBI IS POWERLESS

The Federal Bureau of Investigation can't step in because harassing phone calls don't violate Federal law. There must be an interstate angle or a threatening call before the FBI can act. This leaves it up to local police. Understandably, they are not too expansive about their methods of tracking down "sick" callers.

In Eleanor O'Sullivan's case, verbatim accounts of the harassing calls and letters have been given to the Criminal Investigation Division, which functions as the FBI of the Army. The CID is at work on the hate callers and letter writers, but they are not talking for publication.

A postal official explained that a hate letter sent in a sealed envelope does not violate postal laws unless it contains obscenity. A postcard is a different matter because the defamatory statement is exposed to public view.

Right now, New York City postal authorities are checking postcard writers who have overstepped the bounds of decency in writing to wives and families of servicemen in Vietnam.

Eleanor O'Sullivan leafed through a scrapbook filled with letters and pictures of her husband the other day and talked freely about hate calls, letters • • • and her husband.

"This must be painful," an interviewer said, apologetically.

"I want to talk about it," she said. "Maybe it will make the draft card burners stop and think that if they were in Vietnam they couldn't burn draft cards because they wouldn't have any. The Vietcong would simply tell them to fight or else they would kill their father, mother, wife, child or loved one.

"Maybe it will make the sick callers and letter writers stop and think that freedom is something you have to fight for or you won't have it any more. If we let the Reds get their way in Vietnam now, we won't have freedom any more."

Mrs. O'Sullivan pointed to a picture of Chris in a friendly pose with Viet children. "It was the children that really got Chris," she said. "Their unsmiling faces that were old before their time. He said he would give his life to be able to help them."

She read a letter Chris wrote to his sons, Michael, 5, and Stephen, 3.

"Tonight is Christmas Eve and the lonesomeness may be eased if I talked to you. Through your short lives you have brought your mother and me wonderful moments of love and happiness, moments not measured in hours but in heartbeats. I cannot protect you from all the hurts of the world but I can try to protect you from one of its major dangers. And that is why tonight we are thousands of miles apart."

As she read, Stephen awoke from his nap and walked into the living room, twirling a cap pistol. Michael was at school. Stephen saw his mother looking at a picture of Chris. "That's my father," he said. "He was brave." Stephen stared out onto a nearby hill. He began firing his cap pistol at an unseen enemy.

Christopher O'Sullivan died on a jungle hill in Vietnam, far from the third floor walkup in which he grew up over a candy store in Astoria near LaGuardia Airport. Two days after his death, Eleanor received a letter from him. "By the time you receive this * * * it will be all over one way or another. Tonight I pray it will be for the best. God have mercy on both of us. Love, Chris."

"At first, I couldn't believe he was dead," said Eleanor. "Now time passes—October 17 would have been our sixth wedding anniversary—and it's beginning to sink in. But we had almost five good years together. Now my sons have the heritage of patriotism and heroism Chris left them. And I have my memories of him."

As Eleanor Scott, Mrs. O'Sullivan grew up 3 blocks from where Chris lived. They sat next to each other in class at Immaculate Conception School on Ditmars Boulevard. Chris shot paper clips at her when he wasn't ignoring her.

Chris' father, Bill, a New York City detective, wanted Chris to understand "the fantastic heritage this country has given to us." As a teenager in Ireland, Bill had joined the Royal Munster Fusiliers in World War I. His son always had his heart set on becoming a soldier. Chris went to Xavier High School, a Jesuit-run military school in Manhattan. At graduation, he won the American Legion award for the best essay on Americanism.

He wrote: "Why is it that some citizens do not seem to realize that one of the greatest goals in life is the fight for the safety of our democracy and free way of life."

Chris turned down a 4-year college scholarship to St. Peter's and paid his way through Fordham because of a better chance to get a regular Army commission through the ROTC there.

WANTED ARMY CAREER

He learned about guns in the ROTC. He joined the Pershing Rifles, an outfit that went in for extra soldiering after school. And he began to date Eleanor. At graduation in 1958, they both knew they would soon be married. Chris, with a regular Army commission, pushed his military career. He received airborne and Ranger training in a crack Special Forces outfit. Then he was off for duty in Hawaii.

Eleanor joined him there to be married. "We almost had our first fight after the ceremony," she recalls. "Chris' Battle Group [Company C, 35th Brigade] had arranged to have a tank waiting outside for us instead of a limousine. And, wedding gown and all, I had to ride on it."

Next came a 6-month tour in Thailand. On his way back to duty at Fort Dix, N.J., in 1962, Chris took a 30-day observation tour in Vietnam. He swore to himself that he would go back there someday to help out. He finally got his wish, in September 1964.

Chris wrote his family frequently so they could follow his movements around Duc Pho on a map they used to spread out on the dining room table.

Chris soon began having premonitions of death. "This battalion will some day be bled dry," he wrote to his mother, Anna. He sent an extra insurance policy to his father that he didn't want Anna or Eleanor to know about.

Chris wrote Eleanor: "As my time with the battalion is closing, I'm afraid of being afraid. There's an axiom here that the first and last months are the most dangerous for a field adviser."

But Chris made it the hard way and was scheduled for desk duty after his 6 months of combat. At 28, his blonde hair was shot with gray. He was wracked with dysentery. A fungus infection spread across his hands. His athlete's body had shrunk from 186 to 150 pounds.

His Vietnamese counterpart asked him to stay on with the 39th Ranger Battalion. Chris felt it was his duty to stay. Soon the Vietcong had a $500 price on his head.

Chris dodged death until he was almost through his second combat tour. His next assignment was already set for Fort Benning, Ga. And he had been ordered back to Saigon for a rest.

Then he learned that one of his buddies—Lt. Don Robison—was trapped by the Vietcong. Chris stopped at Quang Ngai and waited for word of Robison and the two other Americans and 100 Vietnamese with him. When no word came, Chris led a Ranger counterattack that was trapped by more than 800 Vietcong. Chris tried to fight his way out by leading an uphill charge. He was cut down by shrapnel. Sgt. Willie D. Tyrone carried him up the hill. Chris died at the top of the hill. Tyrone radioed for help. By the time helicopters arrived, every man in the outfit was dead.

Robison later walked out of the jungle alive.

The night before Chris died, he wrote Eleanor:

"Dearest * * * Tonight my heart is sadder than it has ever been. Tomorrow we are going to look for Don and his two sergeants. I can only ask your forgiveness because in this operation I am going to do all that is necessary to find Don or his body. I promised you I would be overly cautious now that I am 'rotating' (coming home) so soon. I cannot keep that promise. Don has a young wife and a 3-year-old daughter. If he was looking for me, you would want him to do the best job he could."

Eleanor got that letter at just about the time the hate calls and letters had reached a peak. "Funny, how God works things out," she said. "I never had to tell the children their father was dead. Major Grier was with me working out the funeral details just before Chris came home * * * to be buried. Mike was sitting in the dark at the top of the stairs listening to us.

"The next morning he came down and said 'Mommy, daddy is dead, isn't he?' I nodded. He said, 'It's OK because now he is in heaven watching over us. I told Stevie and it's OK with him too.' "

At about the same time Chris' body was passing through a contract mortuary in San Francisco—the first stop for every dead U.S. soldier returning from Vietnam—anonymous phone callers renewed their psychological warfare across the country.

"Are you Mrs. ———, whose son (or husband) is serving in Vietnam?" the callers asked. "Did you know he'd been killed in action."

Such calls have prompted frantic messages to the Casualty Branch at the Pentagon. The callers haven't been right yet. Officially, the military dismisses the ghoulish callers and letter writers as "cranks."

But New York Police Commissioner Vincent Broderick has other ideas. He was so concerned that Chris' funeral services might be turned into a demonstration against the U.S. role in Vietnam that he personally commanded a 30-man security force that surrounded Immaculate Conception Church as Chris' flag-draped casket was carried from the funeral home for a solemn requiem mass.

Police cars prowled the area. There were no incidents.

Not too long ago, Eleanor O'Sullivan went to Governors Island, across from Manhattan, with her two sons so the Army could honor her husband in a sunset ceremony. For Chris, she received the Distinguished Service Cross—the Nation's second highest decoration—for extraordinary heroism, the Silver Star for gallantry in action, the Purple Heart for his mortal wounds, the Army Medal of Commendation and—from the Vietnamese Government—the Gallantry Cross and the National Order.

There are many service widows like Mrs. O'Sullivan. Bereavement, it seems, is not enough. They must also take abuse.

The Church and Mental Health

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. CLARK MacGREGOR
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. MacGREGOR. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD a recent sermon by Rev. William R. Snyder, pastor of St. Johns Lutheran Church in Minneapolis, Minn. Reverend Snyder's topic was "The Church and Mental Health," a subject of great interest to all Americans today when we find that somewhat over one-half million of our citizens are in mental institutions. I feel that Reverend Snyder's sermon contains some serious food for thought for all of us.

The sermon follows:

THE CHURCH AND MENTAL HEALTH

(By Rev. William R. Snyder, senior pastor)

Last week was Mental Health Week. The purpose of this week is to encourage more and more of our citizens to become interested in what is fast becoming our Nation's No. 1 health problem. The promoters of this week have, for the last few years, set forth the provocative slogan: "Mental Health Is Everyone's Business."

With well over one-half million of our citizens in mental hospitals, mental health should become everyone's business. With an estimated one out of every four workers in America having a personality disturbance, mental health should become everyone's business. With an estimated 50 to 70 percent of the men and women in doctors' offices being ill emotionally—not physically—mental health should be everyone's business. With more and more of our Nation's universities adding psychiatric sections to their student hospitals because more and more of our students are having mental breakdowns—mental health should become everyone's business.

Certainly the Church of Christ should be concerned about the mental health of our people. It is a fact that in all cultures the health problem is fused with religion. This is true in our western culture. Early Christianity was concerned with health. Jesus referred to Himself as the "Great Physician" who came to heal those who were sick. The word "salvation" means "to be healed" and the word "holy" means "to be made whole." Thus from the very beginning the Christian church was concerned about

healing or saving the whole person. Certainly the contemporary church cannot do otherwise.

I believe that the greatest psychiatrist the world has ever known was not Sigmund Freud, Erich Fromm, or Carl Jung, but Jesus Christ. In Holy Scripture we read that Jesus: "Knew what was in man." He thoroughly understood human personality. Because He knew what was in men and women, much of what contemporary psychiatrists proclaim was proclaimed by our Master. Thus, much of contemporary psychiatry is compatible with Christianity. What are some of these Christian concepts that are compatible with current psychological concepts?

Psychiatrists tell us that one of the chief causes of mental illness is guilt. Our Saviour perceived that guilt made men and women sick mentally. Guilt comes when we break God's law. Someone has said that we really don't break God's law, instead God's law breaks us. Guilt comes when we break the standards of the society in which we live. Guilt comes when we do those things that our parents taught us not to do, or fail to do those things our parents taught us to do. Guilt comes from feelings and thoughts which we know are unacceptable to our loved ones and other members of society. Thus guilt comes when we feel hostile toward our parents—when we hate brothers and sisters. Guilt comes when fail to reach certain professional, vocational, or scholastic goals we have set for ourselves, or goals that others have set for us. Guilt comes when we are overly assertive with others, when we manipulate them, treat them like objects, push them around to their detriment.

This guilt resides not only in our conscious mind, it also resides in our subconscious mind. The guilt in our subconscious is lost to our conscious mind. But it is quite real; it is quite detrimental to us; it makes us diseased. It makes us defensive. It fills us with hostility. It drives us to despair. It may destroy us if it is permitted to go unresolved. Knowing what was in man, Jesus Christ perceived that guilt makes us diseased. The Saviour saw that guilt drives us to despair; drives us down to destruction.

One of the best known examples of guilt destroying a man took place during the years following World War II. One of the men who dropped the first atomic bomb in human history was overwhelmed with guilt over his participation in this awful act. He was in and out of one psychiatric hospital after another. He attempted to commit suicide several times. He could not perform any work effectively. This man's guilt drove him to destruction. Our Saviour saw the destructiveness of guilt 20 centuries ago.

A second concept of contemporary psychitary that is compatible with Christianity has to do with our sercets. Psychiatrists tell us that we should not attempt to hide the things that cause our guilt. We should not try to hide our despicable deeds; we should not try to hide our terrible thoughts; we should not try to hide our festered feelings. We should make these things known to an analyst. If we hide these things we will make ourselves sick.

One psychiatrist makes the thought-provoking declaration: "You are your secrets." "You are your secrets"—if you have saturated yourself with sick secrets you will be sick—you thus must get rid of them. We must air our awful actions. We must eject our festered feelings—our leperous thoughts. We dare not saturate our subconscious or our conscious mind with sick secrets.

Our Saviour perceived this profound truth regarding man. Twenty centuries ago He urged men and women to repent. Christ called men and women to confess. In fact He warned people that everything hidden in their hearts would be revealed; everything about them that was unknown would be made known. Our secret sins which we file away in our subconscious mind will not only be revealed to us by God in the moment that He judges us but psychosomatic symptoms will show that we have stored such secret sins in our subconscious. Present day psychiatrists have thousands of case histories supporting this statement of our Saviour. Case histories of people who showed symptoms in their bodies because of secret sins stored in the subconscious. Yes, we should not saturate our subconscious mind with such secrets which only serve to make us mentally ill.

We should open up regarding our awful acts. We should open up regarding our festered feelings. We should open up regarding our terrible thoughts. We should speak up straightforwardly about our secret sins. We should not try to hide the truth about ourselves as Adam and Eve tried to hide the truth about themselves. Such efforts to hypocritically hide our heinous hearts only leads to a horrible heartache. Such attempts to be secretive regarding our sins leads to a sin-sick soul. Such deceptions lead to our destruction. Such dishonesty drives us to despair. The fear of being found out leads to acidic anxiety. How much better to heed Christ's call to confess.

A third concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with acceptance. Psychiatrists declare that all men and women need to live in an atmosphere of acceptance. Especially those men and women who are filled with guilt need to live in a fellowship of forgiveness. Men and women who have saturated their subconscious with secret sins need to keep company with the compassionate children or our Creator. Jesus Christ was the quintessence of such compassion. It is in Christ, who was God's Son, that we see the Almighty accepting men and women who were considered to be awful in the eyes of others. It is on Golgotha's hill that we see the finest forgiveness ever recorded in human history. Christ accepted men and women who rejected themselves. He loved men and women who hated themselves. Yea, it was in accepting them that they came to accept themselves; it was in our Lord's loving them they came to love themselves.

When they knew that God accepted them—just as they were—despite their secret sins—then they accepted themselves just as they were despite their secret sins. When they knew that the Lord loved them just as they were—despite their sick secrets then they loved themselves just as they were despite their sick secrets. When they loved themselves with the Lord's love their guilt was gone. When they accepted themselves with the Almighty's acceptance their guilt was absolved. The Lord's love; the Almighty's acceptance liquidated their guilt—abolished their guilt.

Since the Church is the "body of Christ" it is the role of the church to be a colony of compassion. A colony of compassion where the children of the Creator can come to confess. Since the Church is the "body of Christ" the church should be an arsenal of acceptance. An arsenal of acceptance where those wretched men and women who are weak from guilt may receive strength to stand up after being knocked so very low. As the "body of Christ" the church should be going out to the rejected with redemption and release. As the "body of Christ" the church should be looking for the lost with love.

But all too frequently, as Dietrich Bonhoeffer declares, the Church is; "The pious fellowship (that) permits no one to be a sinner. So everybody must conceal his sin from himself and from the fellowship. We dare not be sinners. Many Christians are unthinkably horrified when a real sinner is suddenly discovered among the righteous." Because there is so much truth in Bonhoeffer's charge levelled against the church there are colonies of compassion being formed outside the church. An example of such a colony of compassion outside the church is Alcholics Anonymous. The members of Alcoholics Anonymous did not find the compassion, acceptance, and love they needed in the Church of Christ. What a scandal. Bonhoeffer charges that church members have fellowship with one another as believers and devout people but they do not have fellowship with one another as sinners and the undevout.

Because this is true there is very little if any real healing taking place in our contemporary churches. There is very little salvation occurring in our sanctuaries. Every congregation should have small groups deliberately engaged in the ministry of accepting the rejected; loving the lost; having compassion for those who need to confess. Every congregation should have small groups that are permeated with acceptance so that men and women may be encouraged to reveal the sick secrets of their subconscious so that they no longer need to be sick unto death. Yea, there should not only have been a balm in Gilead that heals the sin-sick soul—which we like to sing about in our churches—but there should be a balm in St. John's and in every congregation that heals the sin-sick soul.

A fourth concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with moral law. Psychiatrists tell us that we should not be slaves to moral law. They hold that such slavery to moral law causes guilt when the individual fails to live up to moral law. This guilt leads to mental illness. This is not a new message—our Master said the same thing. Christ called us away from slavery to the Ten Commandments or any other moral code. He called such a code a burden too difficult to bear.

At the present time there is a ferment in the world of psychiatry concerning moral law. Sigmund Freud and his followers feel that such codes should be eliminated from society altogether. It is their thesis that since such moral codes cause guilt when people fail to live up to them the way to get rid of guilt is to get rid of all such codes of conduct in our culture. This thinking has dominated our American culture for the last generation. Indeed so-called permissive psychiatry has permeated even religion. In religion it comes out as "cheap grace" which means "live as you please God always loves you anyway—do what you please because the Creator always condones your conduct."

But another group of psychiatrists presently holds that getting rid of codes of conduct has not produced the expected and desired result. They declare that getting rid of codes of conduct has not been good for our culture. They declare that the mental health of our citizens is no better today than it was a generation ago. Therefore they have started a movement to restore codes of conduct.

But while these two groups of psychiatrists debate the role of moral law and codes of conduct Christ has already given us the truth regarding this matter. Many church members do not understand what Christ teaches relative to the moral law. Christ and Freud are in agreement on the point that man should not be a slave to moral law. But Christ and Freud part company on the point of scrapping moral law. Jesus did not teach the abolishment of the law.

Instead God's Son tells us to keep the Ten Commandments in their proper place. That is, we should not make the Ten Commandments God; we should not relate to them. We are to let God be God. We are called by Christ to come into relationship with God, the Father, who gives us the power to live

beyond the Ten Commandments. The Ten Commandments are powerless—they do not give us the power to fulfill them—they are merely words written upon paper. But God is powerful. Therefore when we relate to God we receive from Him the power to live beyond the Ten Commandments. Thus when we relate to God through Christ we are free from slavery to the commandments; we are free from the guilt that those men and women experience who relate to the commandments.

A final concept of contemporary psychiatry that is compatible with Christianity has to do with our inner choice. Psychiatrists tell us that mental illness comes from our inner division. They tell us we become dis-eased when we are divided internally. Jesus said the same thing on several occasions. Our Master warns us that a house divided against itself cannot stand. In the Sermon on the Mount Christ tells us to let our conversation be "yes" and "no." By this he meant: make a clear cut commitment. Make a clear cut commitment: don't vacillate between a life lived for the Lord and a life lived of oneself; don't oscillate in the gray area. Kierkegaard echoes the teaching of Jesus when he declares that we should will one thing.

The one thing Christ calls us to will is to let Him draw us into relationship with Himself. It is when we will this one thing that we come out of isolation—isolation which breeds mental illness. It is when we will this one thing of letting the Lord thus draw us out of isolation and into fellowship with Him that we know his peace. Yea, it is when we will this one thing of letting the Lord draw us into relationship with Him that we are truly healthy, truly whole.

Dag Hammarskjold writes these words: "It is not enough to place yourself daily under God. What really matters is to be only under God: the slightest division of allegiance opens the door to * * * the death-instinct." Yea, we must choose God only because only God can heal us.

Dr. H. Guford Stever Inaugurated President of Carnegie Tech—Text of His Inaugural Address

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

Hon. EVERETT McKINLEY DIRKSEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DIRKSEN. Mr. President, a new president of the famed Carnegie Institute of Technology was formally inaugurated this month in ceremonies on the university campus in Pittsburgh, Pa. He is Dr. H. Guford Stever, one of the Nation's leading authorities on aeronautical science and engineering. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of both Colgate University and the California Institute of Technology, Dr. Stever has been a member of the faculty of Massachusetts Institute of Technology and has served for 10 years as a chief scientist for the U.S. Air Force and is a member of the USAF Science Advisory Board. He also serves as chairman of the Advisory Committee on Missile and Spacecraft Aerodynamics of the National Aeronautical and Space Administration and, in addition, has held various advisory and administrative posts in other fields of great importance to the Nation. With this brief background, I believe it is of considerable interest to the country as to his views contained in his inaugural address and ask unanimous consent that Dr. Stever's speech be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

All of us associated with Carnegie Institute of Technology are especially appreciative of the honor which is done to our institution today by others. Trustees, faculty, administration, students, staff, alumni, and friends of Carnegie Tech are here in a dual role—both to honor the institution and to be honored for the part each has played in the past and is continuing to play in a developing future.

After spending most of my professional life in education, and in this time of increasing awareness of the need for vitality in our higher education system, I am particularly honored to be selected as president of Carnegie Institute of Technology. And I am further honored by your appearance here at this ceremony of my inauguration. I would single out for particular welcome to Carnegie Tech and Pittsburgh, those presidents of other academic institutions who seem to take such special delight when another falls into the pit with them. Though you presidents from out of town are welcomed today, my fellow university and college presidents here in this city have sharply instructed me never again to invite so many outside college presidents to town on a day when the banks are open.

NO CENTENARY CELEBRATION

Carnegie Tech has had a proud past, though a relatively short one. It has not yet been able to celebrate a centenary occasion since it was founded in 1900. I find that for fundraising purposes the next conveniently titled year is some time off, unless some of my Latin scholar colleagues can come up with the proper word for two-thirds of a century, which is only about a year away.

Carnegie Institute of Technology was not conceived by professional educators. The idea came directly from Andrew Carnegie. Its formal existence began with a letter of remarkable clarity and vision, written by him in November of 1900, offering to build and endow a technical school for the city of Pittsburgh. I wish all of you could read that remarkable letter, for it shows you much of what was in his mind.

He mentioned reading an article "Handication versus Headication," an essay written by his grandfather. He showed his admiration for those people who began their lives as laborers and went on to achieve great things when he wrote, "It is really astonishing how many of the world's foremost men have begun as manual laborers. The greatest of all, Shakespeare, was a woolcarder; Burns, a plowman; Columbus, a sailor; Hannibal, a blacksmith; Lincoln, a railsplitter; Grant, a tanner," and he went on to mention George Westinghouse, a mechanic, and Professor Brashear, a millwright of Pittsburgh. He could have added Andrew Carnegie, bobbinboy. And in the letter he mentioned the deep impressions made on him by the technical institutes in Boston, Worcester, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Chicago, and particularly two British institutes, Keighley Institute and Halifax Institute.

SERVICE TO INDUSTRIAL PITTSBURGH

Carnegie conceived a technical school as opposed to a liberal arts college of which there were many in the country, and he conceived of a school that would give, by the production of trained young men and women, primary service to Pittsburgh, hard-working, industrial, free-enterprise-based Pittsburgh. He was just completing a half century as one of the leaders who made the names of Pittsburgh and America synonymous with industrial production. He knew the needs of industry.

Service to the community was a prime theme in his founding this school. During the discussions yesterday, many of you noted that this theme of service to the community is still ever present in the minds of the staff of this institution, though the concept of the community has broadened far beyond the boundaries of Pittsburgh to include State, Nation, indeed society as a whole; and it now includes not only the production of educated professional men and women, but also research and scholarly work and direct service of faculty in important affairs other than educational.

Andrew Carnegie once wrote, some time after the founding, to William McConway, the chairman of the trustees committee, "No school can be a creation but an evolution." Each of my four predecessors here at Carnegie Institute of Technology has put his personal stamp on that evolution, though it is clear to all of you that some of the original threads have indeed remained part of the present fabric.

THE EVOLUTION

The first president, Dr. Hamerschlag, built the nucleus of the campus and set up the technical schools. The second, Dr. Baker, built up the academic activities and standards to change its character from an almost purely technical school to a more broadly based university centered on technical professions. The third, Dr. Doherty, established modern engineering and science education and put a stamp on Carnegie Tech of liberal general education, to make it a leader among technical institutes in devoting as much as 25 percent of the curriculum time to education in the humanities and social sciences. My immediate predecessor, Dr. Warner, built the facilities and faculty strength needed for graduate education so important in the modern professions of engineering, science, and industrial management; and he reawakened the long dormant drive to build and improve the campus. None of these trends has reached its final state; the evolution is continuing.

All of this discussion of the foundations of Carnegie Institute of Technology may appear to some of you as the struggle of a new president to find something to characterize his administration. To others it may appear to be an explanation for the make-up on this campus of an institute of technology, with not only the normal components of such an institute (namely, engineering, science, industrial management and the humanities and social sciences), but also a college for women's education and a college of fine arts, a curious combination.

I have dwelt on this history for quite different reasons. Actually, this institution's heritage is one ingredient in the many needed to continue the development and strengthening of its character; it can be proud of both its original practical heritage from which comes its strong professional orientation, and its ready acceptance of some of the best from another aspect of education, the liberal arts.

And finally, there is a grouping which has come to the foreground in recent years—aggressive, nonconforming, interested in events in the larger world; each of its members is rather hard on everyone around him—students, faculty, and administration, but nevertheless each is trying to find out what the truly important issues of life are. This group is usually an interested and aroused and often involved group.

This group knows that, in spite of the surface stability of our government, our country is in the midst of a social and economic revolution of shattering proportions; they want those of us in education to help them study the issues and shape their stand-

ards, lest some less responsible leaders capture their imagination and drive.

WIDESPREAD AGREEMENT

There are many comments on the wide diversity of American higher education. We have descriptions for educational institutions which immediately conjure images of quite different kinds of education—liberal arts, State university, liberal professional, private university, church school, urban university, and so on.

Actually, from a curriculum content point of view, there is widespread agreement on what goes into higher education. Most schemes involve professional work, needed by the student to earn his way through life, and to serve society with his special talents. Most have a fair sprinkling of general education—about what man has been, what he is, and what he can be, the physical world about him and his place in it, the evolving of his ideas, morally, philosophically, his institutions, his great works of art, science, government, how he can solve his problems and what problems are most important to solve. And almost all pay attention to the development of the individual as an individual, socially, culturally, physically, and as a responsible contributing citizen of a community. Carnegie Tech's program, as an example, has each of these elements.

Institutions differ a great deal, however, in two ways: first in the quality and standards of the faculty teaching the curriculum, and the interest and capability of the students studying the curriculum; and second in the environment provided for learning, for research, for scholarly activity, and for service to the community. And it is this environmental factor and the faculty and student quality factor which most clearly characterize the institution, which implicity establish the observable goals of the institution, which sreve to attract its student body to study and faculty members to teach and pursue their professional work, as well as to attract the needed monetary and spiritual help from many individuals and organizations.

It behooves us to examine our institution, what it is, what it can be, to know our quality and environment for learning, not for purposes of comparisons with other types or specific institutions, but so we can strengthen its character, make it grow better in today's and tomorrow's world.

START WITH THE STUDENT

As in all things educational, I like to start with the student as an individual, and the student body as an important segment of our academic community. Our students at the graduate level are attracted here almost solely to further their professional drives; at the undergraduate level for the mixture of professional and liberal arts education. The undergraduates are not all well rounded as individuals, but as a group they are; there is a variety in race, creed, color, in cultural, social and economic background, in geographical distribution. Though they are a reasonably selected group, there is a considerable range of academic ability and creative talent as well as elan and professional drive.

When they become members of our undergraduate student body, various of them show, fortunately I believe, interest in all of the student groupings as identified recently by Louis Mayhew, and some truly mix these groupings. One grouping is collegiate, emphasizing fraternities, sororities, social functions, athletic life, campus parties, campus organizations, campus high jinks. This group may resist some attempts of the faculty to lead them too deeply into academic affairs, though at the same time each remains a reasonably acceptable student; moreover this group is one of the strongest university—and community-minded groups of all those supporting the university while in school and throughout later life.

A second grouping of students is vocational or professional, particularly flourishing on urban campuses and professional campuses, interested primarily in the job or profession each is preparing for, and with relatively poor campus loyalties; still each member of this group has drive to master his professional field, even at the expense of broadening experiences.

The next grouping is academic, concentrating on academic issues, closely involved with faculty activity, and espousing many faculty ideas, associated not with the full spectrum of university campus life, but purely with its academic program; from this group come the best prospects for graduate students in professional programs and for future teachers.

It is my belief that this campus will be healthiest with an admixture of all of these groupings, not expecting that any given student can or will participate in all, but giving richness in individual selection for each student to find his own way. And the presence of each grouping has a remarkable broadening effect on those students who tend to concentrate in one. Carnegie Tech's problem is to remain first rate in its professional educational environment without suppressing any of these worthwhile students rallying points.

BROADENING EFFECT

A great university climate to which we aspire comes not from an all pervasive galaxy of schools, one for every activity known to man, nor in fact within each school from a covering of every subject possible. It comes from the depth of kinds of work done at the institution: graduate study in the professions, in which the standard is simply top rank; research associated with that graduate work, and with the development of the professional careers of the faculty of a quality recognized by fellow professionals around the world; service to society in many ways both institutional and by individual student development.

Its faculty must be dedicated to the educational process itself, with an eagerness to innovate, experiment, test, and judge the various parts of the process. Its administration develops its campus, educational buildings, research facilities, and living and playing areas to enhance all these objectives. And all its member understand and enhance the differences in the professions it furthers.

And may I make a parenthetical remark about the particular combination of professional fields on this campus—technology and the fine arts. Carnegie Tech has always been closely coupled to industrial, building America. And today, with the ever growing recognition of the need for more beauty in the growth of our technologically spawned cities, and for the spiritual uplift of the performing and cerative arts in our daily lives, so permeated with technology, there can be no better combination of professional fields than the fine arts and technology.

DEEPER REASON

But there is a deeper, far more significant educational reason for this combination of professional fields to be on the campus. Mankind has found several quite different ways to express his noble thoughts, his emotions, his creative ideas, and his great works. The interrelationships of the physical world are expressed in the law of the scientists; auditory and visual form, substance and abstraction in music, painting, design, and sculpture; perfection of thinking in mathematical logic; human emotion in drama endeavor in the organizations of the social scientist and industrialist.

The glory of having a creative college of fine arts on the same campus as a college of engineering and science is not so the engineer and scientist can relax at a good show or concert or exhibit in the evening, though that is pleasant, but so that faculty and students are exposed to quite different forms of human thought, expression, and action.

And there is another remark about why we are fortunate in our campus for its contribution to the learning environment. Located in an urban area, where we can take advantage of all the social, commercial, and cultural activities of the city, we, nevertheless, have a campus which is focused, cohesive, and an entity unto itself, with living, working, and playing facilities close to one another. As we meet our future building needs, we must never change the cohesive, focused nature of our campus.

TO CONTINUE THE EVOLUTION

The highest standards for research and scholarship in our professions we inherit from our past. Our problem is to continue the evolution, recognizing the importance of the newly emergent, and discontinuing the areas which have served their purpose. The past has shown we can. Carnegie Tech has led or been among the leaders in the establishment of fields recognized as important throughout the land-applied and industrial psychology, drama, industrial management, computer science, metallurgy, solid state physics, and a number of others. For this important portion of our evolution we depend upon our strong faculty, and its professional leadership at the departmental and college level. They are the wellheads for such change.

No president or administrator can have all these ideas, but for illustration of my point, let me mention my own professional field, engineering, where there is needed a further maturing to face the large scale technological problems of our time such as cleaning the air, land, and water; designing transportation systems instead of vehicles and ways; combining architecture, city planning, and engineering to solve our urban building programs. In my brief stay on this campus, I have been pleased to note many other currents of change as well.

In the field of general education, the tradition at Carnegie Tech has long been that of furnishing it for those who study primarily in a profession, or one of the practical arts. Today, however, this is changing. Margaret Morrison Carnegie College is rapidly becoming a liberal arts college for women. The problem is to provide the resources and the faculty needed, a group in humanities and social studies to handle the ever-increasing load of those who take a more traditional educational course. There are some missing areas of coverage—philosophy for one.

But while we have areas of comparatively shallow coverage which must be given depth, we can call upon our great strengths in our professional schools for certain of the liberal arts—the basic sciences, fine arts, and some of the social sciences so strongly developed in the professional school of business management, such social sciences as psychology and economics. And as we strengthen ourselves, I believe that we must help our faculty in this area on the side of the liberal arts, the humanities, and social sciences, to develop a great depth not only in the education given to the majors but also in their own professional work which furthers their own professional aims.

If we can succeed over the years in the development of a first class full liberal arts

education for the women of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College, and those men who want and need a more equal mixture of the liberal arts and professions in the undergraduate years, we will again have led Carnegie Tech to greater educational fulfillment.

EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

It has been interesting to me to discover that Carnegie Tech has developed innovation in the field of education per se that has been both strong and creative. This work, led in many cases by faculty involved in the general education of the non-degree-granting division, has been widely recognized. Our people are deeply involved with the public school system of Pittsburgh, helping both the gifted students and the underprivileged; with the Negro colleges in the South, helping to upgrade the professors; with higher educational institutions overseas to introduce professional education in the sciences and their application. Groups in history, social studies, English, and in engineering throughout the university have developed curricula for secondary schools. Our teacher education is rapidly becoming stronger. Carnegie Tech must focus and synthesize these activities.

Educational innovation, whether it is practiced on one's own college class or done to help secondary education or other colleges, has a very transient nature. The innovator, being an enthusiast, can usually make it work. Students respond to extra attention. But when the idea is passed on as a routine mater for later generations, it often has no impact at all.

Furthermore, very little attention has been paid to the evaluation of educational innovation. In fact, the great research universities and colleges of this country, sharp as they are in evaluating progress in other professional fields, have done very little to evaluate their own educational ideas. Focus and evaluation in our educational innovation are most important. And especially we must reserve some of our abounding energy for innovation in teaching our own classes, because every college and university in the country is on trial on this charge of neglect of teaching. Moreover, the arena of educational innovation is a rich one for the interaction of many professions.

A BALANCED UNIVERSITY

A great university is a balanced one. This institution can achieve its greatest potential when all of its professional work is first class, so that its graduates can walk in the front ranks of professionals throughout the world; when it recognizes that it is not here to stamp out a standardized product, but to enable each of its students to search for and determine his own path for service to society; when it can select only the best of the newly emerging fields and not destroy the best of the old as it progresses; when each professor and professional field is enhanced by the presence of quality work in other fields on the campus, and when students can benefit from quite different types of students working with them; when the impact of the leading minds on the campus is felt across the entire spectrum of education from freshman year to graduate degree; when teachers in all the professions and fields of learning at the institution are given full opportunity for professional development.

Carnegie Tech has already developed a strong institutional character. If we build widely, it will become much greater. Each of the individual goals will be closer when all of the Carnegie family work toward the institutional goals as well. And finally, I hope you can detect my great enthusiasm for my part of that task. I am sure that each of you will share that job with me.

Thank you.

Additional Aid to Egypt

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, I submit for the RECORD a letter which I have sent to the Secretary of State protesting the possible grant of surplus foods to Egypt.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

Hon. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary of State,
Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: In view of recurring reports that our Government contemplates granting Egypt's request for surplus foods, I would like to add my voice to those who feel that an affirmative decision at this time would be most unwise.

The proponents of food sales to Egypt maintain that it increases our influence in the Middle East. According to their theory, we acquire more "leverage" in Cairo by making the Egyptian Government dependent on or, at least, appreciative of our good will. But history makes clear that the theory is faulty. After years and years of dealing with the Egyptians, it appears incontrovertible that the more generous we are to them the more hostile they become to us and to our Middle Eastern policies.

By selling food to Egypt for soft currency, we allow the Cairo government to divert its resources to stir up trouble. It uses its arable land to grow not food for its people but cotton which it sells to the Russians and rice which it sells to the Chinese. It then uses the hard currency it acquires to buy arms with which to threaten peaceful neighbors. Our aid enhances Nasser's strength and his prestige at home and abroad. Our programs have clearly helped to perpetuate his power. Since it now seems at its lowest ebb since Suez, I feel it would be particularly shortsighted to renew our assistance program at the current juncture.

I, of course, have no desire to see Egyptians starve. But Egypt has substantial resources for raising its own food which go unused. I would not object if the money it acquired through our largess were diverted to raising living standards at home, helping to resolve the Arab refugee program, or on other peaceful and constructive projects.

I would suggest that if we must, for humanitarian reasons, extend aid to Egypt, it should be clearly contingent on their accepting such conditions as the following:

1. Initiation of peace talks with Israel.
2. Halting of arms purchases from the U.S.S.R.
3. Embarcation on a regional program of controlled disarmament.
4. Ending discrimination in the use of the Suez Canal.
5. Development of a program to resettle Arab refugees in Arab lands.
6. Restriction of trade with China to nonstrategic items.

I propose, as you see, that we use our food shipments as an instrument for the promotion of peace. They are now being used to increase Egypt's power to wage war.

As you know, Congress has expressed itself forthrightly against aid to Egypt. The President has been empowered to overrule Congress by demonstrating a compelling reason for resuming the aid program. You have not thus far given any such reason. In the absence of new data to indicate that Egypt has adopted a peace program, I feel it would be ludicrous to acquiesce in the Egyption request. I heartily recommend its rejection.

With kind regards, I am
Sincerely yours,

LEONARD FARBSTEIN,
Member of Congress.

Is a New Revolution Brewing in the U.S.S.R.?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. THOMAS J. DODD
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, the winds of freedom are blowing with increasing strength, not merely in the satellite countries of Central Europe, but in the territory of the Soviet Union itself.

The evidences of this are so many that more than one authority on communism has reached the conclusion that revolution is possible and even probable in the Communist empire.

This was the theme of an interview by a French expert on the Soviet Union that appeared recently in U.S. News & World Report.

It is the theme, as well, of an article by Mr. Eugene Lyons, distinguished editor of Readers Digest, and an expert for almost four decades on the Soviet Union, which appeared in the October issue of the Digest.

It is the theme, in addition, of an increasing number of articles that are appearing in our daily press. Thus, the Christian Science Monitor carries an article by Soviet expert Paul Wohl under the caption "Critical Clamor Increases Among Soviet Youth."

Mr. Wohl quotes a signed letter from a young Soviet engineer published earlier this year in the official Soviet cultural newspaper:

> Do not creep into my soul. Do not spit me in the face when my view is different from yours. * * * I want to have my own taste, my own opinion of art. * * * I want to think for myself, examine things myself, appreciate them myself. And I believe this is my right.

Mr. Wohl also quotes from items in the Soviet press dealing with the distribution of "antistate and anti-Communist leaflets" by young hotheads; with a clampdown by the secret police on a group of young people in Georgia who had turned out illegal handbills containing an "appeal to the American people"; and with illegal broadcasts that are becoming increasingly more frequent in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Lyons quotes extensively from Dr. Mihajlo Mihajlov, the 30-year-old Yugoslav college teacher, who ran into trouble with the Tito regime because of what he said about the Soviet Union.

"There is a growing spirit of defiance among the people" says Mr. Lyons. "The postwar generation refuses to be intimidated. Dr. Mihajlov heard young people in the corridors of Moscow University singing loudly, defiantly, the prison and concentration-camp songs frowned upon by the regime. * * * Not one genuine Russian intellectual today considers himself a Marxist-Leninist, Dr. Mihajlov reported."

The Communist bureaucrats are caught up in a dilemma. If they attempt to return to a Stalinist type of dictatorship, they risk an explosion. And if they seek to purchase survival by making concessions to popular pressures, they also risk an explosion.

In this connection I think it pertinent to quote the words of that exceedingly wise and farsighted Frenchman, Alexis de Tocqueville.

It is not always by going from bad to worse that a nation is driven to revolution. It often happens that a nation which has suffered without complaint, almost as if it were insensible to the most oppressive of laws, will suddenly reject them with violence at the first sign of alleviation. A regime which a revolution has destroyed is often much better than the one which preceded it, and experience suggests that the most dangerous moment for an evil government is usually when it begins to reform itself. Only great ingenuity can save a prince who undertakes to give relief to his subjects after long oppression. The sufferings that are endured patiently, as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute.

Mr. Lyons argues that a Hungarian-type revolution is possible in the Soviet Union. And he asked whether it is in our national interest and in the interest of the cause of freedom to help the Moscow dictatorship against its subjects. This, he says, is what we are, in effect, doing when we soften our propaganda to the U.S.S.R. so as not to "irritate" the Kremlin bosses; when we extend aid and trade; or when we talk of "areas of overlapping interest" with the Kremlin, instead of exploiting the growing popular discontent with the Kremlin regime.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to insert into the RECORD the article entitled "Is a New Revolution Brewing in the U.S.S.R.?" by Mr. Eugene Lyons, which appeared in the October 1965 issue of Reader's Digest, and the article captioned "Critical Clamor Increases Among Soviet Youth," by Mr. Paul Wohl, which appeared in the Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Reader's Digest, October 1965]

IS A NEW REVOLUTION BREWING IN THE U.S.S.R.?

(By Eugene Lyons [1])

Two recent headlines provoked exceptional interest among people who follow closely developments in the Communist orbit. One, over a column by C. L. Sulzberger in the New York Times, read: "A Third Revolution in Russia?" and the other, in U.S. News & World Report: "Revolt Coming in Russia?"

Such references to possible overthrow of the Communist regime in the U.S.S.R. have an edge of the sensational. The premise that Communist rule in Russia in permanent has been, at least since 1956, the basis of American and free world policy, which has therefore set a detente or accommodation with the Kremlin as its maxmium goal. Yet the doubts rest on testimony from quite different but equally impressive sources.

The Sulzberger column was based on the findings of a 30-year-old Yugoslav college teacher, Dr. Mihajlo Mihajlov, after intensive investigation in Soviet Russia in the summer of 1964. Mihajlov, the Yugoslav-born son of Russian emigrees, was not handicapped by a language barrier and was able to penetrate deeply into Soviet life and thought.

The country, he concluded, is "on the threshold of grandiose changes" amounting to a "third revolution." (The first two were in March and November 1917.) "The party and state bureaucracy"—in short, the Communist regime—will probably be unable to survive the mounting pressures from many directions for political and intellectual freedom. "The Soviet Union at this moment is making an exit from Asia, attaching itself to Europe and moving toward democracy."

U.S. News & World Report presented a detailed interview with a noted French expert on Russia, Col. Michel Garder, supported by dispatches from its correspondents in European capitals. Garder works with the French Institute of Strategic Studies, lectures in the French War College, and is the author of histories of the Soviet Red Army and the Soviet-German war. He not only is convinced that the demise of the Moscow oligarchy is in the cards but ventures to set a date: "around 1970."

"What we're seeing in Russia," Garder declared, "is a process which I can best describe by comparing it to a generalized cancer in the human body. Ever since Stalin's death we have seen symptoms of this fatal illness, but most people did not pay much attention. Now we have what I call the death throes of the Lenin-Marx regime in Russia."

EVOLUTIONARY COLLISION

While the forecasts represent a minority view, the fact that two authorities of such different backgrounds see a coming revolution is significant. The comments of other European experts collected by its correspondents are summed up by U.S. News & World Report in one terse sentence: "A head of steam is said to be building up that can only lead to explosion at some point."

In efforts to reduce the pressures, Communist rulers have resorted to various measures, such as the injection of free-market methods and incentives into their planned economy and some erratic loosening of official controls on art and thought. But these are proving insufficient. They tend, indeed, to aggravate the problems by showing up the inherent fallacies of communism. Even a little freedom can be intoxicating; far from being grateful for small favors, people demand more and more.

The Kremlin has swung between "thaw" and "freeze," between tough and soft methods. But its space for maneuvering is strictly limited by its ideology and its need to maintain a monopoly of power. All attempts to reform agriculture, for instance, are frustrated as long as the kolkhoz or collective-farming system remains. After 37 years of it, the peasants—almost 50 percent of the population—continue openly hostile to this state feudalism. They work diligently on their tiny "private plots," providing the country with about half of its dairy and meat products, fruits and vegetables; but they do as little as they can get away with on the collective farms.

In the miscalled "liberalization" of recent years, not an iota of power has been turned over to the people. The Soviet citizenry, especially the better-educated young people, are aware that their limited new freedom of speech is meaningless when the dictatorship monopolizes all newspapers, magazines, radio and television facilities and, of course, the entire educational system.

Any hope for a slow, peaceful evolution of the Soviet system into something closer to a normal society would thus seem doomed. The hope rests on a sad misunderstanding of the nature of totalitarianism. Sooner or later the evolutionary process must collide with the stone wall of the power monopoly. This wall can be breached only by giving the people a free choice of rulers—through elections or other techniques—and that would mark the end of the present autocracy.

FLAMMABLE STUFFS

Predictions of the collapse of the Soviet regime, no matter how logically argued, have to be taken with a grain of salt, of course. History is not logical. Neither, however, can they be dismissed out of hand. Revolutions have always appeared "impossible" until they happened.

The most that a Mihajlov, a Garder, any student, can attest is that there is a potential for revolution. In my own book on the subject—"Our Secret Allies: the Peoples of Russia," [2] published soon after the passing of Stalin—I wrote: "There is no fire, but the inflammable stuffs for a conflagration are piled high against the time when internal or external events may apply the match."

The thesis of the book was that Soviet Russia since 1917 has been in a state of permanent civil war between the rulers and the ruled. The forced collectivization in which millions perished, the terrible blood purges, the wartime and postwar liquidations of hordes of alleged enemies of the regime were all battles in that war.

Since then the civil war, in ever new shapes, has become sharper and more visible, the pile of inflammable stuffs has grown bigger. The cruder types of terror have been abandoned, but the terror machine remains intact. The old-style concentration camps have been dismantled but mass exiles to work colonies in Siberia and elsewhere continue. The economic situation remains unhealthy and at points disastrous. The long familiar Soviet boasts of overtaking America in consumer goods and production generally are no longer heard. Instead, the Kremlin eagerly seeks trade with the West to make up for grave deficiencies in industry. The country is still mired in agricultural crises.

Moreover, there is a growing spirit of defiance among the people. The postwar generation refuses to be intimidated. Dr. Mihajlov heard young people in the corridors of Moscow University singing loudly, defiantly, the prison and concentration-camp songs frowned upon by the regime. "In spite of constant threats that they will be sent to 'work colonies' for a year or two, the students discuss everything openly," he wrote. There is ample evidence of a new boldness, of risk taking, to assert individuality.

In the face of repeated official appeals laced with threats, Soviet writers persist in producing works which, directly or indirectly, challenge Communist dogmas and indict the regime. The popularity of writers is in almost direct ratio to their political courage. One of the leading figures in contemporary Soviet literature, Aleksandr Solzhenitsin, gained great popularity when he wrote frankly about the horrors of Soviet concentration camps.

Not one genuine Russian intellectual today considers himself a Marxist-Leninist, Dr.

[1] Eugene Lyons, a senior editor of the Reader's Digest, was a newspaper correspondent in the U.S.S.R. for 6 years. He is the author of "Assignment in Utopia"; "Our Secret Allies"; and other notable books on Soviet Russia and world communism.

[2] Condensed in the Reader's Digest, March 1954.

Mihajlov reported. The mutinous mood of the intelligentsia should not be underestimated. "The literary ferment exists below the surface but it is not therefore any less significant than the economic," Max Frankel, an old Moscow hand, wrote in the New York Times after a visit to Russia 2 years ago. "It is in fact a political stir whose leaders happen to be writers and poets."

LOST MAGIC

The Soviet dictatorship has never achieved what political scientists call "legitimacy"; that is, it cannot count on the automatic allegiance of its subjects. The government is forever promoting what normal societies take for granted: loyalty to the existing system. Nearing the end of its fifth decade of absolute power, the regime must still employ a million full-time "agitators" to "sell" its system to the people. And these agitators are increasingly on the defensive, cringing under the scorn of their audiences.

Moreover, the Communist ideology, the "heretofore connective tissue has disintegrated," writes Dr. Mihajlov. Where once there was enthusiasm, now there is boredom. Where once there were goals of idealism, now there is only the desire to live better.

Lacking popular acceptance a despotism can survive only through the application of raw physical and mental terror. This is how Soviet communism survived in the Stalin era. Now the new rulers themselves admit that indoctrination has lost its magic, and, as for a return to old style police terror, they appear fearful of risking it. They doubt the nation will take the old medicine again without fighting back.

BALANCING ACT

The Kremlin dictatorship can only temporize by concessions and reforms that invariably prove inadequate and may even sharpen the discontent and resistance. At the same time it must contend with opposition to Moscow dictation in satellite countries, proliferating heresies among Communists both within and outside the Russian orbit, and a deadly struggle for primacy in world communism carried on by Red China. How long it can maintain its balancing act without a major upset remains to be seen.

If there is a new revolution—and the "if" must be emphasized—What form will it take?

Colonel Garder expects a revolution from above: a palace uprising in which elements representing the technocrats and managerial class will get rid of the Communist politicians.

To me the most likely kind of revolution would be a popular uprising on the model of Hungary in 1956. True, there are probably no organized antiregime forces, no old style "undergrounds," no leadership waiting to take over. But none of these things existed in Hungary either.

The Hungarian revolt began with moderate protests, then flared into a full-scale insurrection. It was a species of spontaneous combustion. All the pent-up hatreds and hopes burst to the surface. Leaders arose from the ranks of the armed forces, from among the liberated political prisoners, from the Communist Party itself. And this explosive revolution was quickly and fully successful within the country. It was crushed only from the outside.

Hungary probably set the pattern for revolutions against modern totalitarian police states. When the moment is ripe, the size of the army becomes irrelevant. The troops and even the officers cease to be soldiers; they become part of the general population and turn their weapons against the regime.

The assumption that men like Mihajlov and Garder are right, and that there is indeed a revolutionary potential in Soviet Russia, raises grave questions about the policies of the United States and other democratic powers. Is it in our national interest, and in the interest of the cause of freedom, to help the beleaguered Moscow dictatorship against its rebellious subjects?

Yet that is what we do when we pull the teeth from propaganda beamed to the U.S.S.R. so as not to "irritate" the Kremlin bosses. That is what we do when we extend aid and trade. In making our grain available we are acting to defeat the peasants in their historic struggle against state feudalism. The same logic applies every time we rush to save the Kremlin from other consequences of its Communist fallacies.

If there is a "permanent civil war," can we afford to remain neutral—or worse, to side with the masters against the slaves? In recent years American statesmanship has been determined to exploit "areas of overlapping interest" with the Kremlin. Given a credible revolutionary potential, however, there are already vast areas of common interest open to exploitation—not with the Kremlin but with its restive subjects.

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

CRITICAL CLAMOR INCREASES AMONG SOVIET YOUTHS

(By Paul Wohl)

Moscow is harassed by a new wave of internal criticism. It originates among youth. It does to the core of things and probes into the future.

The new criticism has many voices. It is mostly literary or philosophical. But it also comes from the man in the street. Seldom political, but always poignantly truthful, it expresses the urge of the young generation to be themselves.

"Do not creep into my soul. Do not spit me in the face when my view is different from yours. * * * I want to have my own taste, my own opinion of art. * * * I want to think for myself, examine things myself, appreciate them myself. And I believe this is my right."

The above is from a signed letter by a young engineer, published this spring in the newspaper Sovetskaya Kultura. There must have been many such letters for the daily of the Ministry of Culture to pick up the gauntlet and attempt a refutation.

CONTROLLED CRITICISM

Letters to the editor are only one vehicle of the new criticism. The regime welcomes them, because they allow critics to let off steam. Since the party has the monopoly of the printed word, it decides how many of these letters are to be published and how to deal with them.

Three other vehicles of internal criticism usually elude the regime: Literary works illicity sent abroad; underground publications, mostly secret student periodicals and leaflets; the many private radio stations sending alternately jazz, jokes, poems, and obscenities. These last are the most bothersome for the regime.

LITERATURE ABROAD STRESSED

The recently reported arrest of literary critic Andrei D. Sinyavsky, who is believed to be author of several critical books published abroad under the name of Abram Tertz, has called attention to the first of these three vehicles.

The case of Abram Tertz is one of many. Even more bitingly critical are the books of Valery Tarsis, who sends them abroad insisting that they be published under his real name.

Author Tarsis, a decorated war veteran, was temporarily confined to an insame asylum, but now lives once again freely in a Moscow suburb in the apartment of his daughter. There he repeatedly has been visited by Western correspondents.

The treatment meted out to him would seem to indicate that the Soviets do not take this kind of criticism to seriously, because works published abroad reach home audiences only through Western broadcasts. It is different with periodicals and leaflets published in the Soviet Union and with unlicensed radio programs. The greater effectiveness of these means of mass communications is the price which the Soviets have had to pay for technological progress.

Printing and reproduction processes always have been on a fairly high level. Presses and reproduction machines cannot be privately owned. But the control of their use apparently no longer is as tight as it used to be.

Several cases have become known where printers in cooperation with their bosses worked overtime to turn out unplanned literature for private sale.

The press usually mentions only illegal printing for profit. Prayer books and religious pamphlets have been printed illegally, and also obscene postcards.

LEAFLETS HANDED OUT

Much more serious are young hotheads like a young machinist named Alexander Golik who, according to Komsomolskaya Pravda, produced and distributed last fall in Kuibyshev "antistate and anti-Communist leaflets." He was, wrote the newspaper, deluded by Western broadcasts and "mentally disturbed."

Another more recent and also more ominous case mentioned in Komsomolskaya Pravda was the closing this summer by the security police of a group of young people in Tbilisi, Georgia, who had turned out handbills and an "appeal to the American people."

Another group in Moscow, ironically referred to as the youngest society of geniuses, issued a manifesto. The initials of this society stood for "courage, thought, image, depth."

Komsomolskaya Pravda sought to ridicule the society's purposes, but enough seeped through to convey an idea of these young peoples' thoughts.

POETS QUESTION FUTURE

In contrast to the illegal student magazines and collections of essays and poems published toward the end of the 1950's, the underground writers of today no longer probe into the Stalin era, how their elders could bow to it, and such topics.

Les Arends

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, LES ARENDS himself is an institution in this the greatest legislative institution in the world.

From the day I entered this body, LES ARENDS has stood out in appearance, in ability, and leadership. I wish to commend the people of his district in Illinois for their good judgment to send him to the Congress where he has ably represented his country and his State.

LES ARENDS is first a great American, loyal to the ideals and principles that made this Nation great. Then he is a great Republican who has earned the respect, admiration, and esteem of all of us in the Democratic Party.

This House is a better House because of LES ARENDS. LES ARENDS' name will be listed with those outstanding leaders

who have made this House the greatest legislative body in the history of the world. I am proud to call LES ARENDS my colleague and friend.

Activities of Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ
OF MARYLAND
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, it is my sincere pleasure to call to the attention of the House the accomplishments of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries during the 1st session of the 89th Congress. The committee has produced a record of activity which is outstanding in comparison with those of most others in recent years.

This past year has brought many challenges to the committee, especially with the illness of our beloved chairman, HERBERT C. BONNER, early in the session. However, accepting its responsibility, the members through their cooperative efforts, carried on magnificently and I, as acting chairman, am delighted to point to a solid record of real accomplishment. I sincerely feel that the work done by this important committee has been most constructive.

During the first session, the Subcommittee on Merchant Marine carried on its traditional role of striving to strengthen the American Merchant Marine better to enable it to serve the national interests in its dual capacity as a vital link in our transportation system and as a military and naval auxiliary in readiness for emergencies.

Perhaps one of the most significant pieces of leigslation reported out of the committee was the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1965, considered by the Subcommittee on Oceanography. This legislation would provide for the first time the development, encouragement and maintenance of a comprehensive, long-range and coordinated national program in marine sciences. Similar legislation providing for a national oceanographic program passed the House in the last Congress, but failed to receive action in the Senate.

Other matters of considerable importance were considered by the Subcommittees on Panama Canal, Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation, and Coast Guard, Coast and Geodetic Survey, and Navigation.

In the close of the committee's activities, forcible attention has been brought to the needs of reviewing the effectiveness of the present maritime education institutions in meeting the manning problems of the merchant marine and the curriculum designed to keep pace with industry technology, such as automation. Accordingly, a Special Subcommittee on Marine Education and Training was appointed and the subcommittee is expected to commence its investigation and study early in the second session of this Congress.

I have attempted to mention only some of the highlights of the constructive record of the first session. A detailed activity report is now being prepared by the committee staff and will be printed later.

Finally, I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to all of the members of the committee on both sides who gave so generously of their time to carry forth the committee's programs.

Youth Will Prove Itself

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include therein a very thoughtful letter to the editor of the Worcester Telegram, forwarded by my esteemed constituent, Mr. Norman Shattuck, 36 Spring Street, Winchendon, Mass., entitled "The Be Somebody Generation."

This article sets forth a very appealing and optimistic point of view for which there is ample proof in our homes and colleges.

I think we all believe with Mr. Shattuck that our younger generation is working to preserve our heritage, uphold our great traditions and enhance the prestige of America.

If there are those who for one reason or another are willing to discard their heritage and traditions and demean the prestige of the Nation in word and in action this would be most regrettable, but these elements are certainly only a small minority.

I believe that Mr. Shattuck's optimism is justified, and that his appraisal of the purpose and high aims of the present young generation is realistic.

In this country where majority rules, it is only logical to believe that the overwhelming majority of young people will, by their example, ideals, dedication, and hard work, finally triumph over the dissident minority.

To be sure, the present generation has its work cut out for it and must, like its predecessors, develop the toughness necessary to survive in this age of doubt, challenge, and danger. These problems and tasks are for the young generation to meet and conquer. In this sense, the boys and girls of today are the hopes and guardians of tomorrow. I have faith that they will live up to their role as future leaders of the Nation and bring added lustre to our free way of life.

The article follows:

THE BE SOMEBODY GENERATION

To the EDITOR:

So much deplorable defamation of character has been written about juvenile delinquency and the so-called hopeless generation that many people jumped to the erroneous conclusion that this is an age of unprecedented decadence in which integrity is a lost art and scoffed at as old fashioned and sissified.

Pessimists wail that the younger generation is motivated by a warped sense of values and dedicated to incredible corruption which ruins them beyond redemption.

Being an inveterate optimist, I challenge this outrageous distortion of facts.

MINORITY GUILTY

To champion the cause of justice and fair play, I assert emphatically that only an insignificant minority of our youth are guilty of moral turpitude.

To confirm my contention, I shall present conclusive evidence.

Our splendid colleges are filled to capacity with ambitious youth aspiring to be somebody. his unquenchable thirst for knowledge and the ambition to be somebody seems to be the motto of the younger generation.

Historians will probably acclaim this generation as the "Be Somebody Generation," motivated by a commendable ambition to outshine their parents in professional achievements, financial status, and social prestige.

Consequently, it's an outrageous injustice and deplorably degrading to denounce our youth as discourteous, irresponsible, lazy, and immoral.

Our admirable youth will preserve our heritage, promote our splendid traditions, and enhance the prestige of America.

Thanks to exemplary youth, America is destined to skyrocket to unprecedented plateaus of grandeur.

NORMAN SHATTUCK.

Government Should Guard Constitutional Rights of Accused

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. MELVIN PRICE
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, recently there have been questions raised about certain aspects of the Justice Department's case against James Hoffa, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Specifically, concern has been voiced about the apparent cloak of immunity that has been draped over Edward Grady Partin, admitted informer in the case, who, according to reports, has been granted several considerations that go beyond what is expected in the normal administration of justice.

Without commenting on the substantive issue of Mr. Hoffa's guilt or innocence, concern has centered around the Government's action toward and relationship with Mr. Partin. Surely, it is reasonable to expect the Government to conduct itself in the highest manner so there is no question about the infringement of constitutional rights. If guilt is proven it should be done so in a way which is consistent with our legal precepts and constitutional framework.

In any event, our system of justice should not be deprecated for the sake of the Government obtaining a conviction against an individual, no matter how controversial that person may be.

Automation and Collective Bargaining

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JACOB K. JAVITS
OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. President, A. H. Raskin, assistant editor of the editorial page of the New York Times has written an excellent analysis of the impact of automation on collective bargaining, and particularly on strikes in basic industries. Under unanimous consent I place the article, entitled "Automation Has Made Strikes Senseless," which recently appeared in the New York Times magazine in the RECORD:

AUTOMATION HAS MADE STRIKES SENSELESS

(By A. H. Raskin)

A dozen of the country's foremost industrial peacemakers met under the auspices of the American Arbitration Association recently to consider how the public interest could be better protected against crippling strikes and inflationary wage settlements.

The most ingenious suggestion was for an economic ombudsman, whose mission would be to sound the alarm whenever he felt a union was pressing too hard for too much or an industry was unfairly blaming higher wages for an extortionate price increase. For all its novelty, the idea won little support. The assembled experts feared the effect of spotlighting an immoderate union chief would be to make him an object of envy and emulation, rather than of reproach, in the eyes of other unionists. They had scant optimism that the story would be much different if a greedy employer came under fire.

The perverse reaction to the proposal for an impartial economic sentinel indicates some of the complexities in finding a tidy answer to the question that arises every time a labor-management struggle shuts down a vital industry: Why can't these fights be resolved without strikes? Surely, in a period when nations are asked to surrender some of their sovereignty to outlaw war, employers and unions in our interdependent economy do not enjoy rights of battle so sacrosanct they transcend those of 190 million Americans.

My own conviction after a quarter-century as an industrial war correspondent is that the onrush of automation, with the intricate new problems it has dumped onto the bargaining table, has made strikes senseless as solutions for labor disputes. This belief is reinforced by the fact that the chief sufferers in most industrywide conflicts are not the warring parties but the total community.

When all the people have to pay the price for the willfulness or incompetence of labor and management power blocs, it is no denial of democracy to insist the blocs create more dependable machinery for keeping the peace. If they fail, government must do it for them. For though strike statistics seem negligible—1 day out of 500 is lost in shutdowns, less time than is drained off by coffee breaks—it is the frequency of strikes and strike threats in a few fields that necessitates finding a more rational way. Especially so, since relations are worst in the very industries in which the public's stake is greatest.

The railroads have been in a state of almost perpetual turmoil for more than 5 years. The classic conflict was the fight over "featherbedding" among locomotive firemen, whose jobs had been made superfluous by the diesel engine. After a series of Presidential boards had given up in defeat, a disgusted Congress in 1963 passed the first compulsory arbitration law in the country's peacetime history. Even that drastic move was no solution, however, and President Johnson last year did everything short of locking up the negotiators to keep the trains moving. Now a new crisis threatens because the compulsory arbitration statute expires next March 31. Once again the country will hold its breath while the controversy drags through another interminable round of mediation, litigation, intimidation, and improvisation.

The record in shipping is just as sterile. The merchant marine has edged ever closer to extinction as the powerful maritime unions alternate between battling the ship owners and one another. Every year or two another peace plan is heralded as a "triumph of free collective bargaining." But even though Uncle Sam pays three-quarters of every wage dollar on the subsidized lines, the strikes recur; the last round of tie-ups a few months ago kept the United States and other queens of the sealines tied up for 11 weeks. Currently, hope for lasting peace is pinned on Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz and George Meany, president of the AFL–CIO. They are supposed to come up with an overall arbitration plan to end manning disputes on automated ships, putting a damper on "me too" rivalry among the feuding deep-sea unions.

The steel industry, basic to the economy, has traveled backward full circle after an extended experiment in peaceful coexistence. The 116-day steel strike of 1959 convinced both companies and union that neither could bring the other to its knees by the old tactics of siege and squeeze. Accordingly, they established a Human Relations Committee in which they discussed problems on a year-round basis without the countdown tensions of strike deadlines.

The plan worked so well that most analysts began pointing to steel as an example of civilized industrial relations—an industry in which voluntary disarmament allowed both sides to resolve the complex challenges of changing technology through reason rather than muscle.

But the strength of the new setup proved to be its weakness. The committee worked in secrecy to permit its members freedom to exchange views without making eternal public obeisance to institutional shibboleths. The technique produced agreements a good deal more moderate than workers had grown accustomed to in the immediate postwar years, when every wage increase was the jumping-off point for an even bigger price increase. But though steel remained in the front rank of the industrial wage parade, the committee's secretive atmosphere and the comparatively modest benefits it delivered made the panel an easy target in the union's quadrennial election last February.

The new union high command downgraded the committee and went back to collective bludgeoning. The end of the trail in this year's industrywide negotiations was that familiar roadside rest of precommittee days: the White House. The President rescued the Nation from a strike by dictating generous settlement terms, then congratulated the parties for their fidelity to—guess what—the principles of free collective bargaining.

The automobile industry's fantastic profits make it relatively easy to agree on a fat money package for the union. Yet a major strike headache arises from thousands of local plant issues that explode at contract time. Such outbursts are the more baffling for both union leaders and employers since causes are not merely economic, but stem largely from the individual worker's sense of obliteration in a huge, mechanized society. At General Motors, the pileup of unresolved local problems forced a month-long shutdown of all operations last year despite full agreement on a national master contract. Ford experienced a similar paralysis, only shorter.

In a field where stoppages were once rare and brief, union-management conflicts have blacked out daily newspapers in New York, Cleveland, Detroit, Baltimore, and other large cities, depriving millions of their principal source of informaton about world, national, and local affairs. New York's 114-day strike in 1962–63 was followed by a 24-day tieup this fall and fear is strong that another bitter struggle will accompany the next contract round in less than a year and a half. The problem then will be essentially the same one accounting for most of the recent strife: How to automate with adequate protection for workers whose jobs and skills may be menaced by new machines.

Automation and its human consequences are factors in virtually all major strikes these days. Ironically, however, in some industries automation has eliminated strikes, not caused them. Computerized operations, pushbuttons and other advanced technology have made some plants and services almost invulnerable to union shutdown. The Bell telephone system is now so automatic that nothing short of sabotage or mechanical failure could disrupt its operations during a strike. Most electric utilities are similarly independent of strike pressure. The giant oil refinery and chemical plant of the Shell Oil Co. in Houston maintained normal operations for a full year despite a walkout by 2,000 unionized employees.

Unquestionably, the roster of "strikeproof" industries will grow with the spread of manless machinery. But it would be foolhardy and costly for the community or labor itself to wait until technology makes strikes obsolete; the pointlessness of periodic economic bloodletting is already obvious enough.

The puzzle in a year when Congress has expanded the boundaries of Government responsibilities in every direction from medicare to highway beautification is why no architect of the Great Society has manifested the slightest interest in making sure the public will not wind up the only loser in strikes that halt essential services.

More than 3 years ago the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy sent the White House a report urging that the national emergency strike provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act be made stronger. Stressing the joint obligation of employers and unions to society, the report diagnosed frequent strikes in an industry as a sign of unimaginativeness and irresponsible inflexibility. Nothing has ever come of the report.

The only real move for more public protection this year came from New York's Republican Senator JACOB K. JAVITS, who introduced a bill embodying the proposals of the Presidential advisers and adding some novel touches of his own. Nothing ever came of this bill, either, but it is worth more attention than it got from either the White House or Congress.

The foundation of the Javits bill is the 80-day injunction the President is now empowered to get under Taft-Hartley whenever he feels an industrial dispute menaces the national health or safety. Under the present law the board of inquiry that certifies the existence of an emergency has no authority to recommend settlement terms. Almost everyone agrees this makes no sense, and the Javits bill would give the board the power it needs.

The President would be authorized to order an additional 30-day freeze during which both parties bargained on the settlement recommendations. If they still could not agree, a special receiver would be appointed to seize the struck facilities and operate them to the extent necessary to protect the public interest.

This proposal has the virtue of leaving untouched the ultimate freedom of the employer and the union to make their own decision on contract terms. At the same time, it is flawed by the high degree of authoritarianism embodied in making Federal seizure and operation a standard alternative to strikes. My own preference for a way to avoid the scylla of too little public protection and the Charybdis of too great a restriction on economic freedom lies in a combination of factfinding and compulsory arbitration.

I would favor a narrowly drawn emergency statute applying to transportation, steel and other specified industries Congress decided were vital. It would go into effect, as Taft-Hartley now does, with the President obtaining an 80-day emergency no-strike order. During the truce period a Presidential board would attempt to mediate the dispute. If it got nowhere in the first month, it would submit its own ideas—synthesized from the proposals and arguments of the parties—for a fair settlement. If negotiations on the board's recommendations proved futile after 80 days, it would have the same authority as a court to make a final and binding decision.

Arbitrators already have this conclusive authority, bestowed voluntarily by both sides, to decide grievances arising during the life of labor agreements—an area of turmoil that once caused thousands of wasting strikes. Given a climate of general public support, there is no reason why the arbitration principle could not work as well in settling basic contract disputes in essential industries.

Obviously, the procedure should include penalties for defiance, but these ought not take the form of such patently impractical remedies as mass dismissal or arrest of strikers. Fines against recalcitrant unions or employers, with the amount increased for each day of defiance, would be a more realistic means of enforcement. In extreme cases, revocation of a union's bargaining certification or seizure of a balky employer's plants might be in order.

Basic reliance, however, would not be on penalties, but on the acceptance by labor and management of a realization that the community cannot be made the victim of their incapacity to agree. Without such acceptance no control system will be truly effective.

It is fatuous to pretend that the peace machinery I propose would not cause some atrophy in the will of disputants to reach an independent solution to their problems. The extent to which collective bargaining went out the window when the War Labor Board was passing on virtually all contracts in World War II or when the Wage Stabilization Board performed a similar function in the Korean conflict is a dreary reminder of how prone both sides are to surrender their duties under true collective bargaining. The history of the Railway Labor Act with its steady erosion of labor-management responsibility, represents another warning signal that our dynamic economy can be crippled by excessive reliance on a Government crutch.

Nevertheless, a good deal of cant tends to creep into the extension of such arguments to a point where any arbitration machinery is made to appear the inevitable prelude to Government czardom over both industry and unions.

In the first place, Government is already so heavily involved in every aspect of the American economy that it is nonsense to call it an intruder in labor relations. Ten million workers—one-sixth of the total nonfarm labor force—work directly for Federal, State, and local agencies. Government spending is roughly $180 billion a year, or well over one-quarter of the gross national product. In industries like aerospace, Washington is often the only customer and the American flag would disappear from commercial ship lanes without Federal subsidies and cargo preference guarantees to the biggest of the ship operators.

In dozens of other industries the border between public and private enterprise has become so blurred it is hard to tell whether we have a mixed economy or a mixed-up one. And the line becomes even harder to detect when the test is whether the public or the parties are more severely damaged by an economic power struggle.

Sophistry also obscures a clear view of how different a governmental arbitration award would be from what now passes for free collective bargaining in key industries where the Government almost always ends up by playing a dominant role in restoring peace.

The realities of the present process of "free" decisionmaking were well summed up by Senator JAVITS in commenting on the outcome of the 1965 steel negotiations.

"Let no one believe for a minute that it was real collective bargaining which achieved this settlement," he said. "The President wrote the contract for the parties, and they signed on the dotted line. It may be a good contract this time, but it may be a bad one the next time—whatever it is, once the President is forced to put the prestige of his office on the line, the settlement has been made for the parties, whether they like its terms or not."

In urging a more reliable peace plan for the panic-born expedients produced in every bargaining crisis, I do not delude myself with the expectation that we will eliminate all strikes. Our experience with New York's Condon-Wadlin Act, which outlaws strikes by civil service employees, makes it evident that a strike-free society is a mirage. A democracy must expect less than total compliance even when Draconian penalties are written into the law. In fact, the very severity of the penalties often delays getting strikers back to work.

Australia has had a system of labor courts dating back to the formation of the Commonwealth in 1901. It still has strikes; the latest and the worst was a 7-month walkout of copper miners in Queensland that disrupted the entire economy. But in general the system works well, holds strike losses to insignificant totals and has not reduced the country to totalitarianism.

The challenge in this country is to devise a limited system of compulsory arbitration in some vital industries that will not interfere with the independent inventiveness of unions and employers in trying to develop their own peace machinery. The most notable such instrument now in operation is the committee set up 4 years ago by the United Steelworkers of America and the Kaiser Steel Corp.

The committee, consisting of an equal number of union, company and public representatives, has devised the most ingenious program yet for giving workers a stake in facilitating automation and helping to make company plants more efficient. Under the Kaiser formula, the workers have been getting all the benefits other steel companies give their unionized employees, plus a "progress-sharing" bonus of better than 25 cents an hour. If more unions and more managements showed the same enterprise in approaching technological change, no one would have to worry about statutory safeguards against strikes.

In the absence of any such universal enlightenment, an arbitration law makes more sense than industry's favorite answer: Destroy the "monopoly" power of labor by breaking big unions into little ones. The prescription ignores the fact that much of the present trouble stems from the fragmentation of unions in many key industries, not their excessive concentration. In the railroads, the merchant marine and the newspapers, for example, negotiations would be far less sticky if employers bargained with one industrywide union instead of a multitude of contentious units representing various parts of their work force. Now each union looks over the others' shoulders to determine whether somebody else is getting more.

Quite apart from this consideration, it is obviously unfair to cut unions into small pieces while General Motors, General Electric, United States Steel and other titans keep getting more titanic. Bigness, for better or worse, is the hallmark of our economy and every attempt to reverse the trend creates more problems than it solves. Employers themselves have learned that divide-and-conquer tactics are often a union's most powerful weapon, which is why they usually protest to the National Labor Relations Board over any union move to split up the employers' bargaining unit so that one company can be struck while competitors are left free to profit from its misery.

Clearly, pigmy unions would have no effectiveness at all as a counterweight to either big government or big business. My arguments rest on the basic proposition that both sides at the bargaining table in most major industries have now demonstrated they cannot be exhausted by a strike, however protracted. They have also demonstrated that the severest pinch is on the total economy, not themselves. In these circumstances, when negotiators are too stubborn or too stupid to agree, the Nation needs some one representing all the people to say, "This is it."

The need is particularly urgent when the only rational solution to a controversy would force a union leader or corporate chieftain to commit professional suicide by publicly accepting "impossible" terms he privately conceded were just. In the railroad featherbedding controversy, for example, the most sensible suggestion for peace went so far toward annihilating a craft that a unionist who agreed with the recommendation would soon find himself out in the cold.

An arbitration award, on the other hand, would force the union rank and file or a corporation's board of directors to face unpalatable truths the bargainers could not espouse on their own. Most big strikes these days end in agreement on almost precisely the terms an arbitrator or factfinder would have proposed without the siege of a strike. And when the terms don't match, it is often because the union has used its power to get so much more than the difference comes out of the consumer's pocketbook.

The details of a workable antistrike law—one that would give maximum consideration to the twin need for freedom and responsibility—would be infinitely complex. I believe the best way to get a nonpolitical consensus on what such a law should contain lies in a suggestion made by one of the Nation's ablest industrial relations counselors Dr. George W. Taylor, former chairman of the National War Labor Board.

He rightly fears that the normal routine of congressional hearings would simply evoke polarized statements of age-old positions from all the familiar experts. As an alternative, he would have the President appoint a counterpart of a British royal commission to appraise the entire problem and recommend a new public policy. It should be made up of people who, in the Quakers' term, "have a concern" and not just the old standbys from labor, management and the colleges. Originality of idea, not restatement of the tired reasons why nothing can be done, would be the objective.

There is no end of approaches the Presidential panel might explore in addition to factfinding and compulsory arbitration. A highly successful apparatus for composing disputes through a blend of mediation and arbitration has worked for years in the missile sites construction and atomic energy fields. United Nations Ambassador Arthur J. Goldberg, who was a whiz at defusing in-

dustrial timebombs before he went to the Supreme Court and the United Nations, believes something similar would prove useful in the newspaper industry and other key trouble spots.

Walter P. Reuther has a plan akin to the one for an economic ombudsman. He wants a governmental review board, before which unions and employers in industries with highly concentrated economic control would have to justify their positions whenever management insisted that union wage pressure was forcing it to boost prices. Dozens of other proposals deserve study. All that is lacking is any apparent will in Washington to do the studying.

Three strikes and you're out is the rule in baseball. Shouldn't some comparable limit be established to prevent the community from becoming a recurrent hostage to labor-management intransigency?

A Protest Against Actions of the Turkish Government Against the Ecumenical Patriarchate of the Greek Orthodox Church in Istanbul

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOHN BRADEMAS
OF INDIANA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, many members of the Greek Orthodox Church in the United States as well as many other Americans have expressed their grave concern about the measures taken by the Government of Turkey against the ecumenical patriarchate of the Orthodox Church in Instanbul.

Under unanimous consent, I insert in the RECORD a copy of a resolution on this matter which was unanimously adopted by the St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church community of South Bend, Ind., in my own congressional district and sent to me.

I also insert the text of my reply to the presbyter of the church, the Reverend George C. Massouras, and the church president, Mr. Andrew P. Poledor:

RESOLUTION

The Greek Orthodox Church of America, through its exarch and representative of the ecumenical patriarchate in the Americas, Archbishop Iakovos, has made known and has strongly denounced the present situation in Turkey, to President Johnson, to the United Nations Secretary General U Thant, and to other civic and religious leaders. In the past few months, we have been gratified at the deep concern voiced by these leaders. Following an audience with Pope Paul VI during his historic 1-day visit to the United States on October 4, 1965, Archbishop Iakovos issued the following statement:

"It was a great privilege for me to be received by His Holiness Pope Paul VI during his crowded and epochal day in New York. I feel very moved that the spiritual leader of the Roman Catholic Church showed such deep concern at the present day sad situation confronting the ecumenical patriarchate and our Greek Orthodox brethren in Turkey, and at his desire to help His Holiness Athenagoras I and his flock in their present trials."

But the oppressive measures of the Turkish Government against the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople in Instanbul, and the Greek Orthodox minority there continue unceasingly. It therefore behooves us to bring to your attention the fact that these measures by the Turkish Government include: "control" of patriarchal finances and activities; the seizure of two churches of the ecumenical patriarchate in Instanbul by followers of the "Turkish Pseudo-Orthodox" movement; the expulsion of thousands of Greek nationals; the closing of schools and philanthropic institutions of the patriarchate; refusal to allow students of the Greek Orthodox parochial schools to participate in commemorations of religious holidays; the forceful closing of the printing plant of the patriarchate; and the arbitrary ousting from Turkey of Prelates of the Holy Synod of the ecumenical patriarchate.

Having just commemorated the 25th anniversary of the historic day of October 28, 1940, when the people of Greece said "No"—the famous "OXI" in Greek—to the Italian demands for surrender and successfully resisted the invaders, and thus thwarted the Axis powers' plans for a speedy overthrow of Europe, we, as members of the second largest Christian religious body in the world, emphatically say "No" in protest against the trampling upon of religious freedom, by the nation of Turkey, which does not comprehend the meaning of freedom and which does indeed scorn its existence.

We beseech you to examine the atrocities of late in Turkey against the ecumenical patriarchate and the Greek Orthodox minority, and then join with us in protesting the unacceptable religious persecution in Turkey; unacceptable not only to us, but to the age in which we live and to the entire civilized world, but above all to America, the greatness of which has been blessed by its freedom of religion.

We thank you for the consideration given our plea. We are confident that through your efforts and the prayers of freemen everywhere, that the day will soon come, when religious persecutions will be no more.

Respectfully,

THE GREEK ORTHODOX CONGREGATION OF ST. ANDREW'S GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH OF SOUTH BEND, IND.

LETTER FROM CONGRESSMAN BRADEMAS

The Reverend GEORGE C. MASSOURAS,
Presbyter.
Mr. ANDREW P. POLEDOR,
President, St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church, South Bend, Ind.

DEAR FATHER MASSOURAS AND MR. POLEDOR: Thank you very much for sending me the text of the resolution which was adopted unanimously by the St. Andrew's Greek Orthodox Church community in general assembly.

I am pleased indeed to have the opportunity to express my own deep concern about the recent reports I have been receiving of the harassment and expulsion of the Greek subjects in Turkey. Ever since the conflict erupted between the Greeks and the Turks on the island of Cyprus, retaliation against the Greek nationals in Istanbul has been "an open policy" of the Turkish Government.

It is true that the recent crises in the Greek Government have complicated any moves designed to reach a solution to the Cyprus situation. Yet methods such as those being used by the Turks will do nothing more than complicate this situation even further and diminish the possibility of effective negotiations.

The Greek minority community in Turkey has lived there for generations. As of this summer, 5,000 of the 11,000 Greek nationals living in Turkey had been expelled and the remainder are being systematically ousted. Since those who are deported are often heads of families, their dependents, who are Turkish citizens, are in many cases forced to leave. The Greek Orthodox community in Istanbul, which a few years ago numbered 100,000 members, has now dropped to half that number and is being further reduced every day as a result of the systematic campaign to drive Hellenism out of Turkey. Unless a solution is soon found, the Greeks in Istanbul fear their community will soon be entirely dispersed. As of September 15, an agreement under which Greeks have been privileged to live in Turkey has been canceled. And recently the Turkish Government has been enforcing a long-overlooked law barring Greek nationals from 30 professions and occupations. Greeks are not permitted, for example, to be doctors, nurses, architects, shoemakers, cooks, guides, or tailors.

Greeks scan the Istanbul newspapers for published lists, fearing they will find their names. When they do they are given a week to leave the country and police escorts insure that they make the deadline. Many of those deported are small shopkeepers or craftsmen, priests, teachers, students, and housewives. All have to leave Turkey with almost no money following preventive seizure of their property against alleged nonpayment of taxes. Turkish officials contend that all Greeks deported are guilty of subversive activities. That the list of deportees is drawn up at random is clear from the fact that such lists have included the names of several persons long dead. All were described as "major security risks."

There is fear now in the hearts of 60,000 Turks of Greek descent.

The ecumenical patriarchate of Istanbul, headed by Athenagoras I, is the patriarchate which has jurisdiction over the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, which is the largest of the Eastern Orthodox bodies in America, with an estimated 2 million communicants. Much as Rome is the center of Roman Catholicism, the patriarch is the primate of the approximately 200 million Eastern Orthodox Christians and his See in Istanbul is Orthodoxy's center. Because of the patriarchate's universally important position, it is particularly unfortunate that the Turks should persist in these humiliating measures. The patriarchate has maintained its spiritual role for more than 16 centuries. Yet in the last few months the patriarch has been a virtual hostage of the Turkish Government and even the orphanage of the patriarchate has been shut down.

Turkey claims that these measures have been adopted in retaliation for maltreatment of Turkish Cypriots by Greek Cypriots but this pretext is senseless because neither the Greeks of Turkey nor the ecumenical patriarchate are a party to the Cyprus dispute.

I sincerely hope that the Turkish Government will not persist in this policy which is not only harmful to the Turks as a bargaining counter in the Cyprus dispute but which violates internationally accepted covenants and principles of law and morality expressed in the United Nations Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne, which established the rights of non-Moslem minorities in Turkey to religious and cultural freedom—all of which agreements have been solemnly subscribed to by Turkey.

I do not want to believe that what is going on in Turkey today will become a full-force anti-Greek persecution policy. With deep respect for the Greek people and the independent nation which their courage has created, I wish to add my voice to the hundreds of ecclesiastical and civic leaders and organizations both here and abroad protesting this tragic situation in the hope that we might penetrate the conscience of the Turkish Government—that they will cease this merciless persection of a minority unable to defend itself.

In order to give further voice to the concern which you and members of St. Andrew's

Greek Orthodox Church and I share about this matter, I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of your resolution and my response to President Johnson and Secretary of State Rusk, and I shall also have the text of both your resolution and my letter printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BRADEMAS,
Member of Congress.

Interagency Maritime Task Force: What Should We Do About the American Merchant Marine?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in recent years, as indeed for many other years, there has been an urge in the several administrations to ask "What's wrong with the American Merchant Marine?" And then to authorize a study, upon which all action must wait.

We are in one of those phases now.

Four years ago a series of these studies was started. It didn't start out as a series, but that is the way it has developed. In the meantime all action has waited. And the vacuum has been filled by foreign competition.

But now perhaps we are getting somewhere. A new but highly controversial study has come to light in recent weeks which should not and cannot be ignored.

In the next session of this Congress we will have to face the issues firmly presented by the so-called Interagency Task Force on the American Merchant Marine. The report has been widely released and we have been asked to review it and work cooperatively toward a satisfactory resolution of our maritime problems. This request was embodied in a speech by the very able new Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, the Honorable Alan Boyd, at the annual Merchant Marine Conference in Galveston, Tex., on October 15, 1965.

We can do no less than heed this sincere request to appraise the proposals and react to them objectively so they may be fully understood and freely discussed in the next session of the Congress.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD at this point the speech of Under Secretary Boyd which sets forth his views as chairman of the task force group. While I disagree thoroughly with many of his views, it is well that we know the Government's position now, so that all who are concerned may have an opportunity to analyze them before the beginning of the next session of Congress in January 1966:

THE INTERAGENCY MARITIME TASK FORCE REPORT

(Transcript of extemporaneous remarks of Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation Alan S. Boyd, luncheon meeting, American Merchant Marine Conference and National Convention of the Propeller Club of the United States, Galveston, Tex., Oct. 14, 1965)

Congressman THOMPSON, Mr. President, distinguished guests, members of this convention—who I hope in time I will be able to address as friends all. I very much appreciate the opportunity to be here with you today.

I feel a little bit ashamed as a result of some of the things Congressman THOMPSON said in his introduction—about me taking time off from my busy duties to come down here. The fact of the matter is this was a very selfish trip on my part, to have the pleasure of being in Houston and walking on the beach under the Texas sunshine alongside the Gulf of Mexico. It's awful to characterize that as any sacrifice at all. I'm delighted to be here. And I just hope that I have another chance "to take the time out of my busy schedule" to get back to Galveston.

I bring you the greetings of Secretary Connor, who is extremely sorry that it was not possible for him to be here today, and to express his interest and concern on the future of a strong U.S. merchant marine—a message that he would have brought had he been able to be here personally.

I would like to talk to you today about the Interagency Maritime Task Force report, and if I may paraphrase Mark Anthony, I am not here to either praise the merchant marine or to bury it. I'm here to talk about what we did and why we did it. And I should say in all candor that if you feel that I have over—reacted in any way you may be right, because very frankly I was quite disappointed at the acton of the Maritime Advisory Committee last week when the task force report was submitted to it. It seemed to me that it was worthy of some study and some discussion. I formed that conclusion at the time the committee refused to accept it, I hold to that conclusion today. So if I do seem to over-react a little bit, I hope you forgive me.

I think that this is a rather strange sort of paper. It's one that has no parallel in the maritime area to my knowledge. But then we're involved in what we call progress, and progress takes many forms. We think, those of us who worked on the task force, think that this paper represents a form of progress.

And I should say in this connection, that when I talk about those of us who worked on the paper, the members from the Department of Labor who worked on the paper did not and do not agree with some of the basic premises in the paper. This is by way of indicating that there's differences of opinion in the Government as well as, I understand, in the industry.

One of the things I think we should deal with first and foremost is that of the whipping boy. Everybody's got a whipping boy in this merchant marine. I have talked to people in management who tell me that if the union situation and labor could only be straightened out the merchant marine would be in sort of a state of nirvana. They also then say, under their breath, "however we need to get the Government straightened out at the same time." The union people to whom I have talked indicate that if we had 100-percent cargo preference, and everything moved on American bottoms that came in and out of the United States, we'd have no further problems. Some of the Government people I have talked to have the feeling that if the management and labor interests would exercise a little commonsense we'd have no further problems. I have heard criticism of my good friend, Nick Johnson, who has come in and attempted to torpedo the industry in the views of some people. Much to my surprise I have even heard criticism of Alan Boyd, who has come in without any knowledge of the maritime industry and is now attempting to tell the people in the industry how they ought to run their business.

And I want to say first and foremost I accept all of these criticisms—on behalf of Nick. Seriously, the reason I point this out is that I think it's fairly well agreed, for whatever reason, the U.S. merchant marine is not of the quality, of the quantity, or exercising the capability, that it could if we had the ideal U.S. merchant marine. Now there are several ways to try to improve the situation. To my mind one of the ways is not to say, "this is Nick Johnson's program," or "this is Alan Boyd's program," or "this is the fault of labor," or "this is the fault of management," or "if the Government, that anonymous body, would only follow the policies of the 1936 Maritime Act everything would be all right." I think this is an utter, complete waste of time. There is no point in pointing the finger.

What we need to do is to decide how can we best develop a strong, competitive, U.S. merchant marine. The paper to which I have referred is our effort to do that.

The paper, the programs which are set forth in the paper, are based on a number of premises. These premises obviously are based on judgment. There's a very broad judgment area involved here. Now since there is a judgment factor, I accept that we may be wrong. We may be completely wrong in the premises on which the policy and program were adopted. And what I am asking for, what the members of the task force are interested in, is developing a policy for a strong merchant marine. We want criticism of the paper. We do not want people to tell us that we are stupid. I'm willing to accept that, but it's completely irrelevant to what we have in the paper. What I want people to do who object to any or all portions of this paper is to say, "Gentlemen, you are wrong for these reasons: A, B, C, D. Now let's sit down and figure out what is the right thing to do." We want to do the right thing, and we will. But we are not going to be steered from any course on the basis of insults. It will not make for a strong U.S. merchant marine. The issues are here. The issues will not go away. If we're going to improve our situation, we should address ourselves to the issues. We should bring them to the administration, and then to the Congress, where, in the best tradition of American Government they can be debated and voted on and then the stamp of public interest will have been placed on whatever is done, and we will move forward with a consensus.

Now what are the premises? First of all, one premise is that it is in the interest of the U.S. Government; the people of the United States, to have a strong, competitive U.S. merchant marine. The second premise is that the United States utilizing taxpayers' dollars cannot logically support a merchant marine, through dollar subsidy, for any other basis than the national defense requirements. The national defense requirements are divided into two parts: The military requirements and the essential civilian requirements.

We considered other premises for subsidy. One, prestige; two, employment; three, trade leverage.

We feel that to the extent one may argue that a U.S.-subsidized merchant marine has any effect on trade leverage, that it can be accomplished by those ships that will be built and operated within the purview of the policy which has been set forth. I should say that we have grave question in our own mind that the operation of the American subsidized merchant marine in ocean trading conferences is of any benefit whatsoever to the U.S. shipper in terms of trade leverage.

On the question of prestige, this is a very appealing argument, and one that appeals to me, and I must say with some surprise that I was shocked to find that I was willing, at the final stages of this paper, to accept the concept of no more subsidized passenger ships. Its almost unthinkable, that the United States shouldn't have a number of fine passenger ships sailing the major trade routes of the world. But then we looked at it from another point of view. The United States of America has its troops, its military forces in many countries of the world. The U.S. Government, the taxpayers, you folks, are spending over three and a half billion dollars a year in aid programs throughout the free world. The U.S. Government is the single major supporter of all of the free world international organizations: the United Nations, the International Civil Aviation Organization, the World Health Organization, and you can just go down the line. The United States is the major contributor and supporter of these organizations. A full 85 percent of the commercial airline planes flying in the free world today are manufactured in the United States. The United States with increasing success, and increasing regularity is putting men and equipment into space, taking photographs of Venus and Mars, rotating around the world with the weather satellites and various other military watch satellites, with Comsat. The United States has provided and does provide the necessary hope and idealism for hundreds of millions of peoples in the world who yearn for a democratic form of government, and you can go on and on and talk these things up. And then, can one really say that 13 passenger ships or 12 passenger ships, or 20 passenger ships, are necessary for the United States of America to have prestige in this world? I don't think so.

The other point was the provision of employment. Now when you start dealing with statistics, you can come out with any sort of figure you want. I'm sure you all remember Mark Twain's saying about "there are lies, damned lies, and statistics." Well, there's a great deal of truth about that. One statistic we can throw out is that the Government is paying today about $8,000 per job per year for employment on the subsidized merchant marine. This is an accurate statistic. I don't know whether it's a valid statistic. But assuming that it is valid, if it is a matter of providing employment, it can be done much more cheaply, much more easily, on the shore, in the domestic markets of the United States, at much less cost to the U.S. Government. We could not accept this premise as a requirement for subsidizing a U.S. merchant marine.

One point I would like to make on labor. My background in the recent past has been in aviation, and I tend to relate things to what I know. I mentioned earlier that 85 percent of the commercial airliners flying in the free world were American manufactured. Here is a situation where the United States has exported its technology. The very latest developments are going to our foreign competitors. The flight crews, the ground crews, and the managements of the U.S.-flag airlines and foreign operations are paid more than twice the salaries—total, fringe benefits and everything—of their foreign competition.

We're flying the same planes, and our U.S. airlines are beating the pants off their competition. Now this raises an interesting question. What is the ingredient? The point I want to make, however, is that I cannot accept a statement that it's all a problem of labor. Certainly, I think there need to be some changes and we've suggested some in this paper.

This does raise another point, however, and this is technology. If we're going to be competitive, we've got to have the most advanced technology, and we've got to take advantage of it. That means to me automated ships, and there is no point in automating ships, spending vast amounts of capital and then putting an army of employees on board who dilute completely the benefit of automation.

Now these are areas where I understand those of us in government should tread very warily. We're not supposed to have ideas in labor-management relations. I don't accept that for one minute.

We're not any smarter, we're not as smart, as the people involved. But we are objective. And we're faced with a situation where there is very little progress being made. It seems to me in this area of labor management relations, as well as in the area of basic maritime policy, it is a function and a responsibility of those of us in government to say what we think. I do not believe that any issue has been resolved by people dodging it. I do think the future of the U.S. merchant marine is far too important for us to wander around on the periphery of the problems without engaging ourselves in a straight-forward, unemotional discussion of how do we resolve the situation so that we can have the strongest, the most competitive, the most profitable merchant marine of any free world country. And that's why we have developed what seems to be a controversial report.

What I hope for is that those of you who are involved in this business will look at such things as the incentive subsidy program, and see the benefits you see you can gain from it and point out the errors you see in it. And I would like to say on the incentive subsidy idea, it's something that gives management a great deal of freedom, something that makes the less efficient operators either become more efficient or get out of the game. And it is a formula which undoubtedly has a lot of bugs in it. But that should not mean that the idea is bad. What it should mean is that where we find bugs we ought to adjust them, so that they will be in the common interest of the operators and of the Government.

The construction subsidy program has pretty much the same set of premises, exactly the same set of premises, related to it as does the operating subsidy. We cannot justify, other than for national defense purposes, the maintenance of subsidized U.S. shipyards. We are not the enemies of U.S. shipyards. We want them to prosper.

But in all of these areas where we are talking about the expenditure of Federal funds for subsidy of the merchant marine it must be borne in mind the Maritime Administration, the Department of Commerce, must first of all within the Department of Commerce relate its requests for funds to the other programs of the Department of Commerce. Then we go to the Bureau of the Budget where we must justify what we seek for the merchant marine, including the shipyards, in a contest for funds with all the other agencies of the Government. This includes the Department of Defense, the Post Office Department, social legislation, conservation legislation, everything you can think of—Agriculture. And a decision is made, based on the judgment of the President, as to how he can best allocate the limited funds. So it's not just a matter of a few more dollars or a few less dollars. This is a continuing annual battle that must be justified. Now if we can obtain information to help us better justify, or to justify more money for these programs, we'll be delighted. But in our own thinking, what we have stated is that we can justify subsidy only for the national defense requirements.

We hope that we will have a strong merchant marine. Part of it is up to the Government, part of it is up to the industry.

One of the things we bear down on very heavily in this report is research and development. I think personally, and I'm sure Nick feels, we should be spending a great deal more money in research and development. None of us think for a moment we can stand up here before a podium and say, "you should be more competitive and you should have have better ships," and we have done our part of the job. That's not true at all. We've got to provide more technology. We've got to assist in the research area. Yesterday there was a discussion of nuclear shipping, nuclear power. I strongly favor a nuclear power program. I do not favor the concept of those who say we should put all our eggs in the nuclear power basket. The merchant marine has so many avenues open to it in the field of technology that we would be taking a very narrow view if we decided we were going to put all our eggs in the nuclear power basket. There is so much more to be done and it can be done intelligently and quickly if we work cooperatively.

We may have, we shall have, the merchant marine policy which will provide for a strengthened U.S. merchant marine only if we work cooperatively in all areas. I would ask that everyone who is involved, who is interested in the future of the U.S. merchant marine, study the task force paper. Give it serious, thoughtful—I might even say prayerful—consideration. And then let us sit down and talk about not what is wrong, but what is right, and how to achieve it. Thank you very much.

Oren Harris

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, this House is a better House because OREN HARRIS served here for a quarter of a century. This Nation is a stronger and a better country because OREN HARRIS was a Member of Congress. The free world and Western civilization is stronger and more secure because of OREN HARRIS' dedication to the great principles and ideals of individual liberty.

Mr. Speaker, this is an age of public relations, advertising, and salesmanship. OREN HARRIS has been a great salesman for our private enterprise system, for our form of Government and for the image of America. As chairman of the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, OREN HARRIS has improved commerce, foreign and domestic. He has improved broadcasting and resisted any monopoly or censorship of news.

OREN HARRIS has been one of the outstanding leaders not only in this historic Congress but a great leader in an important and crucial era of world history.

OREN HARRIS is a devoted Christian. He dedicated much of his time and talent to the Vaughn Bible class at Calvary Baptist Church in Washington.

He ranks as one of the greatest teachers in the history of this great class which is one of the oldest and largest in the world. We are going to miss OREN HARRIS at the Vaughn Bible class where he was always an inspiration to me. I am going to miss him here in the House. Our loss here is Arkansas' gain. He will grace the U.S. district court with dignity, with ability, and integrity. Mrs. Dorn joins me in wishing for OREN HARRIS a long and distinguished career on the bench and our love and best wishes always.

Financial General's Olmsted Predicts That Stockholders Will Benefit From Divestiture Under Holding Company Law—His Statement Puts Lie to Argument That Illegal Bank Mergers Must Be Forgiven

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. WRIGHT PATMAN
OF TEXAS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Financial General Corp. is a $1 billion-plus financial holding company owning, among many other companies, 26 banks with 104 main offices and branches in 6 States and the District of Columbia.

In 1956, Congress enacted the Bank Holding Company Act because of the apparent necessity to control the quickening pace of concentration in banking through expansion of holding companies as well as through mergers. Unfortunately, a House-passed bill to tighten up provisions in the antitrust laws applying to asset acquisitions by banks died in the Senate. Furthermore, although the holding company law was a broadly supported, bipartisan measure, it was shot through with serious loopholes. President Eisenhower in signing the 1956 act stated that removing the exemptions would require the further attention of Congress.

Included among the exemptions was the loophole enjoyed by Financial General all these years, permitting it to escape meeting standards and abiding by the same rules applicable to other bank holding companies.

The Banking and Currency Committee, of which I have the privilege of being chairman, conducted hearings during the summer on H.R. 7372, a bill part of a legislative package to plug the important loopholes in the act. H.R. 7372 would remove the exemption of Financial General as well as approximately 275 other investment companies. H.R. 7371 which passed the House on September 23, included a provision having the same effect as H.R. 7372.

In testifying against H.R. 7372 before our Domestic Finance Subcommittee last July, Mr. George Olmsted, of Financial General, claimed that the bill was punitive legislation aimed at Financial General's stockholders, policyholders, depositors, and customers. He stated that requiring Financial General to become a bank holding company and divest itself of its nonbanking enterprises would have a "harsh effect upon innocent investors."

Personally, I never agreed with this argument and I am glad to see that upon further study, Mr. Olmsted no longer feels that his stockholders will suffer from divestiture. A recent issue of Investors Reader, published by a large investment firm, quoted Olmsted as explaining that "several tickets will be worth more than one." He predicted that the "breakup value" of the company will be $35 per share whereas the firm's stock is now traded on the exchange at about $14 per share.

Although the broad public interest must always be Congress' first consideration, I am glad that Financial General's stockholders will not be harmed by plugging this serious loophole in the law. Mr. Olmsted's prediction would also seem to be applicable to several illegal bank mergers which the courts have ordered dissolved. In fact, it is purobably a much more simple matter to sell off a number of small branches as has been ordered in the Manufacturers-Hanover merger decision than it would be for Financial General to divest itself of entire companies. Furthermore, it would be no more of an inconvenience to the stockholders, depositors, and customers of Manufacturers-Hanover for that bank to "demerge" as it was in 1961, when the two banks merged in the first place. Certainly, such alleged inconveniences are not grounds for enactment of S. 1698, a very unwise and even dangerous bill to weaken our antimerger laws.

Kenya's Second Anniversary of Independence—December 11

SPEECH
OF
HON. JOHN CONYERS, JR.
OF MICHIGAN
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CONYERS. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the people and leaders of Kenya as they prepare to celebrate, on this coming December 11, their second anniversary as an independent nation. To the people of Kenya and to His Excellency, the Prime Minister, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, and to His Excellency, the Kenyan Ambassador to the United States, Mr. Burudi Nabwera, I wish to express my best wishes for a joyous celebration.

Like other new nations, Kenya is faced with many difficult problems. Even the most affluent states are still struggling with the ancient evils of poverty, ignorance, and disease. Just as the United States seeks to solve this problem through the war on poverty, Kenya too has assumed responsibility for these monumental tasks. In addition Kenya must also overcome a tradition of tribal rivalries and a narrow economic base. The population of Kenya is almost 9 million people of many diverse backgrounds. Each group has a tradition and culture of its own, with the main ones being the Kikuyu, Luo, Baluhya, Kamba, and Meru. In addition there are a significant number of Kenyans of Somalian, Asian, and Arabian descent. Under the leadership of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya has initiated a strong governmental program to unify the country and accelerate economic development in every region of the country. An article in a recent edition of the Sunday New York Times magazine, which I will insert in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD immediately following my remarks, details the very interesting story of Prime Minister Kenyatta and the long struggle for Kenyan independence. One of the most interesting statements of Jomo Kenyatta's is from a speech he gave shortly before Kenya gained its independence in which he explained the importance for Kenya of national unity and vigorous economic development:

> Where there has been tribal animosity, it will be finished. Let us not dwell upon the bitterness of the past. I would rather look to the future, to the good new Kenya, not the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity, we shall have gone a long way toward solving our economic problems. We hold out no empty promises of achieving utopia overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of work, justly rewarded.

Kenya's road to independence and democratic government was a long and difficult one. It was not until 1944 that the first African was nominated to the Legislative Council. Prior to that time Africans had no direct participation in governmental affairs. In the years ranging from October 1952 to December 1959 the country was in a state of emergency arising out of the Mau Mau rebellion. This emergency and the power of the European settlers contributed to the slow pace of constitutional development in Kenya. In 1960 a constitutional conference in London finally gave the Africans a majority in the Legislative Council. Constitutional talks in 1962 were complicated by differences between the Kenya African National Union—KANU—which has the support of the larger tribes and the Kenya African Democratic Union—KADU—representing the smaller tribes. The complex constitution written at that time established a quasi-federal system providing regional and local governments with considerable powers. A Council of Ministers holds executive power while legislative power lies in a two-chamber parliament consisting of a House of Representatives and Senate. After victory in the 1963 elections, KANU, under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, established the first government.

Kenya has been quite active in the international trade union movement. One of Kenya's main labor leaders is the young and energetic Tom Mboya whose visits to the United States have made him quite well known here. As someone who was born and raised in the labor

movement and who has been deeply involved in union affairs, I am very aware of the crucial role which a free and vigorous labor movement can have in developing a strong and growing economy. The members and officers of the Kenyan labor movement can be proud of the great progress they have made in such a short time in building an outstanding trade union organization.

Relations between the United States and Kenya are quite good. The United States has extended technical assistance and other development aid to Kenya—particularly in the areas of agriculture, education, community development, and public administration. Also the Peace Corps has been quite active in Kenya. Each year a great number of young Kenyans come to study in the United States. In fact, except for Nigeria, Kenya sends more students to the United States than any other African country. These Kenyan students have been excellent ambassadors of good will for their country and we are proud to have them with us.

Mr. Speaker, the United States is proud to have the friendship of Kenya. I would like to extend my congratulations to the people and leaders of Kenya for their past achievements, and best wishes for further successes in their upcoming third year of independence in establishing a unified and prosperous nation which will make Kenya one of the oustanding new countries in Africa and in the world.

The article is as follows:

"HARAMBEE," SAYS KENYATTA—"LET'S ALL PULL TOGETHER"

(By Lawrence Fellows)

NAIROBI.—When Jomo Kenyatta was a boy in Ichaweri, he used to herd cattle on the pasture around Mogumo-wa-njathi, the only sacred tree left in his neighborhood. There were other trees around, but no sacred ones, for the British settlers, in clearing their newly acquired plots for cultivation had cut down all the sacred ones except Mogumo-wa-njathi. It was the only tree left around Ichaweri where the Kikuyu could make sacrifices for rain, or where communion of any sort could be had with Ngai, the Divider of the Universe.

People would come to the tree and lament: "Gikuyu harea kearl kianoimaho." (The Kikuyu are no longer where they used to be.) The restless, hot-tempered little cowherder would sometimes run from the pasture in anger and shame for his tribe, and wonder how long Ngai, sitting up there on his resting place atop Mount Kenya, would put up with the intruding whites.

The land was eventually to be handed back, but not until after Jomo Kenyatta had developed a fearsome, somewhat overstated reputation as the evil-eyed leader of Mau Mau, a wenching, hard-drinking, bloodletting terrorist bent on plunging Kenya back into the abyss of primitive and debased tribalism. Sir Patrick Renison, a British Governor of Kenya in Mau Mau days, accused Jomo Kenyatta of leading his people into darkness and death.

Yet, as though some splendid Kikuyu magician had filled his horn with the secret ingredients of the love potion they call monyenye and spread it around the world—at least around the Western part of the world—Kenyatta, now President of independent Kenya, has become the image of stability and sweet reasonableness in a continent sorely in need of just those virtues.

And Kenya, as much as any place in black Africa, holds out the prospect of a stable, more prosperous future. On vast dun-colored plains and in hot valleys scoured deep in the earth's crust, primitive tribesmen still herd their tiny humpbacked cattle as they have for centuries, but more and more of their children are being lured into school. On red, eroded hillsides, smoke rises through the thatch of clustered mud-and-wattle huts, but roads now wind up to some of them. And some of the farmers are beginning to plant not just enough corn and beans to keep alive but crops to sell as well.

In Nairobi, tall hotels and modern office buildings have sprouted from an underbrush of close-packed Indian shops and tin-roofed shacks, and African policemen direct the choking traffic with cool efficiency. Gradually, Africans are taking over jobs in the banks, the shops, customs, the post office, and elsewhere. But Kenyatta is holding back the impatient tide of envious Africans wanting the jobs that white men still hold, and is thereby keeping a modicum of efficiency that other newly independent African countries might well envy.

In the cool, rolling hills of the Highlands, Africans have been settled on more than 1,000 farms that used to belong to white men. The farms were bought by the Kenya Government, with the help of loans and grants from the British Government, and in most cases broken into smaller units and resold to Africans with generous loans to get them started. On some of these farms, what used to be lawns and flower gardens are now planted with corn; what used to be smooth meadows or rich fields of grain are now reverting tragically to bush. But more often the farms are being run as well by the Africans as they ever were before.

Perhaps 500 white farmers have found buyers on the open market, but close to 1,000 remain, many of them beset by problems of thieving and drunken vandalism and by squatters inching in on the edges of the fields. There is no official pressure on the farmers to leave. Indeed, Kenyatta wants the process to be gradual, so that the inevitable temporary dislocations in food supply will not cause his people to go hungry, or seriously crimp Kenya's earnings from agricultural exports. Lesser politicians than Kenyatta are telling the squatters that the land is theirs by right, but the President is firm in his insistence that none of the farms will be had unless they are paid for.

In a basic policy statement on Kenya's brand of African socialism, Kenyatta has moralized on how public ownership is as prone to abuses as is private ownership. He has also said that nationalization does not always lead to additional resources, and that there will be no nationalization in Kenya without full compensation.

He has faced up to the political extremists in his country, and taken steps to cut off their supplies of Chinese and Russian money. He has suppressed the Lumumba Institute, a political training center established this year mainly through the efforts of Vice President Jaramogi Oginga, with help from the Soviet Union. It had a faculty of two Russians and eight Moscow-trained Africans, and a student body drawn from branches of the Kenya African National Union, the country's only political party; Kenyatta reckoned it would be only a matter of time before the party machinery was in the hands of Communists and their sympathizers.

When a team of Russian military advisers wanted to stay in Kenya longer than Kenyatta deemed appropriate, he sent them packing. When Chou En-lai resurrected his famous remark about how Africa was ripe for revolution, Kenyatta replied sharply: "Kenya intends to avert all revolutions irrespective of their origins."

He has taken his campaign against communism—and against all he thinks threatens to undermine the country—through the ranks of the politicians, to the elders of all the tribes, and to the people. Not long ago, before tens of thousands of his countrymen who had gathered in Nairobi to hear him, Kenyatta declared that there was no place for communism in Kenya, that communism represented no less a threat to the freedom of Africans than did imperialism in its heyday. "It is naive to think that there is no danger of imperialism from the East . . ." he said. "This is why we reject communism. It is, in fact, the reason why we have chosen for ourselves the policy of nonalignment and African socialism."

"It is a sad mistake to think that you can get more food, more hospitals, or schools by crying 'communism.'" Kenyatta went on. On the platform, shifting the weight of his elephantine frame from one foot to the other, waving his fly whisk lazily to emphasize a point, he seemed huge, relaxed, powerful. This was Mzee—the old man—as the people call him with all the respect that accrues to age in this part of the world. (Kenyatta himself is not sure of his age; he thinks that "about 75" is close.) His bleary, slow-moving eyes went back and forth over the audience, and the crowd hung on every word.

His target was those who have been building a following for themselves by preaching that all the things the people want will be theirs if they just hold out for communism. "There is no room here for the lazy or idle," Kenyatta said. "There is no room for those who wait for things to be given for nothing. There is no place for leaders who hope to build a nation on slogans."

He also was after those in Kenya who seek to follow more closely the examples set by Tanzania and Uganda. To Kenyatta's way of thinking, the union of Tanganyika with Zanzibar, and Tanzania's commitment to the various liberation movements she harbors, reflect a preoccupation with the old perils of imperialism and opened new lines of Chinese penetration—just as Uganda's dispute with the Congo led to the shipment of Chinese weapons into Uganda. While Tanzania and Uganda made overtures to the East, Kenyatta did his best to tighten Kenya's connections with the West. He does not see nonalignment achieved best by breaking all the old bonds.

"I must warn those in our country who seek to create confusion," he said. "It is true that we have passed through many years of Western imperialism. It is natural that we should detest Western colonialism, and associate the word 'imperialism' with the West. But if we are truly nonalined we must not avoid making friends with those Western countries which extend an honest field of cooperation and trade. To do this is just to prove that we are not free and cannot separate good from bad. It proves that we still suffer from a colonial mentality."

Kenyatta had been up that morning since 6 o'clock, pulling weeds out of a field of corn by his new house in Ichaweri. As usual, one of his aids had to get up early, too, and talk to the President about his program for that day. "I know about communism," Kenyatta said. "I've seen it, and cannot be fooled." By 8:15 his aids and his five bodyguards were ready to start the 30-mile trip they make every morning down to Nairobi, and Kenyatta was still on the subject of communism. "I know how it works," he insisted.

He had been exposed to it only marginally at first soon after he landed a job in Nairobi in 1921, as an inspector of water supplies. He was burning with ambition to do something about emancipating his people. He began promoting the idea of independent schools for the Kikuyu (he himself had attended a Church of Scotland mission school), and was brushed almost immediately into the turmoil of politics.

By 1928, Kenyatta was general secretary of the Kikuyu Central Association, and emerging as the real leader of the first nationalist movement in Kenya.

A group of Indians with Communist connections put up the money and legal help Kenyatta needed to go off to London and plead the Kikuyu case with Britain's Colonial Secretary. The Indians, with a larger community in Kenya than the British, calculated that if Kenyatta could wangle some advantages for his people, they were bound to benefit as well.

Kenyatta never got to see the Colonial Secretary, but fell in with the League Against Imperialism, a Communist group with headquarters in London. He paid a quick trip to Moscow, was given a handful of introductions to Communists whom he looked up in Berlin, and went to Hamburg to play a minor role at the Communist-sponsored International Negro Workers' Congress. After 18 months, Kenyatta's Indian backers tired of supporting him. He returned to Kenya in 1930, but only to bounce back to London again the following year.

This time he stayed away from his homeland for 15 years, presenting petitions to the Colonial Office, writing letters to the newspapers, ventilating African grievances in Trafalgar Square to anyone who would listen. In 1933 he spent 4 months in the Soviet Union absorbing a little more about the tactics of revolution, meeting new friends.

For a while, in London, he shared a flat near Charing Cross with Paul Robeson, the American singer and actor, and even appeared with him in a film version of Edgar Wallace's "Sanders of the River." Kenyatta played the part of a native chief, and before long he discovered that his African robes were good not only for film work, but for invitations to cocktail parties. It seemed just the thing for a man who had to scratch around both for jobs and for people to hear out his grievances against colonial rule.

Kenyatta lectured on the Workers' Educational Association circuit, and landed a job on the faculty of a Quaker college in Birmingham. Although he never got an undergraduate degree, he completed a graduate course in anthropology at the London School of Economics, and wrote a book, "Facing Mount Kenya," a pioneering study of the customs of his people.

When the war broke out, Kenyatta took a job as a farm laborer in Sussex, and was promptly given the nickname "Jumbo" because of his bulk. He is remembered there as a good-natured chap, given to reciting verses from Rudyard Kipling—of all people—and to reading from Shakespeare's "Othello."

Kenyatta had left two wives behind in Kenya, where polygamy is an accepted practice, and he took another while he was working in Sussex. She was Edna Grace Clark, whom he had met when they were on the same lecture circuit, and who was working then at a school in the neighborhood. She bore Kenyatta a son, but both wife and child stayed behind when Kenyatta returned to his homeland in 1946 to get back into the swim of politics. He took a fourth wife, Ngina, soon after his return.

His devotion to Ngina is almost legend. He hurries out of his office each day by 4 p.m., unless there is a real crisis to keep him longer, and he does not take his work home with him. He has no really close friends outside his family, and spends all his affection on Ngina and their four children, though he has not forsaken his other wives and keeps in close touch with them and with his other children.

During his long absence in England, Kenyatta had become established as a symbol of African nationalism. Tens of thousands of Kikuyu came to know the name of the man who was the champion of their cause and gave what money they could to keep the struggle alive. Now, upon his return, he led the demand for elected African representation in the Legislative Council. He wanted African voters on the electoral rolls. He wanted all manifestations of color discrimination abolished, and he wanted Africans back in the Highland preserves of the white farmers.

But the Colonial Government was making no concessions, and while Kenyatta was talking of constitutional change, many of his followers were taking gruesome oaths to kill the white man, or terrify him into leaving the country. Inevitably, Kenyatta was singled out by the Government as the mastermind of Mau Mau, the terrorist movement that engulfed Kenya in the early 1950's. In the predawn hours of October 20, 1952, the police, thinking to surprise him in his sleep, found him fully dressed and waiting stoically to be arrested. They bundled him off by airplane to Lokitaung, a tiny, desert post in the contorted, lifeless landscape of Kenya's north.

To hear him tell of his 7 years of imprisonment at Lokitaung, they must have been the most harrowing of his life. When their frustrations piled up, he and his fellow prisoners brawled until the sun burned the energy from them. Then they would sink into apathy. Kenyatta lived in fear that he would be poisoned by the British. At night he would lie in terror, watching for scorpions or snakes, finally drifting off to sleep, as he puts it now, "hoping for the best." The worst terror, as he often recalls, was having to dig what he was told was to be his own grave.

When his sentence was completed, he was moved to Lodwar, still in the remote north, and given a little cottage and even an allowance with which to buy approved newspapers and books. From Lodwar he was eventually flown to Maralal, a mountain oasis closer to Nairobi, and then to Kiambu, which is his home district.

On August 15, 1961, when he was finally released, he was a personality towering above all others. A whole generation had grown to manhood without ever seeing Jomo Kenyatta, but they accepted him as the leader of the country, the symbol of an emerging nation. His home at Ichaweri had been razed, and turned by the British into an experimental farm, but it remained a shrine the whole time. Thousands of Kikuyu cheered his return, and brought him gifts of goats, pigs, sheep, cows, and baskets of corn. The British speeded the transfer of power to the Africans and on independence day, December 11, 1963, the man who had gone to jail before the Mau Mau committed their first white murder was able to say to a mass of cheering people: "I have snatched you out of the lion's belly."

Since then, he has striven to keep his people from falling into anyone else's clutches. He has created a one-party state to transcend tribalism, to build a national unity that would offer security and opportunity to Africans of whatever tribe, to Indians, Arabs, even to Englishmen who are prepared to identify themselves with Kenya. He wants a nation impervious to the divisions which foreigners from East or West might be tempted to exploit.

He has taken on a monumental task, for the mass of Africans in Kenya have little in common beyond poverty, ignorance, and disease—the three things Kenyatta describes as the greatest enemies of the country.

There are probably close to 9 million Africans in Kenya of diverse origin, tradition, even language. There are Bantu, like the Kikuyu, who wandered into Kenya from West and Central Africa centuries ago. But the Bantu vary from the tall, proud Baluhya near Lake Victoria to the short, introverted Nyika of the coast. The Nilotic tribesmen who came up the Nile Valley from the Sudan are spread through Kenya from Uganda to Tanzania. Hamitic tribes like the Somali have penetrated deep into the country from the rugged northern desert. The Wanderobo, unrelated to any of the others, are the hapless indigenous remnant of Kenya's forest hunters.

In all the years the British were here, their language never penetrated deeper than the houseboys and a thin veneer of officialdom. Swahili, a Bantu-based language laced with Arabic, English and half a dozen other tongues come closer to being a generally used language. Not everyone speaks Swahili, but in nearly every village there is someone who understands it.

Kenyatta is using these two languages to forge unity of a sort in his country. Now even a Kikuyu boy who lapses into his own language in a classroom is likely to get his knuckles rapped by a Kikuyu teacher.

As proud as Kenyatta is of his own tribal heritage, he feels that eventually it will have to be trampled on if the old tribal arguments are to be forgotten, and if feelings or insecurity are not going to be aroused among the country's 49,000 Europeans, or among the 183,000 Asians whose forebears came from the Indian subcontinent at the beginning of the century to help build the railway, or among the 36,000 Arabs whose ancestors had been traders and merchants along the coast for centuries. The services of these people are still needed in Kenya. For the Asians and Arabs, at least, there is really nowhere else to go.

"Where there has been racial hatred, it must be ended," Kenyatta said in a broadcast before independence. "Where there has been tribal animosity, it will be finished. Let us not dwell upon the bitterness of the past. I would rather look to the future, to the good new Kenya, not to the bad old days. If we can create this sense of national direction and identity, we shall have gone a long way toward solving our economic problems. We hold out no empty promises of achieving Utopia overnight. What we hold out to every citizen is the prospect of work, justly rewarded.

The call for hard work is a main brace in Kenyatta's domestic program. It is his answer to the whisperings of other politicians that there are still some splendid properties that could be had from the Europeans and Asians for the taking. Hard work, according to the President, is the way to keep the people out of the clutches of the young radicals. It is the way to political stability, which is prerequisite to attracting foreign investment. It is necessary medicine in a country still too full of subsistence farmers, too close in memory to the time when outsiders initiated all progress.

On his weekend tours of the country, Kenyatta makes a point of visiting village "self-help" projects for schools, clinics, roads, and the like, renewing the demand for greater effort, lecturing pointedly to the crowds on the particular sins of the neighborhood, whether drinking, cattle thieving, fighting between tribes or whatever. They come from miles around for a glimpse of Mzee, and to be caught up in his spellbinding oratory. "Harambee," he always shouts at the end of his talks. This is Kenyatta's slogan, drawn from the loggers' Swahili word for "Let's all pull together." "Harambee," the crowd invariably shouts back.

His position at home is unassailable, in spite of some setbacks. He had to call in the British last year to help him suppress a rebellious army, an act that hurt his standing in the rest of Africa. The American-Belgian rescue mission at Stanleyville last year was carried out when Kenyatta thought he still had a chance to persuade the Congolese rebels to release their hostages, and that hurt his pride. His dream of an East African political federation has slipped into oblivion.

Kenyatta's idea of nonalinement is not, as it is elsewhere in Africa, to court the East,

either to make up for the old injustices of the West, or to balance a preponderance of Western influence. His idea is to keep his nose out of sensitive points in the cold war where they do not affect Kenya. Thus, he would not be likely to make quick, unsolicited pronouncements on the American involvement in Vietnam or the Dominican Republic.

Yet he does demand stronger measures from the British against Rhodesia. He offers his support to the "freedom fighters" picking at Mozambique. He may be disillusioned with the Congolese rebels, but he is still unreconciled to the use of white mercenaries by the Congolese Government, or to the help the American Government gives it. Still, taking all his problems into consideration, Jomo Kenyatta would seem to be as good a man to be holding the reins of power in Kenya as any westerner could hope to see.

Some of his Western admirers would like to see him step more firmly on what would appear to be the almost contemptuously insubordinate activities of Vice President Odinga. But their differences are more tribal and personal than ideological, in spite of the friendship Odinga professes for the Russians and Chinese, in spite of his statement that communism is "food" to him. The Vice President is first and foremost a Luo, the leader of Kenya's second biggest tribe. If Kenyatta were to step on him, he would risk bringing to life the ogre of tribalism he is working so hard to destroy. Instead, he has worked assiduously to isolate Odinga and to pull the rug from under his supporters in other tribes.

Kenyatta has not had to worry much about Parliament, which is elected only once in 5 years, and where support for him is overwhelming. Only once did Odinga make some inroads into Kenyatta's majority, when the President was asking for support for an East African Federation. As soon as Kenyatta saw the danger signs he began an enormous personal effort to win over the back benchers, and did so with amazing success.

Odinga can now hardly work up the nerve to attend Cabinet meetings, where the President leans heavily toward the ministers most suspicious of communism, and shows most demonstratively his desire to rise above tribalism. Tom Mboya, his Minister for Economic Development, is a Luo. James Gichuru, the Finance Minister, is a Kikuyu, as are Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, the Minister for Commerce, and Attorney General Charles Njonjo. Lawrence Sagini, the Minister for Local Government, is a Kisii, Dr. Njoroge Mungai, the Defense Minister, is a Kikuyu. Daniel Arap Moi, the Home Affairs Minister, is a Kipsigis.

Among them they have built what would appear to be an interest in the West in investing in Kenya, and an interest in Kenya in looking to the West for security. Since the army mutiny, Kenyatta has built up a paramilitary police force far more formidable than the army, and he feels surer of the loyalty of the police. The United States is equipping this force with its own air transport so that it will be independently mobile.

Curiously, even the reasons Kenyatta gave last year for wanting a one-party state had a ring of friendliness to the West. "We reject a blueprint of the Western model of a two-party system of government," he said, "because we do not subscribe to the notion of the government and the governed being in opposition to one another, one clamoring for duties and the other crying for rights.

"Nor are we prepared to justify our predilection for a one-party system of government by using the fragile argument that parties are the expression of social classes and that therefore there must be only one party. The theory of class struggle has no relevance to our particular situation here. In a one-party state such as we envisage, we hold that politics is a potent instrument: it is through our political institutions that we influence economic trends, and not the other way around.

"Don't be fooled," a member of his Cabinet said a while ago. "Mzee was an African nationalist in the days of Mau Mau and he still is. He does not stand in East or West, even if it seems that way. He stands in Africa with both feet, and he cares for the people of Africa as he does for his own children."

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill—S. 2460—to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that further editorials be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Deep River (Conn.) New Era]

COMPLETELY IN CHARACTER

The legislation and Senator RIBICOFF's comments in the Halls of Congress in support of his bill are completely in character. The former Governor of Connecticut and member of President Kennedy's Cabinet has long been one of America's most powerful and eloquent voices in the field of conservation.

We well remember his statement, at the time of the dedication of the restored Goodspeed Opera House in East Haddam, that this lovely spot on the bank of the Connecticut River should always be a place where people can sit quietly, enjoy the view, and "listen to the grass grow."

He has been a consistent advocate of measures to fight pollution, both of the water and of the air. Toward this end, he persuaded the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to arrange an interstate pollution conference in December of 1963—over the objections of both Connecticut and Massachusetts officials—in an effort to speed up the clean up of the Connecticut River. Toward this end, too, he asked the U.S. Public Health Service, just about a year ago, to make a thorough study to determine what effect, if any, the discharge of heated water into the Connecticut River from the Connecticut Yankee Atomic Power Co. plant at Haddam Neck would have upon the water in the river, and the air above. The U.S. Public Health Service agreed to make the study, but Connecticut officials rejected it, saying they already had all the information they needed. Ten months later, however, Governor Dempsey announced that he would appoint a "task force" to study pollution problems in the State.

Politics being what it is, we know some Republicans will charge that Senator RIBICOFF's actions are politically motivated, that he is merely trying to win votes for the next election. Maybe so; we wouldn't know. We do know that the Senator doesn't come up for reelection until 1968, which is still 3 years off and pretty remote at this time, so far as lining up votes is concerned.

Our own belief is that Senator RIBICOFF is being honest and sincere in wanting to do everything possible to help preserve that natural beauty which still remains in the Connecticut River Valley. And even if his bill were politically motivated, our reaction would be: Fine. If this is the type of legislation produced by political motivation, let's have more of it.

[From the Manchester Herald]

RIVER PARKWAY MERITS STUDY

There are now two kinds of highways in southern New England, the Connecticut River Parkway proposed by U.S. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF would be a third, designed purely for pleasure.

First we have our older roads, originally built to move traffic, and some of it was horse drawn when the roads were first built, but now pockmarked by gas stations, honky-tonk restaurants, and poorly thought out intersections and access points. And in this group we also have some beautiful stretches of road, which generally are protected by nothing except chance.

Then we have our superhighways, stretching out as far as the eye can see, and all the time confronting the eye with essentially the same nursery-manufactured view. The Federal interstate highways can hardly be distinguished from one another, be the locale outside of Billings, Mont., or Hartford, Conn. Monotony is their watchword; one is generally assured that nothing except more concrete can be seen from them. They are often landscaped and sometimes lit—but they are a plastic world.

The Connecticut River Parkway would be solely designed for that old-fashioned pastime, pleasure driving. It would be the first in the Nation to combine park-like scenic roads, a river, and a recreation area. Its concept would not be to move traffic, but to move people to a greater appreciation of this great river. As defined by the National Park Service, a national parkway is "a federally owned elongated park featuring a road designed for pleasure travel and embracing scenic, recreational, or historic features of national significance."

The National Park Service does not go in for multilane highways—indeed the main thoroughfares in Yellowstone Park, our single most popular park, are merely two lanes, with turnoffs, observation points, and parking areas, and moderate speed limits. They do not cut great swaths into the countryside such as is required by the new Route 9, nor go in for sweeping access and egress points.

The finest existing example of a national parkway is the 500-mile Blue Ridge Parkway in the Smokies, a project started in 1933. Others include the Colonial Parkway (22 miles) conecting Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown, Va., and the George Washington Memorial Parkway (47 miles) along both sides of the Potomac near Washington. The United States currently has 819 miles of parkway planned in other U.S. locations, with two-thirds of it built or under construction, mainly in existing national parks.

A national parkway has a specific meaning quite apart from a national park, which is the highest or most restrictive type of Federal preservation. A national parkway is almost the lowest or least restricted, and could probably be used to purchase relatively narrow areas, or large areas (such as the ridgetops of the Connecticut) with large degree of flexibility as to usage.

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal is a staggering, sweeping concept, but that is not to say that it could not be brought to fruition

without commercial disruption to the county. As the Senator said, "The Connecticut River and its valleys are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are the stewards for the future." The Ribicoff proposal envisions a study. The study should be made so that we may see how a world of scenic preservation for future generations meets the demands and the inherent rights of property for this generation.

—MIDDLETOWN PRESS.

[From the New London (Conn.) Day]

SAVING THE VALLEY

Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, is right, of course, when he says that any effort to save the natural beauty of the Connecticut River Valley from despoiling can scarcely start too soon.

His proposal to the Federal Government to implement this program may meet a few cynical views. For it does seem that time is short, prospects of arousing enough official enthusiasm dim, before there is much more exploitation of the valley.

The Senator, a New London resident now, proposes an initial study by the Secretary of the Interior, a review of his findings, hearings on possible parkway boundaries, establishment of an authority to carry out and administer the program and parkway, etc. Fact is that the magnificent scenery, recreational assets, etc., of this region have been publicized by several organizations for years without arousing any real Federal interest.

The recreational values of the valley are obvious, supposing that some means may be found eventually of ending pollution of the water. The Senator proposes parkway roads along the banks, not expressways. That also touches a matter on which there is little time. High-speed roads right now are quite common along the riverbanks.

Meanwhile the patient, plodding work necessary to win sufficient support to get Federal acceptance of this whole concept may well be beyond ordinary belief. It will surely take a long, continuing effort.

There is, as the Senator says, little time to dally on this matter, with present steady encroachment of new installations, some of which will destroy natural beauty for all time.

[From the New Britain (Conn.) Herald]

RIVER VALLEY PARKWAY

In one grand move, Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF has formulated a proposal which would, when accepted, control the future development of the Connecticut River Valley.

His bill asking Congress to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway is a carefully drafted plan aimed principally at assuring recreation facilities but also helping to control against blight and water pollution.

The bill is a practical one. In asking that a full-scale study be made by the Department of the Interior, with heavy reliance on the assistance of representatives of the four States involved (Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire), RIBICOFF assure that this will not be a haphazard, impractical development.

Further, he outlines for the project a sensible scheme of evolution, suggesting that in all likelihood only portions of the land in the river valley would ever come under the National Parkway, not all of it. But that portion which would be so designated would be developed with scenic roads (not superhighways), and with recreational facilities for walking, hiking, bicycling, picnicking, fish and wildlife management, fishing, hunting, boating, camping, and winter sports.

Sensibly, he suggests that the study would "be required to make due allowance for necessary economic use of the river area."

Of this bill we shall certainly hear again and again, for it has a basic, clear-cut appeal. It is consistent with the President's general approach to land conservation, beautification, pollution prevention and recreation development. Finally, it is authored by a man who is something of an expert in the handling of such domestic legislation. It merits careful consideration and planning.

[From the Ansonia (Conn.) Sentinel]

THE SENSE OF LOSING SOMETHING

Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF's proposal for the preservation of the natural beauty of the Connecticut River Valley would have Uncle Sam build parkway roads—not expressways—along the banks, as a means of guarding those banks against uncontrolled intrusion.

There is magnificent scenery along the Connecticut all the way from Saybrook to the border of Canada—excepting where it has become industrialized.

But that valley is in a period of swift transition, and so are the green banks of other Connecticut streams including the Housatonic.

As Connecticut's population grows, the banks of its streams are no longer remote areas where wooded hills and pleasant meadows are broken only by farmhouses and agriculture.

Unless some urgent effort is made systematically to spare what remains of this natural beauty we shall have seen, known, and taken for granted stretches of inspiring scenery our grandchildren shall never know, excepting in old pictures.

The pace is much faster now than during the interval between our grandfathers' days and our own.

With careful planning, two things could happen—large areas of riparian scenery could be preserved, and in the places where the other needs of man must encroach, there could be supervision that would make the intrusion attractive, not ugly.

This is but one other aspect of the feeling that America in growing is losing something it need not lose.

The open spaces program, recognition of the need for city and town parks and outdoor recreation areas, efforts to end vandalism, campaign to prevent our country's scenic beauty from being outraged by ridiculous billboards, laws to control of landscape scars, pressures to modify industrial wastes so that our waters are not changed for the worse forever are all symptoms of the uneasy popular feeling that is growing in our time that vision coupled with action is needed if scenic beauty that was passed on to us without even asking is not to be transformed into irreparable ugliness.

There are certain kinds of encroachment which, once achieved, destroys natural beauty for all time.

We are a growing Nation and a growing State but greater thought and action are required if we are not to grow into disordered ugliness.

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press]

THE PARKWAY'S ROUTE

When Secretary of Interior Stewart Udall, Senator RIBICOFF, Governor Dempsey, and assorted dignitaries set sail up the Connecticut River to view it as a potential national parkway, the question that will be in most minds is simply this: Is it practical?

Although a great many studies would have to be made, a portion of the route is obvious. From Maromas to Deep River, the virtually never used railroad tracks of the Valley line provide an existing right-of-way which would be ideal for the purpose. A national parkway, as we have said earlier, is not a superhighway, and as a consequence the parkway itself would not have to be much wider than a railroad right-of-way. It would also provide a drive of unparalleled scenic beauty because the road would be on the very edge of the river.

In the main, there is little to be said for putting roadways along a shoreline or riverbank unless the purpose of such roadways is scenic. Turnpikes, although often placed in such locations, do not belong in such areas because the shoreline is merely destroyed, and because the high protective railings and high speeds by the vehicles, combine to vitiate the chance to see the view.

A national parkway is different, here the point is scenery. From Maromas, going north, a parkway could either temporarily join Route 9, swinging across a new bridge at the narrows near Middletown which has been discussed to carry traffic from a newly located 6A. It could then proceed up along the Shenipsit Trail, or in its general vicinity, through Meshomasic State Forest so that the grand view from above Great Hill Pond, Portland, could be seen by all.

From Deep River south, the choice would have to be made as to whether the railroad tracks should be followed, or whether the parkway should wing across the river in the vicinity of Selden Neck State Park to incorporate a view from the great bluff above Hamburg Cove, called Joshuatown.

No doubt there will be many potential routes that could be considered. Provision should also be made to protect as many of the ridge lines along the river as possible as was recommended by the old Whyte report prepared for Governor Dempsey. But at first glance it would seem possible to preserve much of the Connecticut while at the same time enhancing the value of property owners.

Fortunately, a certain amount of the spadework on such a project has been done by the old Saybrook-Middletown Scenic Highway Commission which in 1953 studied a possible route. Although the commission recommended a new Route 9 for the purpose of moving traffic, it made a study of possible scenic routes—and delinerated a route next to the railroad tracks for approximately the same distance that we have discussed here. Today, the railroad tracks are not being used to any substantial extent and parts of the trackage could be taken over.

From the standpoint of Middlesex County, finding a route for a national parkway would not be inordinately difficult, and it would, of course, increase the recreational potential of the area.

[From the Middletown (Conn.) Press]

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[From the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post]

THE RIVER AND VALLEY

A panoramic glimpse of Connecticut River history was presented recently by Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF when he asked Congress to set up a Connecticut River National Parkway and a new recreation area in the river valley.

Since 1914, when the Dutch mariner Adriaen Block first sailed up the river, the touch of man's hand on nature has been heavy, the Senator declared in an eloquent statement on the Senate floor.

At first, the river valley was a route for commerce. By the 1790's, Middletown, then the principal river port, was the largest community in Connecticut. The river carried freight, not only in ships but in great log drives. It carried up to 24,000 passengers a year at Hartford, arriving in 2,500 vessels.

Roads, railways and air travel have long since eclipsed the slow river boat and now the river is becoming a sewer—running befouled to the sea, asserted Senator RIBICOFF.

One recent observer called the Connecticut River the "world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool."

Having traced the history of the river, Senator RIBICOFF made an appeal for action to clean it up and to preserve the beauty of its banks. He declared:

"The Connecticut River and its valley are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are stewards for the future. Should we allow the inevitable decline to continue? Should we give free rein to all those impulses and forces which would destroy quiet—tear down solitude and uproot the beauty of nature?

"The process has already started. It is difficult to reverse—and it will be almost impossible to reclaim what we have lost. But we must make a start. We must preserve what we have before it is too late—before we have lost our heritage and failed in our task as trustees."

[From the Hartford (Conn.) Times]

A PARKWAY FOR THE VALLEY

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal in Congress that the Federal Government, acting jointly with this State, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, set up a Connecticut River National Parkway draws wide interest.

For several years concerned residents of this region have watched regretfully as the natural beauties of the valley have been endangered by our very prosperity, with its accompaniment of population and industrial growth.

We have already gone far toward conquering the threat of flood damage; the drive to erase pollution has gained support. Now Senator RIBICOFF seeks to retain unspoiled, at most notable points, the character of the landscape. He wishes to have historic landmarks preserved.

With this purpose we are in full accord.

Support for details of the perfected planning, of course, will depend on the sort of parkway establishment the Secretary of the Interior drafts under terms of the Ribicoff bill.

The idea is not to foreclose the river from its necessary economic use, as the Senator explains in his measure. And the well-coordinated study that is sought must be accommodated to regional development plans already in existence as the Secretary of the Interior determines the most appropriate portions of the valley, from source to mouth of the river, to preserve against encroachment.

That is the large-scale commitment that the valley has needed. It will be protected against haphazard ruin of its character, and the effort doubtless will help in purification of the waters and general conservation work without withdrawing the river and adjacent acreage from its economic and industrial functions.

The Ribicoff bill does not seem to intend any sudden large acquisitions of land by eminent domain. Rather, it provides for acceptance of donations and for gradual purchases in a manner that will make a minimum impact on private property owners.

There will be difficulty in this built-up area in preserving the beauty on both sides of the river. And since the parkway need not be continuous and it is intended to adapt it to all necessities, the problem of choice will be extensive.

By definition the parkway is not a highway project. Rather, it is an elongated landstrip of park featuring traffic facilities but not high speed routes.

The benefits listed contain such items as driving for pleasure, hiking, picnicking, fish and wildlife management, boating, camping and historic site preservation. Scenic roads, and not necessarily one roadway alone, are contemplated. Administration would be a responsibility of the Department of the Interior.

There are now nine national parkways projected or in existence including such locations as the Natchez Trace, the Colonial Parkway at Williamsburg and the George Washington National Parkway leading to Mount Vernon.

By every test of history and attractiveness the inclusion of the Connecticut River Valley in the national program certainly is appropriate.

The Ribicoff proposal comes at a time when decision is a matter of urgency. We must act now to preserve our heritage of beauty and historical interest or risk forfeiting most of it to the disorderly pressures of expanding development.

The initial comprehensive study will define the several sorts of values to be considered. Public hearings will aid in that determination.

As Senator RIBICOFF says, we are the trustees of an inheritance that, once disfigured and squandered, cannot be reclaimed. It is a responsibility that requires full public assistance, and we should give it.

Memorial to Dr. Goddard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I wish at this time to commend once again the distinguished members of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics in moving so quickly in this session of the Congress in approving House Joint Resolution 597, to authorize the erection of a memorial in honor of the late Dr. Robert Hutchins Goddard, the Nation's pioneer of space whose epochal achievements have opened the way to the stars.

I am thankful also to my colleagues in this House and Members of the Senate for their prompt approval of this significant resolution, which gives expression to the Nation's pride and honor to the great Dr. Goddard, first inaugurated by the adoption of my bill of some few years ago to provide for the issuance of a gold medal in his honor.

Surely, there is no man whose monumental contributions to the space age are more deserving of concrete and everlasting recognition than those of Dr. Goddard. I have personally witnessed Dr. Goddard's early experiments and have direct knowledge of his long struggle to reach the ears and minds of the scientific world of his time, which I regret to say in some quarters all too often regarded his most significant theories and work with derision and scorn.

At long last, the Nation has become aware of the fabulous Dr. Goddard. The great space center in nearby Greenbelt, Md., is named after him. The issuance of a gold medal and later on a commemorative postage stamp marked his tremendously vital and memorable achievements. The erection of a plaque at Fort Devens, Mass., gave recognition to his early experiments. The bill passed by this Congress calling for the erection of a memorial to Dr. Goddard on the campus of Clark University in Worcester, Mass., is further recognition of this great genius of our times. It also marks his association with this outstanding university where he spent so much of his time and gave so much of his great talents.

In view of the recent action on House Joint Resolution 597, I consider it espe-

cially timely to bring to the attention of my colleagues the outstanding commencement address delivered by Dr. Edward C. Welsh, Executive Director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to this year's graduating class at Clark University this past June. I find Dr. Welsh's remarks very pertinent, particularly those which cite our lack of foresight in failing to recognize Dr. Goddard's contributions at a time when they might have helped to eliminate the regrettable lag in our early space effort.

If the Nation will give credence and effect to the principles and objectives outlined by Dr. Welsh, this country will be all the stronger for it, and if the fraternity of public speakers will but follow his advice to keep their speeches short, the country will be better for that also.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the RECORD the partial text of Dr. Welsh's speech, as printed in the esteemed Worcester, Mass., Telegram:

As you might expect from one in my official position, I shall have a few things to say about our national space program. At Clark, I would speak of space anyway, even if I were in some other line of endeavor, in view of the rich memory on this campus of that great space pioneer, Robert Hutchins Goddard. His life and his works epitomize the virtues of imagination, faith, energy, and the ability to learn from the mistakes and failures of one experiment to gain the successess of the next.

We learn more—much more—from Dr. Goddard's rocket experiments than the technology of liquid propulsion for launching spacecraft. We learn of the advantages that flow from research, when such research does not have to be justified in advance by specific requirements. Said a bit differently, the Goddard type of research is an outstanding example of what can be accomplished when ability and determination are released on a problem, even if we cannot judge in advance what will be gained specifically if the problem is solved. Both the public and private sectors of our Nation have much to learn from this basic principle of seeking knowledge for the sake of knowledge, of obtaining solutions so as to avoid being mastered by the problem. Surely we want research which is tied to a specific mission, but we also want the imagination, the abilities, the perseverance, and the luck, if you will, of men to be applied to the tasks of discovering new truths.

Another lesson to be learned from the Goddard research is that great losses result when we do not put to good use a new technology, once it has been discovered. If we do not use what we know, how can we expect the judgment of history to be that we were other than lazy, or blind, or short-sighted?

But surely we are not lazy. Who produces more different models of cars, or more brands of soap, or more cosmetics, or more TV programs? Who spends several times as much on recreation alone as our Government spends on anything except national defense? Oh, no, we are not lazy, and surely the color schemes of women's hair alone attest to the fact that, though our sense of color may not be good, at least we are not blind. But we are sometimes very shortsighted. History offers repeated examples of scientific breakthroughs which were only belatedly put to mankind's use. For example, we cannot be proud that we did not recognize the value of Dr. Goddard's accomplishments in rocketry until our enemies used the technology to create a reign of terror over London.

We cannot be proud of this oversight, but we can learn from it. Moreover, how could a country with our resources and our average national income—far superior to that of any other country in the world—how could we let the Soviets get ahead of us in space? To permit such an occurrence was overwhelming evidence of shortsightedness. Perhaps if we had not been more interested in today's stock market than in tomorrow's production, or in today's comfort instead of the future preeminence of our country, we might have done differently. We had all the means but seemed in this case to lack the wisdom to stimulate us to invest in our future.

Even after Sputnik I, some parts of your Government—from which leadership was expected—treated space accomplishments as being relatively unimportant. Otherwise, we would not have fallen so far behind the Soviets in the space race. But fall behind we did. Our recent efforts have helped us make up somewhat for our earlier bad judgment, but the job is difficult since our competition pushes its program so vigorously. Surely one should not have needed to call upon the judgment of Solomon to decide that second place is too low a rating for this country in such a vital field.

The national space program is a dynamic and constructive element in building a Great Society. Through effective cooperation between our Government and the private sectors of our economy, the space program enriches our Nation in many ways. Some of these benefits are more obvious and more immediate than others, but those whose impact comes primarily in the future are nonetheless vital.

Every responsible citizen sees a real need for improved educational staffs and facilities, for the eradication of slums and the construction of decent housing, for the elimination of pockets of poverty and their substitution by patterns of prosperity. There are many deficiencies in our economy for which solutions are possible and desirable. We should move vigorously to mend these weaknesses in our society. However, the way to improve is not to cut from one constructive activity to bolster another.

It is impracticable, unreasonable, and misleading to argue that we should curtail space research and development, limit space exploration and performance, in order that we may have better schools, better housing, and less poverty. The fact is that our expanding economy can afford to carry on all of these activities. What is more, curtailment of spending on education, for example, does not automatically increase the funds available for space exploration or vice versa. Funds, people, facilities, and know-how are not readily transferable from one such activity to the other. I would be particularly suspicious of an individual who favored cutting space funds because he thought more money was needed for education, and then opposed action to increase education funds because he thought it better to balance the budget. This country has already suffered from such poor judgment. We do not plan to repeat our errors.

Your country has wisely although belatedly made a firm decision to conduct a vigorous national space program. It is a clear responsibility of each of us to learn what we can of that program, find out what it means to the country as a whole and to the individuals who live here. We do not need to be in the aerospace business or in the space agencies of the Government to justify our curiosity about the program. As taxpayers, we should know about it and as patriotic citizens we should know about it. Moreover, since it is so vital to our country's future, we should explain the program to others.

As we attempt to carry out our responsibilities in educating the general public about space, there are a few concepts which need particular emphasis:

1. Education: The space program has been a catalyst, a stimulus to education at all levels, with particular attention to science and engineering. How much is it worth to have raised the educational sights of our young people and at the same time to have increased the wealth of knowledge with which to condition them? I cannot put a price on it, but I believe the value will exceed the total cost of the space program.

2. National security: The contribution of our space program to our national security is already considerable and will be even greater in the future. How much more secure are we, due to improved communications, more accurate navigation, and more complete weather information? How much is it worth to be better informed about potential sources of danger? How can we assess the advantage of developing competence to detect and offset possible aggression from space? How important is it to know that we intend to keep peace and freedom in space so that all who would go there with peaceful intentions are free to do so. I cannot judge the worth of this national security dimension, but I am confident that its value also exceeds the total cost of the space program.

3. Innovations: The space program stimulates the development of new materials, new products, new productive processes, and new managerial techniques. I cannot place a precise value upon such innovations, but I would estimate that the investment will repay itself many times over.

4. International status: A substantial difference in influence in world affairs evolves from whether a country is in a first position or a second position in power. In many respects, a nation's relative position depends on how it stands in advanced technology. Power and influence in world affairs depend to a great degree upon the technological capability of a nation. International prestige is not a mantle to be weighed lightly or be worn carelessly. We should be concerned with the image that people of other nations have of the United States. The ideal picture is that of a nation strong in ideas, in technology, in freedom, in standard of living, and in military power to protect the viability of the other prestige ingredients. The space program, effectively and imaginatively conducted, contributes positively to all of those ingredients. Of even greater importance is the potential impact the space program can have on world peace through substituting competence in space exploration for competence in building implements of aggression. If sanity prevails, the path to the stars can be the path to peace. How should we determine the value of such a contribution to our country? I do not know, but I am confident that if we fail to strive for it, we will be making it clear to the world that we no longer value our freedom highly.

5. Economics: Combining the best talents in management, in engineering, and in science, with the most modern facilities available, the net result of the space program is the production of progress. A program which stimulates education, expands research and development, augments total productivity, increases employment, and improves our international relations is a program of the greatest economic significance. The space program has clearly revealed that we do not have to be threatened with the ravages of war to cause us to organize a mighty industrial Government team; that we can do so in the interest of peaceful expansion. By increasing our total national income, and gross national product, the na-

tional space program expands to a significant degree the size of the base on which our taxes are levied. It increases the profitability—yes, the constructive profitability—of the private sector of our economy.

It is customary, I believe, to use an opportunity such as I have today to give some advice, whether it is needed or not. I do not want to neglect my responsibilities in this regard, and hence I suggest:

1. Have faith in the future of this country and particularly in its democratic processes.

2. Have confidence in this country's capabilities. Do not accept the negative attitude that a difficult job cannot be done, but rather just go ahead and do it.

3. Support freedom of speech and freedom of expression, not just to make a noise but because democracy cannot live without these rights.

4. Do not believe that the country owes you a living. Moreover, do not believe that you can be secure or materially successful without a strong and active Government.

5. Cherish the advantages of education. Do not insist that everyone be educated to the same degree, but do try to create opportunities for all so that they may be educated up to their abilities. And, finally,

6. If you are asked to give a speech, make it short.

Raymond P. Harold, International Businessman and Humanitarian, Speaks With Authority on One of the Most Challenging Problems of Today and Tomorrow

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SPEECH

OF

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to include, at this point, a most timely and instructive article, explaining the role and the results of savings and loan activity in aiding the developing countries of the world, particularly in the field of homeownership, that appeared in the October 1965 issue of the Savings and Loan News magazine. In this article an SLN representative reports, in question and answer form, the result of his interview with Mr. Raymond P. Harold, one of the foremost authorities in the world, on the promotion and encouragement of practical programs of effective self-help to developing nations, with special concern for the Latin American countries.

Raymond P. Harold is also the dynamic and prophetic president of the Worcester, Mass., Federal Savings & Loan Association; the trusted counseler to two Presidents of the United States, and a most respected advisor to several committees of the Congress in this challenging area of international assistance for home financing.

Because of his interest in and dedication to this work he was requested, by our late President John F. Kennedy, to serve as special ambassador at the inauguration of the President of Peru in 1963. Because of the worldwide recognition and acclaim of his unique knowledge and unparallelled efforts in promoting the understanding and acceptance of the economic and social benefits of basic thrift and homeownership he was elected, last month, in London, England, president of the International Union of Building Societies & Savings Associations. Mr. Harold is unquestionably the "voice of authority" in this complex field and his words and projections well merit the widest reading and review. The article follows:

INTERVIEW BY SAVINGS AND LOAN NEWS—SLN

SLN. How did you first become involved in Latin America?

Mr. HAROLD. In 1958, the State Department asked me and several other savings and loan officials to go to Peru to study matters relating to home financing and the general problems of housing and new capital formation.

SLN. Was this the first study of this type?

Mr. HAROLD. Yes. And it represented a significant change in State Department policy on foreign assistance. Previously, the State Department looked on housing as strictly a social, not an economic, problem. They thought it was a bottomless pit that didn't lend itself to solution.

SLN. What changed their mind?

Mr. HAROLD. I think a primary reason was recognition of the need to reach the people directly with our foreign aid programs. Our money has built dams, factories and other big projects that turned out to be little more than monuments to the dictator in power. After construction jobs ended, most people weren't any better off. They couldn't use electricity, they didn't get jobs in the factory, and few had cars to drive on the new highways.

It was the Government, not the people, that wanted these things. The people want a home, clothing, food, and medical attention. We had to get our foreign aid plans down to earth to deal with the fundamental survival of man.

SLN. What were the other reasons?

Mr. HAROLD. The day is done, or should be, when we hand out the American taxpayers' money without getting a return. In Latin America our foreign aid policies are now based on the program known as the Alliance for Progress, initiated by President Kennedy. The Alliance has been misunderstood and it's had failures, but the basic idea is to stop the giveaway program and start helping these people help themselves. We're only beginning to understand the real spirit of the program as envisioned by the President.

SLN. How do savings and loan associations fit into this concept?

Mr. HAROLD. President Johnson has since divided Alliance emphasis into three areas: Cooperation, self-help, and social justice. He specifically mentioned savings and loan institutions, primarily in the area of cooperation. We belong there, of course, but I think we belong even more to his second area—self-help. This is where the savings and loan concept works like a charm, because self-help is the foundation of our whole movement.

Ours is a real people-to-people business, not government-to-government. It's so basic, so down to earth, it can't help but succeed if you plant the seed the right way. And when we loan money to get the business started, we can get every cent back.

SLN. What's the ultimate objective?

Mr. HAROLD. We can give these people hope, hope that they can own something. The Communists have won people over by making promises, and it's amazing how much hardship can be endured for a promise. We can use the same psychology but back up our promises with actual results. We have a system that can convince them private enterprise will work in their countries.

SLN: Did you report these observations to the State Department after your first trip to Peru?

Mr. HAROLD. Most of them. We strongly urged that the creation of savings and loan associations be encouraged in every way possible. We recommended that private U.S. capital be piped into the home financing process of these countries to serve both as modest seed capital and also as encouragement to local depositors who are always impressed by the basic soundness of U.S. investments.

We asked that contacts and technical advice be continued and suggested establishing a personnel training program, possibly as a joint effort by our Government and the U.S. savings and loan business.

At the same time, we made clear that our recommendations did not deal specifically with needs of the very poor, despite the appalling number of such families.

SLN. You mean the savings and loan business wouldn't attempt to solve this part of the problem?

Mr. HAROLD. No. In Lima alone half a million Indians have moved down from the mountains into the city. And this is happening in every big city in South America. They don't have jobs, they don't have money, so they build shacks out of crates, squat on the grounds of the big estates, and even live on rooftops. Your senses of sight and sound and smell will tell you more than statistics ever will about the immense housing need. But private financing can't supply the answer to this problem; only public housing can support these families.

The role for the savings and loan business is the same as it has been in this country—to help build a strong, independent middle class who can live in dignity because they have a chance to own their own homes.

But the miracle of middle-class home ownership is that its benefits filter both up and down. Like a sandwich, the flavor permeates both pieces of bread.

SLN. Can't middle-class people get mortgages?

Mr. HAROLD. It's the same old story; the only people who can get loans don't need the money. The old established banks won't even talk to a butcher, a factory worker, or even a small businessman.

We were amazed at the number of so-called rich people who couldn't afford to own their own homes because of prohibitive terms and interest rates of 25 to 50 percent charged by the traditional moneylenders of the country.

SLN. How big a market are you talking about?

Mr. HAROLD. Grant that Peru alone needs 1 million homes—and this is a conservative guess. Figure that each shelter will cost a modest $2,000 or $3,000 and your multiplication will give you a staggering total of more than $2 billion.

For the moment, forget that each year Peru will continue to need 50,000 additional homes. And forget the housing developments financed from public funds for the poorest families. And forget all the other countries that have the same problem.

It's obvious that the economy of Peru can't provide all the money. Neither can the United States with Government loans. Certainly the Indians can't save it.

SLN. Then where's the money going to come from?

Mr. HAROLD. By combining these three resources with the proper mixture of private revenue, we can get the job done. The wealth of the people in the United States evolved from just such a mixture, from just such a phenomenon of a little money breeding more money, of a little effort producing massive effort.

SLN. What do you mean by private revenue?

Mr. HAROLD. Let's talk about the possible resources one by one. First, take the savings of the Peruvian people.

I'll never forget watching Father Dan McLellan, an American Maryknoll missionary in Peru, with Morton Bodfish and Stan Baruch, then with the Inter-American Development Bank, as he started a small savings and loan in an hour or two, late one night about 5 years ago. You know the pattern—a few volunteers band together, adopt a set of rules, pool their resources, and the idea catches on.

When I visited Father Dan 2 years later, his association, El Pueblo, already had 5,678 members. Today, the assets are more than $5 million. If there were nothing other than this one example, it gives sufficient evidence that Peruvians are willing and eager to save. But this is happening all over Peru and other Latin American countries.

SLN. These are the middle-class people?

Mr. HAROLD. All kinds—doctors, laborers, school teachers, government workers. Some of them might come in with only 20 soles—that's about 75 cents—but it adds up. Most of these people never put money in savings before because they didn't trust the institution or they weren't welcome.

But there are other sources of money—the Government and the wealthy landowners. In Peru the Government has allocated several million dollars seed capital to various credit institutions with the condition that it be drawn upon as the system grows and savings increase.

The wealthy probably won't release their funds until they can see how they themselves will be benefited. It's going to be necessary to educate the aristocracy that their only hope for continued prosperity is in the development of an economically sound and prosperous country.

SLN. Are these funds substantial?

Mr. HAROLD. Part of the problem is that much of the wealth has been moved out of the country into Swiss banks or other places. If the rich could be persuaded to retain their funds in South America, they alone would produce a vast amount of capital.

SLN. What about U.S. aid?

Mr. HAROLD. That's the third resource. U.S. Government loans have already provided more than $500 million for housing alone. This includes some $70 million in "seed" capital loans for organizing savings and loan associations.

These associations have made a spectacular showing. Today, there are 87 institutions in seven Latin American countries. In 1958, there were none. Total savings has more than doubled in just the last year to $75 million with more than 250,000 savers and about 30,000 homes financed. This is a good beginning.

But we don't have 100 years to develop the savings and loan business in Latin America as we did in this country. As former Treasury Secretary Dillon said, "History is in a hurry."

As a result, the housing situation in Latin America will probably never be remedied in time unless another ingredient is added to savings, public funds and U.S. aid. I refer, of course, to the resources of private business in the United States, and, specifically, the savings and loan business—in other words, private revenue.

SLN. Why the savings and loan business specifically?

Mr. HAROLD. We are the logical source for this kind of capital. As I said before, loans by U.S. associations will give these people tremendous encouragement because they have always been impressed by the soundness of our investment decisions. This is a business arrangement for a fair return to many people.

South American people don't want a handout. They say, "We're socialized enough; let's have private enterprise." Certainly, the savings and loan business can't do it all, but it's one form of economics the Communists can't accept.

We've gone a long way with our system; it's been a terrific benefit to mankind. We owe a duty to the world to show them how the job can be done. If we can, we will be a tremendous help to the State Department. And if we can do it without spending the taxpayers' money, the Treasury Department will know about it too.

SLN. Is this to be done with the new 1 percent of assets investment authority in Latin American mortgages?

Mr. HAROLD. That's a help. It's a wedge. One percent of the assets of this business would produce $1.2 billion. Any part of that would provide a needed impetus to the development of Latin American associations.

SLN. Do you think my associations will do it?

Mr. HAROLD. Yes, some will. These investments, remember, will be guaranteed by our Government. First National City Bank of New York and Chase Manhattan have already made large guaranteed loans in South America. The mortgage bankers are becoming active and West Germany is getting involved. If it's OK for them, it should be OK for us.

As in other businesses, we have got to start looking beyond our national frontiers. South America represents one of the greatest markets we have ever had the opportunity to serve.

But direct investment is only one of the tools. We need to establish a system to discount notes in order to provide the necessary capital to countries which need it.

SLN. Do you mean we should establish an international type of home loan bank?

Mr. HAROLD. We have got to have the International Home Loan Bank. In every session of Congress since 1960, bills have been introduced to create such a bank. Now, with the U.S. League's support, I think we can get this legislation enacted next year.

I have talked to scores of men from almost every Latin American country. This is the peg on which they are hanging their hopes, the incentive for which they have been waiting.

SLN. How would the IHLB operate?

Mr. HAROLD. In many ways just like our own Federal Home Loan Bank System. U.S. associations would purchase stock or debentures or some type of money instrument from the IHLB to provide the funds.

Many Latin American countries have already created their own "federal home loan banks" to operate as a central bank. The IHLB would then lend money to these banks which, in turn, would advance funds to individual associations. Or, if no home loan bank existed in the country, the IHLB could make advances directly to associations.

SLN. What yield would U.S. associations receive on their investments in the International Home Loan Bank?

Mr. HAROLD. That would be determined by the Treasury Department. The balance-of-payments problem and other public debt management problems have to be considered.

IHLB loans would also be guaranteed by the State Department, and they might have something to say about yield.

SLN. Then two Government agencies would be involved?

Mr. HAROLD. Three. The Federal Home Loan Bank Board would want a voice since their member associations are involved. One of the problems in getting IHLB legislation through Congress has been the difficulty in agreeing on how these three groups—and the business itself—should be represented on the IHLB's board of directors.

SLN. Would the FHLBB classify association investments in the international bank as legal liquidity?

Mr. HAROLD. If they want the program to be a success they will. Even after the bill is passed, we'll need plenty of hard work to sell the business on the concept of the International Home Loan Bank. But it was the same situation when the Federal Home Loan Bank was organized; 90 percent of the people thought it would never be a success.

SLN. Getting back to your first trip to South America, what action was taken on your recommendation?

Mr. HAROLD. The State Department contracted for additional studies in other countries and started a program to actively organize associations.

I've been back every year since then. Other savings and loan leaders became active; men like Arthur Courshon and Jack Gordon of Washington Federal in Miami Beach, who started the savings and loan movement in Chile; Oscar Kreutz of St. Petersburg, who worked in Argentina; Harry Greep, Gerrit Vander Ende and many others.

In quick succession came the Alliance for Progress and then the Agency for International Development, its implementing organization to assist agriculture, industry, and housing. The National League soon announced a cooperative plan for giving technical and advisory help. The YMCA World Service and then the Peace Corps included housing among their objectives.

SLN. How did you and these other savings and loan officials get the business started?

Mr. HAROLD. The first step is to find the right political and government support to create the legal framework necessary for a savings and loan business to operate. Working through our State Department mission and their contacts, we helped write and enact chartering laws, central bank legislation and a housing act.

SLN. Did you have any difficulty getting government leaders to go along?

Mr. HAROLD. Sometimes. Because the economic structure in Latin American countries is outmoded and chaotic, there has been much resistance to change. The wealthy landowners who control the economy must be convinced that a change will benefit, not hurt them, just as we must learn that developing prosperity in Latin America is in our own best interest.

SLN. How did you overcome this resistance?

Mr. HAROLD. We tried two approaches. First, we would explain the multiplying effect of housing on a nation's economy. In the United States, for example, we know that each housing unit represents about 3 years of employment—1 man-year on the job, 1 man-year in factories producing materials, and 1 man-year in related fields.

We tried to show how housing would broaden and stabilize the economy by creating new skills, new industries, and more jobs. Then we would talk about the role of savings associations in mobilizing the resources of small savers to make it all possible.

SLN. Was this argument effective?

Mr. HAROLD. To a point. But you must remember that even in this country we were very slow to recognize housing to be anything more than a social problem. Not until 1945 was housing listed as a major factor in the economy or politics.

There's another problem. The aristocratic landowners are very wealthy; they don't need more money. As a result, economic arguments were not always effective.

In these cases, fear psychology seemed to be the only answer. We would point to the thousands of Indians moving down from the mountains and the poor housing conditions for the middle class. These people can see the big estates and the mansions and want decent housing for themselves. If they

couldn't get it by working and saving, we emphasized, someday they would take it by whatever method they could get it.

Communism withers in a vigorous economy where private enterprise is free to provide decent housing and good living standards, and those other benefits which give the individual self-respect and a sense of personal significance. We told them the encouragement of private homeownership is not mere humanitarianism but an urgent essential for their own survival. It usually worked.

SLN. Have any U.S. association officials actually organized individual associations, and how did they do it?

Mr. HAROLD. Many of the existing associations were organized with the help of our people. On these visits we interviewed a wide range of leading individuals including national and local government officials, church leaders, college officials, YMCA directors, bankers, professional people, industrialists, proprietors of mines and the big farms, and the chamber of commerce.

The objective, of course, is to find people who not only have the courage, skill and willingness to do the job, but also have the trust and respect of the community.

The right man, a Father Dan, for example, can work wonders. I watched incredulously that evening he organized his institution with a few telephone calls. Twenty-three persons pledged moral and financial support, and only the formal agreements waited until morning for completion.

We were extremely fortunate in our first visit to make contact with Pedro Beltran, publisher of the leading morning newspaper in Lima. He pushed through the necessary legislation and then formed the first association. Later, quite significantly, he became prime minister of Peru.

People like Beltran understand the problem and the need as well as we do. I have quoted a statement of his in many of my speeches to illustrate this point. He said: "To be quite candid, the U.S. Government with the best of intentions without any question does not seem to have always acted to achieve the best results. Housing today is a pressing need—whatever is done in housing will be more appreciated than anything else. * * * Therefore what your government does should, above all, have in mind bringing the family together."

SLN. Aside from growth statistics, do you think these new associations are well operated and successful?

Mr. HAROLD. The status of the savings and loan business in Latin America is roughly equivalent to what ours was in 1831 when it was founded. If you audit it by 1965 U.S. standards, you wouldn't call it great, but it's certainly reasonably successful. If you audit it by 1831 standards, they're far ahead of where we were.

SLN. What's the biggest problem in continuing the progress already underway?

Mr. HAROLD. We need more of our own people to do down there and spend some time. We have the tools, ambition and the know-how to pass on to them. We must provide the technical knowledge so the common, middle-class people can run the business themselves.

We need technicians, but we need the old-timers, too, to tell the story and sell it.

SLN. How can this be done?

Mr. HAROLD. The U.S. League's decision to support the program will be a tremendous help. It has the staff, the organization, and the membership we need to get the job done. The training program developed by the American Savings & Loan Institute will take over much of the work that has been performed on a purely voluntary basis by a few farsighted savings and loan managers.

Continued effort by the National League is also vital. But forget leagues, we're talking savings and loan. If you're concerned about what's good for the savings and loan business, this is an ace. There's room for everyone.

SLN. What contribution can be made by the International Union of Building Societies & Savings Association?

Mr. HAROLD. The Union must revive the worldwide savings and loan movement. The United States has started the ball rolling, but we can't do it all.

Even now, in Greece, if a man buys a home, he has to pay 40 percent down with 3 years' grace to pay the rest. You may be sure few people in Greece can afford to own a home.

In Jamaica the demand for mortgages far exceeds the funds. In Ghana there has been such a demand for home loans that the building societies have had to turn away hundreds of applicants.

The savings and loans of France, Germany, and Great Britain should share the load. We in the Union have got to be missionaries.

SLN. Do you think these foreign development programs will become a permanent fixture in the savings and loan business?

Mr. HAROLD. All over the world middle-class people are emerging in great numbers and are demanding the same things we do. The nesting instinct is far stronger than economists or politicians had ever suspected.

Within 10 years, we'll have requests to make mortgages in Africa. We should go to Congress for authority to establish associations in Vietnam, Malaysia, Pakistan, and India.

I have seen what can happen to self-dignity and community prosperity when the savings and loan concept is allowed to be introduced. The social and economic benefits which accrue are unbelievable. And I have come to believe that we have in our hands one of the most potent instruments in the world for the betterment of mankind.

Saxon Claim That Banking Is a Closely Regulated Industry Is Wide of the Mark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. WRIGHT PATMAN

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PATMAN. Mr. Speaker, Comptroller of the Currency James J. Saxon has often asserted that no industry is more completely regulated by Government than banking. Based upon this dubious premise, Mr. Saxon insists that banking is somehow different from other businesses and thus deserving of special treatment under the laws.

The constant goal of the big bankers is exemption from the jurisdiction of all Government agencies except the Federal banking agencies, which they themselves dominate. Frequently they have succeeded; for instance, the amendments to the Federal Securities Acts in 1964 for the first time applying disclosure standards to the larger banks contained a provision insisted upon by the bankers that the banking agencies, and not the Securities and Exchange Commission, administer the new law with respect to banks. It is just as logical to let the Federal Power Commission administer the securities laws as to Consolidated Edison or the Federal Communications Commission as to A.T. & T. The truth is there is no real logic to this, but the big bankers like it because the banking agencies will always go easy on them. Of the agency officials, only Hon. J. L. Robertson, Governor of the Federal Reserve, has spoken out in firm opposition to the "competition in laxity" that characterizes Federal bank regulation. Witness the pathetically weak "disclosure" regulations issued by Comptroller Saxon. Even a spokesman for the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation could not resist recently taking a poke at the lack of adequate disclosure that Saxon is permitting. Obviously, bank stockholders are the ones who suffer.

More recently, the big banks are spearheading a drive they hope will, in effect, excuse them from the merger curbs in the antitrust laws. S. 1698, if passed, would forgive 2,200 past bank mergers, even including mergers adjudged illegal by the courts. More importantly, it would take the traditional antitrust laws out of bank mergers and instead of the Justice Department, bank mergers would be regulated hereafter only by the merger-minded banking agencies. These agencies tend more to be supertrade associations for the banking industry, rather than guardians of the public interest, and Congress would be most unwise to once again give special treatment to banking.

The American Bankers Association and the big-bank fat cats who support it claim that banking is unique and already overregulated. In the first place, all industries are unique from one another. In the second place, banking is definitely not a highly regulated industry, particularly from the public service standpoint. Banking is supervised from the standpoint of soundness and solvency through the examination process. And even this area of Federal oversight has shown alarming weaknesses. Witness the recent failure of the San Francisco National Bank where uninsured losses to the public may exceed $30 million. If this is what Mr. Saxon means by close regulation, then we certainly should consider a shakeup among our bank regulators. If banking is so well supervised and regulated why is it that so many hoodlums are discovered in the banking business?

In testifying on S. 1698, the bank merger forgiveness bill, Mr. Wallace Kirkpatrick, speaking on behalf of the 6,200 strong Independent Bankers Association of America, had this to say, and I quote from page 164 of the Senate hearings:

> Moreover, although commercial banking is subject to a variety of governmental controls, the regulatory scheme does not cover many areas of banking and particularly is largely absent from the area of interrelation of bank and customer.
>
> There is no banking control over interest rates a bank may charge; charges for banking services are free of governmental regulations.
>
> Unlike certain other of the so-called regulated industries, banking is left free of control in numerous vital areas, such as the availability of loans and the rates charged for them.
>
> Competition regulates the market forces in those areas, and that competition must be guaranteed its freedom by the protection

of the antitrust laws so that it may perform its function.

The Supreme Court in the Philadelphia Bank case has described the extent of banking regulation in these words:

"Moreover, bank regulation is in most respects less complete than public utility regulations, to which interstate rail and air carriers, among others, are subject.

"Rate regulation in the banking industry is limited and largely indirect; banks are under no duty not to discriminate in their services; and though the location of bank offices is regulated, banks may do business, place loans, and solicit deposits where they please.

"The fact that the banking agencies maintain a close surveillance of the industry with a view toward preventing unsound practices that might impair liquidity or lead to insolvency does not make Federal banking regulation all pervasive, although it does minimize the hazard of intense competition" (374 U.S. at 352).

If banking were to be immunized from the antitrust laws, there would have to be, in the public interest, far more direct and pervasive Federal regulation than has been proposed.

Although it is true that the presently proposed bill would exempt from the antitrust laws only mergers approved under the Bank Merger Act, still this novel legislation might easily be the first step to more extensive and complete regulation of the industry.

What the ABA and the big bankers fail to realize, as Mr. Kirkpatrick so clearly pinpoints, is that when an industry succeeds in an antitrust exemption, it is flirting with even more restrictive types of Government regulation, such as price controls, and even the possibility of nationalization. I am personally unalterably opposed to any change from a sound dual banking system where effective competition and free enterprise prevail.

Frankly, I do not believe that Mr. Saxon and other spokesmen for the big banks want public-utility type regulation in banking anymore than I. But in their haste to get what the big bankers think they want today, they have lost sight of the really important considerations—what will American banking be like in the 21st century, competitive free enterprise? Or will we, instead, find ourselves at the loan window at the local U.S. post office for our borrowing needs? Its not an impossibility at all, and certainly demands consideration by those who shout that only they have the best interests of banking and the banking public at heart. It is a short step from monopoly to socialism.

Plight of the Elderly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, in a recent very thoughtful article the distinguished commentator, Sylvia Porter, raised the following very pertinent questions: How would you manage if you suddenly had to live on an income of $25 a week? How would you budget that amount among rent, clothing, food, doctor's bills, transportation and other needs?

The writer alluded to a 76-year-old person who answered these questions in a revealing letter.

With an income of $107.31 a month or about $25 per week, it was made very clear that this total must stretch to include everything from food to postage stamps and there is no surplus of any kind.

The article showed in all its stark nakedness the very meager budget upon which millions of elderly Americans are now required to live.

With 79 percent of the total going for basic necessities of food, clothing and shelter as compared with 52 percent for our population as a whole, it can be seen that many of our elderly are having a fierce struggle for survival at standards which would normally be considered below the line of adequate subsistence.

For example, $4.50 a month for transportation which rules out owning a car, no real allotment possible for medical expenses, no provision for travel, investment, or savings; no entertainment, no allowance for literature or reading.

This budget seems to paint a very dismal picture, yet it can be said to be typical of a great many other elderly people in the country, whose annual income of $1,287.75 is within $10 of the nationwide average income of elderly citizens living alone. This income is also well above the average of $81 for retired workers, and certainly could be considered as being well below the poverty line of about $1,500 for an individual, as well as being one-third below the $1,800 income level which the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates would provide a modest but adequate living standard for retired individuals.

Under the standard a person could have less than one egg a day, a new coat every 9 years, two bus fares a week, a movie once a month and virtually no money for special diets or special medical care.

Yet additional taxes are regularly levied to step up these paltry allowances by a few dollars. While medical programs adopted by the Congress this session are expected to be very helpful, it is clear that most of the current social security benefits are woefully inadequate and need to be supplemented by other forms of public support which many individuals may not feel disposed to apply for. Fortunately, however, most States and communities make special provisions for those who do wish to apply and in that way raise the general level of support.

The thing that impressed me particularly about this article and the serious plight of the elderly in the Great Society was that at the present time, notwithstanding the efforts of Congress, social security benefits in a very large number of cases do not begin to meet the requirements and demands of a decent standard of living, indeed they do not meet ordinary requirements and are just as I described them, meager, paltry, and inadequate in every respect.

Many of the beneficiaries have been covered under the social security system since the beginning in 1937, but they worked for many years at relatively low wages or had relatively low incomes, and hence they do not have much accumulated in the pool and therefore are entitled only to meager benefits. If these people had been in a position where they could have retained even half of the withholding taxes and other taxes levied against them in the interim and had saved or invested this money, they would be far better off than they are receiving social security benefits.

I recognize that the theory of social security is that many people would not save the money for their retirement and that is true without a doubt. But there are a great many prudent, industrious, hard-working people who are careful in handling their funds, who would have saved their money and hence would have been much better off than they are under current meager social security benefits.

I am not implying that this means in any sense that social security has not fulfilled a good role in American life, because it has. I am merely asserting that at present standards, very many people in this country receive social security benefits that are entirely and woefully inadequate.

This all adds up to one thing: that the Congress should promote studies at an early date to try to find some better answer for enabling our elderly—the veterans of industry, trade, commerce, the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, and the people who make the wheels of industry click, and contribute immeasurably to the strength of our country, that they may be assured in their retirement of at least sufficient income in the form of benefits, for which they have contributed, that would be well above the subsistence line, and not just a meagre handout for bare survival.

I realize fully the difficulty of the problems of raising social security rates, but under present circumstances, this is a question that will have to be faced, and faced soon by the Congress, and I hope that our special committees will soon institute extensive and intensive studies to try to come up with some solutions in this area that will eliminate or lighten the struggles and sacrifices of the elderly people who, in their declining years, after their labors and vicissitudes and great contributions to the Nation, are entitled to something more than a mere subsistence budget.

The Congress has done a great deal to try to eliminate poverty in the country and this is a very fine development in our national life which has been needed for years, and must be followed up so as to banish the spectres of ignorance, poverty and fear from the country.

But it is of great importance, too, in my opinion, that we should turn our minds to those who have worked, labored and slaved all their lives to bring up and educate their families, and who gave their last measure of devotion to the country in terms of doing their best in their work and in their homes and as good citizens in their communities, and should be considered when it comes to the question of developing changes and

modification of the social security system that will more truly and more effectively provide adequate income for them in their declining years.

In this great country, we must have deep concern for the rights of every American citizen and and special concern for those who humbly and loyally toil, and we must never leave them abandoned and stranded in their declining years and required to live in privation and stark denial.

The article is as follows:

YOUR MONEY'S WORTH: RETIREE'S LEAN BUDGET SHOWS PLIGHT OF ELDERLY

(By Sylvia Porter)

How would you manage if you suddenly had to live on an income of $25 a week? How would you budget that amount among rent, clothes, food, doctor bills, transportation, other needs?

A 76-year-old Seattle reader answers these questions in a revealing letter. The letter includes T. G.'s personal budget for his annual income of $1,287.75—$1,212 in social security benefits and $75.75 in gifts and wages for part-time work. This works out to an income of $107.31 a month or about $25 a week. The total must be stretched to include everything from food to postage stamps. Every penny he receives goes out.

DOWN-TO-EARTH TESTIMONY

T. G.'s budget, which follows, is down-to-earth, dollars-and-cents testimony to the economic plight of millions of elderly citizens today—particularly those living alone.

Item	Annual	Monthly average
Rent and telephone	$582.43	$48.50
Food	403.78	33.65
Gifts, church, charity	112.49	9.37
Transportation	54.35	4.50
Household and miscellaneous	40.64	3.40
Medical	28.86	2.40
Clothing	27.12	2.30
Postage	19.22	1.60
Recreation and education	18.86	1.57

Above and beyond its overall leanness, several glaring points emerge from a study of this budget.

Fully 79 percent of the total, for example, goes for the basic necessities of food, clothing, and shelter. This compares with 52 percent for our population as a whole.

The share for transportation—$4.50 a month—clearly rules out owning a car, a possession the vast majority of younger people take for granted. The allotment for medical expenses assumes excellent health—a dangerous assumption at this age level.

The budget makes no provision for travel, investment, and, of course, savings. Moreover, writes T.G., "Entertainment of any kind is out of the question. I thank God for our wonderful libraries and my ability to read." Millions of less fortunate elderly citizens cannot read and entertain themselves with books.

CASE NOT UNUSUAL

T.G.'s case is not unusual. His $1,287.75 annual income is within $10 of the nationwide average income of elderly citizens living alone. The average $1,297 a year for these individuals is about two-fifths of the average income of younger people.

T.G.'s $101 a month in social security benefits also is well above the average $81 for retired workers until last month. You well may wonder about the living conditions of the millions who are depending entirely on social security benefits for every need.

T.G.'s average annual income is not only well below the poverty line of about $1,500 for an individual. It also is one-third below the $1,800 income level which the Bureau of Labor Statistics calculates would provide a modest but adequate living standard for retired individuals. This standard would allow for less than one egg a day, a new coat every 9 years, 2 bus fares a week, a movie once a month—and virtually no money for special diet or special medical care.

WILL BE HIT HARD

On January 1 you and I will be hit hard by a new round of social security tax hikes. If you are an employee earning $6,600 or more, your 1966 tax increase will be $103.20—and your employer's increase will match this. If you are self-employed, your tax hike will be $146.70 and your new maximum tax will be $405.90.

But for T.G. these tax hikes have just translated into a monthly benefit raise of $7.10 and, as of next July, will mean relative freedom from the nightmare of budget-shattering hospital bills in the event of serious illness. A gain of $7.10 a month may seem modest to many of you—but to T.G. and millions of elderly citizens like him, the $7.10 is a major financial blessing.

A Report To the People by Congressman George M. Rhodes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, in the 1st session of the 89th Congress, the Johnson administration and the Democratic majority of Congress have honored the pledges given to the American people in the Democratic platform of 1964.

As a member of the House Ways and Means Committee, I was closely associated with the writing of two pieces of major legislation: the expansion of the social security program to include medical care for the aged, and the excise tax cuts which acted as a boost to our already booming economy.

The progressive and humanitarian programs enacted this session have been championed by the Democrats since 1933. Opponents of these programs have leveled charges that this Congress has acted hastily and has rubberstamped President Johnson's legislative requests.

President Johnson's Great Society measures are extensions of reforms that emerged from the New Deal of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Fair Deal of Harry Truman, and the New Frontier under the late President Kennedy.

Eight years under a Republican administration slowed the pace of social and economic reforms. The American people by electing John F. Kennedy reaffirmed their desire to meet necessary public and human needs and President Johnson has been faithful to this commitment. In my 17 years as a Member of Congress, I have supported these programs which provide hope and opportunity for all Americans.

They are made necessary by the complex technological and social changes which are taking place in this country. The advance of automation and the population explosion have brought changes which must be dealt with by intelligence and foresight. We must expand our economy fast enough to offset the effects of automation. The Federal Government must cooperate with State and local governments in solving the problems caused by increased population such as the need for adequate schools, housing, care for the aged, and providing necessary social services.

The funds used to solve these problems are an investment in our country's most valuable resource—people. The Democratic Party has consistently promoted legislation which meets this Nation's human and public needs. The Johnson administration gives further evidence of that historical fact. The 1st session of the 89th Congress has been described by competent and impartial observers as one of the most constructive in the annals of American history. It has enacted more legislation, met more national needs, than any Congress of this century.

I am thankful for the privilege to have participated in the work of a Congress which has made a significant contribution toward the creation of a truly Great Society.

The list of accomplishments includes some 70 pieces of major legislation. This report will outline briefly those which are most important to the citizens of our Sixth District.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Passage of the social security-medicare bill marked a real breakthrough for America's senior citizens. I am sure I convey the sentiments of my Democratic colleagues on the Ways and Means Committee when I say that having helped write this humane and progressive legislation has been the most rewarding experience of my 17 years of congressional service.

The law now provides hospital care insurance for citizens 65 and over, optional insurance to help meet other medical expenses, and an across-the-board increase of 7 percent in monthly social security cash benefits.

Our Sixth District which is successfully fighting unemployment and economic distress will benefit substantially as a result of this act. Residents of our district will receive an increase of more than $13 million in benefit payments as a result of the added 7 percent.

Total social security payments to citizens in our district will rise to $94 million per year by 1967. This money will be spent for food, shelter, and services. It will provide an additional boost to the economies of our local communities.

In addition to supporting this legislation, I introduced bills to further expand and liberalize the social security system. It is my firm belief that expansion is necessary if we are to have a better and more fair distribution of our national wealth and prosperity.

One of my bills calls for the Federal Government to pay one-third of the contributions to the social security fund, matching the amount paid by employees and employers. The one-third Federal contribution would increase social security fund reserves by 50 percent. This

would strengthen the fund and make possible badly needed improvements without an additional unjust tax burden on low-income wage earners. It would finance a needed increase in benefits, a reduction of retirement age to 60, and disability benefits after 1 year of coverage.

I was privileged to have flown with President Johnson and other Democratic leaders to Independence, Mo. The signing of the Social Security bill took place in the Truman Memorial Library in the presence of Harry Truman who like myself has been a longtime advocate of legislation to quiet the anxieties and ease the ills of old age.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY

November marks the 58th month of uninterrupted economic expansion that began under the leadership of the late President John F. Kennedy. Employment rates in our sixth district have risen to a record high due largely to the foresighted economic policy of the Kennedy-Johnson administrations.

A combination of enlightened Federal policies and prudent business and labor cooperation have enabled production and income to grow without the danger of inflation. The $4.7 billion excise tax cut passed by this Congress has proved to be an important factor in securing our economic growth. It was a high honor for me to have been invited to the White House by President Johnson to participate in the ceremony when this legislation was signed into law.

It is my belief that the buying power of lower and middle income groups should be increased. This will prove an added stimulus to the economy. To this end I have introduced legislation to increase income tax exemptions for individuals and dependents by $200, from the present $600 to $800.

EDUCATION

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act passed by this Congress will form the foundation of a renewed effort to build an educational system in this country unparalleled in the history of man.

The funds appropriated to carry out this effort are investments in our children and the future of the Nation. The materials and funds provided by this legislation will be used to enhance the educational opportunities of all American schoolchildren regardless of race, creed, or color. This Nation cannot afford the loss of talented youngsters. Our schools must have the financial support necessary to educate every child to his fullest potential. Over $2.7 million in Federal aid will flow into Sixth District schools. The money will be distributed through the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction and will be allotted on the basis of the number of low-income families within each school district It has been estimated that Berks County will receive $913,000; Schuylkill County, $1,289,000; and Northumberland County, $800,000.

The success of this aid will depend entirely on how the local school boards use these funds. The Federal Government will not dictate how they are to be used. I am working closely with local school districts in their efforts to bring the full benefit of these programs to all the schoolchildren of our sixth district.

The Higher Education Act will provide similar aid to our Nation's colleges and universities. The law will make possible scholarship and loan assistance to help needy college students finance their educations. In addition, Federal matching grants will be made available for the construction of classrooms, laboratories and libraries. This program is necessary if we are going to provide the young people of the next generation with the educational opportunities necesssary to lead productive and fruitful lives.

WAR ON POVERTY

Programs under the Economic Opportunity Act designed to fight the war on poverty have been favorably received by the residents of our Sixth District.

I have been heartened by the progress we have made and I feel sure that narrow political interests will not slow the pace of these programs. Berks, Schuylkill, and Northumberland Counties have formed community organizations to fight the local antipoverty campaigns in both urban and rural areas. The Federal Government will pay 90 percent of the cost of these local projects. The response to the Economic Opportunity Act is evidence that citizens in urban and rural America share many common objectives. These objectives include more employment, better education opportunities for our young, and improved health facilities. The war on poverty has each of these as its objectives.

Grants by the Federal Government totaling close to $1 million have already been approved for our district in the short time that the Economic Opportunity Act has been in existence. One of the most successful programs in our district has been the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This component of the poverty program provides worthwhile jobs for young students who need financial assistance in order to continue their high school educations. The Neighborhood Youth Corps is now in operation in Sunbury schools, Berks County, Shenandoah, Mahanoy City, the Reading school district, the Reading and Pottsville YMCA's, and the Pottsville school district.

In addition, grants have been approved which provide training for the unemployed who have dependent children, for preschool medical and educational services for children who come from families stricken by economic misfortune.

It is not going to be the Federal Government's fault if our communities do not benefit fully from the Economic Opportunity Act. It will be the responsibility of local communities to select capable and dedicated administrators who are interested in the success of the war on poverty. Throughout this session of Congress, I have worked closely with every local group which has contacted me and requested assistance. I will keep fully advised of every facet of the economic opportunity program so that the residents of our Sixth District can avail themselves of the opportunities which it affords.

These and many other programs reflect the objectivity of the Johnson administration in seeking to meet human and public needs and in building a stronger and more prosperous America.

Dr. James E. Mooney

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, an illustrious career of Government service will come to an end on December 31 with the retirement of Dr. James E. Mooney, assistant to the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Antarctic Matters.

When Dr. Mooney began his outstanding work as an associate of Adm. Richard E. Byrd in the Department of Defense in 1950, he had already distinguished himself as an editor, author, and educator. Besides serving as a university president and in other important capacities, he studied aeronautics in England and France and wrote such books as "Knight Without Armor," "Ernie Pyle," "French in Florida," "Each Tomorrow," "Wheels Up," and "Roaring Wheels and Shining Rails." His works before 1950 also included "Airport Area Planning" and "Flights to Nature's Wonderlands."

As Special Assistant for Antarctic Matters, Dr. Mooney has been a highly respected and effective member of the Department of Defense. His knowledge and experience came to be especially appreciated during the International Geophysical Year in 1958, when he convincingly advocated full U.S. participation. Having visited Antarctica at that time, I found Dr. Mooney's advice and cooperation to be invaluable.

The most important focal point of great interest at this time, scientifically, is in the Antarctic, where the United States is participating in the scientific work at seven different locations. The scientific disciplines studied include the following: auroras, cosmic rays, geomagnetism, glaciers, gravity, geodesy, ionosphere, meteorology, oceanography, seismology, and solar activity. The United States has a considerable stake in the Antarctic and has been exploring in that area since 1820, the most extensive explorations having been carried on by U.S. citizens and the Navy since 1925. Well-known figures who have participated as leaders are widely known and have included such names as Byrd, Dufek, Ellsworth, and Ronne.

The United States has seen more Antarctic territory than all other nations combined. What natural resources are hidden in this vast area twice the size of the United States and what the future holds—scientifically—in this area, yet to be revealed, is largely a matter of time and evaluation of the scientific, economic, and geographic factors. This is especially true in this new space age.

Mr. Speaker, it is regrettable that Dr. Mooney will no longer be an active component of the scientific effort that is delving into the mysteries of Antarctica, but none of us would deny him the opportunity to retire after so many years of tireless dedication to his duties in Govern-

ment service. He was one of nine persons to make the first flights over the North and South Poles in continued flight plans, and he insisted upon resuming his work after a severe operation as a result of an aircraft accident while flying toward Antarctica. He has more than earned very honor bestowed upon him.

Dr. Mooney was recipient of the American Polar Explorers Award in 1938. Five years later he received the Award of Merit, U.S. Navy. A mountain in the Queen Maude Range of Antarctica was named for him. He has received commendations from the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations in addition to the Government's Distinguished Service Award. His latest honor was the Belgian Government's award of the Order of the Crown.

Dr. Mooney's contributions will continue to be recognized long after his retirement. And history will record his name among the few outstanding figures who have been prominent in the scientific development of Antarctica.

To All U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. HUGH L. CAREY
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Speaker, we in Kings County, N.Y., have never been divided on our country's policy toward communism. Thirteen thousand miles away communism has decided to test the strength of America and the resolve of the free world. Kings County, N.Y., has given more men to the effort to defeat tyranny and preserve peace than any county in the United States of America. It is thrilling to me that in that tradition the students of this county have expressed themselves in the message to President Johnson, which I now insert in the RECORD at this point. This message bore the signatures, by way of petitions, of thousands of our New York citizens and not one of those who knew of this wide circulation for signatures in any way refused to add his name:

To All U.S. Servicemen in Vietnam:

We, the undersigned, students and faculty of St. Francis College, Brooklyn, N.Y., wish to bring to your attention the fact that a great majority of the American people deeply appreciate your sacrifices for the cause of freedom in Vietnam. We fully understand that the war in which you are now engaged is one that must be fought, for it is in Vietnam that the Communists have chosen to test American strength and determination. We further realize that it is imperative that America thwart Communist military ambitions wherever they are manifest.

Recent demonstrations by college students, against the Viet war, which have taken place throughout the United States are, we would have you know, the doings of a minute and misguided minority. Please do not become discouraged and feel that this is the thinking of all college students. We are behind you 100 percent and, in due time, if the war should continue, many of us will be fighting beside you.

You are, in the long run, fighting for the preservation of world peace. We pray that your labors will not be in vain.

God bless you all.

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God bless you all.

Health Insurance for the Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN
OF MASSACHUSETTS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, this session of Congress has been very fruitful in terms of constructive legislation but few measures have been more vital, or will be more helpful to very many Americans, than health insurance for the aged and the social security amendments of 1965.

Health insurance is divided into two branches: hospital insurance and medical insurance.

HOSPITAL INSURANCE

Hospital insurance will help pay the bills when covered individuals are hospitalized, and provides for skilled, nursing care and other services in an extended care facility after hospitalization, outpatient, hospital diagnostic services, and home health services.

This insurance is financed out of special contributions paid by people while they work, with matching contributions from employers, so that people will not have to pay for this protection, when they are old and not working.

MEDICAL INSURANCE

Medical insurance will help pay the bills for doctor's services, and for a number of other medical items and services not covered under the hospital insurance program. This program is voluntary, and every individual can decide whether to choose this important, added protection at the low cost of $3 monthly, the Government paying an equal amount toward the cost.

A word on how these programs work.

First, most people will not have to go to the social security office to qualify for protection under the hospital and medical insurance programs.

If you are getting social security or railroad retirement benefits, you qualify automatically for hospital insurance, and an application card for medical insurance benefits will be mailed to you by December 1965 with a leaflet explaining both these programs.

If you are receiving a Federal Civil Service retirement annuity, you will get further information by mail and will be told if it is necessary to go to the social security office later.

If you are receiving public assistance payments, in most cases, the Public Assistance Agency will assist you in applying for hospital insurance and will advise you about enrolling for medical insurance.

If you are not receiving any of the above payments, and you have worked under social security, but have never applied for benefits, the people in your social security office will help you apply for hospital insurance and will also advise you how you can enroll in the medical insurance program.

If you have never worked under social security, get in touch with your social security office between September 1, 1965, and March 31, 1966. Nearly every American, 65 or over, will be protected under the hospital insurance program when it starts in July 1966. If you qualify, these are the benefits for which you will be eligible:

First. Hospitalization for up to 90 days in a "spell of illness"—the program pays for covered services during 60 days of care in a participating hospital, except for the first $40, during a "spell of illness."

If you are hospitalized for more than 60 days during your "spell of illness," the program will pay all but $10 daily for covered services during an additional 30 days of care.

Second. Outpatient, hospital, diagnostic services—the program will pay 80 percent of the cost for diagnostic services you receive as an outpatient of a participating hospital during a 20-day period, except for the first $20 for each 20-day period.

Third. Posthospital extended care in a qualified, skilled nursing home, or part of a hospital after a hospital stay of at least 3 days—the program pays for 20 days of extended care during a "spell of illness." If you need this care for more than 20 days during a "spell of illness," the program will pay all but $5 daily for an additional 80 days.

Fourth. Posthospital home health care services—the program will pay the cost of up to 100 visits in the 365 days after your discharge from the hospital after a stay of 3 days or more, or from an extended care facility, if these services are furnished under an approved plan. Services of visiting nurses, physical therapists and other health workers—but not doctors—who come to your home to furnish health care services are covered. Doctor's visits are covered only under the voluntary, medical insurance plan.

Fifth. Covered services in a hospital or extended care facility—benefit payments will cover, except for the deduct-

ible amounts, the cost of your room and board in semiprivate accommodations, ordinary nursing services, and the cost of drugs, supplies, and most other items of service you receive which are customarily furnished for the care of patients by the hospital or extended care facility.

Effective dates—the benefits described above will become payable beginning July 1, 1966, except for posthospital or extended care benefits which start on January 1, 1967.

Under supplementary medical insurance you can provide in advance toward paying your doctor bills by signing up for medical insurance. The hospital insurance program will not help you pay your doctor's bills.

The medical insurance program pays 80 percent of the reasonable charges for covered services, except for the first $50 in a calendar year.

Services covered under medical insurance include:

Physician's and surgeon's services wherever you receive them.

Home health visits—up to 100 home health visits under an approved plan each year with no need for prior hospitalization. This is in addition to the 100 visits you get under hospital insurance.

Other medical and health services regardless of where rendered including diagnostic tests, X-rays, laboratory services or radium treatments, surgical dressings, splints, casts, certain ambulance services, braces, artificial legs, arms, and eyes, rental of medical equipment such as iron lungs and many other medical items and services.

The voluntary medical insurance plan becomes effective starting July 1, 1966. If you enroll in the plan, your medical coverage will start on that day. This program will not pay for goods or services received before July 1, 1966.

If you are 65 or older on January 1, 1966, you must sign up during the first enrollment period September 1, 1965 to March 31, 1966.

If your 65th birthday occurs after January 1, 1966, your first enrollment period runs for 7 months beginning with the third month immediately before the month you reach 65 and ending 3 months after the month you are 65. For example, you reach 65 in February, you may sign up anytime between the preceding November 1 and the following May 31.

You will have protection as soon as you reach 65 only if you apply during the 3-month period just before the month in which you reach 65. Your medical insurance will not take effect before July 1, 1966.

You must enroll in timely fashion, or you may have to pay a higher premium for the same protection, and your coverage will not begin until 6 to 9 months after you enroll.

It is important for individuals to enroll at the times specified. When you qualify for the hospital insurance program you will receive a health insurance card by mail. If you enroll in the medical insurance program, your card will show that you have both medical and hospital insurance.

Some items and services are not covered under either plan: routine physical checkups, eyeglasses, hearing aids, private duty nurses, custodial care, and personal services such as telephone or television in your hospital room.

The foregoing outlines the major features of the health insurance plan for the aged made available by the bill which is indeed a historic, new health charter for the American people.

Social Security Amendments of 1965 made many important changes in the social security program, including making nearly all Americans 65 and over eligible for hospital insurance and additional voluntary, medical insurance for those who choose to take it.

If you are receiving social security benefits the amount will be increased by 7 percent under the bill and payments of the increase being made for January 1965 and following months.

Very salutary is the increased social security cash benefits and the benefits that may be paid to students up to the age of 22 for unmarried sons or daughters of persons receiving old-age or disability insurance benefits or a person who has died. These new student benefits are retroactive to January 1965 and your social security office will give full information about individual cases.

Another very desirable provision of this law is benefits for widows at age 60 under reduced monthly amounts. The closer the beneficiary is to age 62 when they start receiving benefits, the smaller the reduction will be. On the average, a widow who accepts benefits before age 62 will collect about the same value in total benefits over the years, but in smaller installments to take account of the longer period during which she will be paid. Social security offices will also have full information about this new provision.

Still another helpful change in social security laws is in the reduction of the amount of social security credit required for people 72 or over to qualify for benefits.

If you are 72 or over and have not been able to qualify for social security benefits because you (or your husband) have not worked long enough under social security, you may now be eligible for payments up to $35 a month. Although some social security credit is still required, the amount of work required under the new law is less for certain people 72 and over than it has ever been in the past.

If you are 72 or over and are not receiving social security benefits, you should check with your social security office if you—or your husband—ever received social security credit for work. Payments under this provision can begin for September 1965.

It is also very important to know that if you work after you apply for benefits after 1965, if you earn no more than $1,500 per year, you may receive benefits for all months of the year. Under the law in effect through 1965, the payments you receive are reduced if you work and earn more than $1,200 in a year.

After 1965, if you earn more than $1,500 a year, the general rule is that $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $2 of earnings over $1,500 and up to $2,700. In addition, $1 in benefits will be withheld for each $1 of earnings over $2,700.

There are two exceptions to this rule—if in any month you neither earn more than $125 working for someone else nor do substantial work in a business of your own, there will be no deduction from your benefits for that month no matter how much you earn the rest of the year.

For months after you are 72, there will be no deduction from the benefits because of work after you reached 72.

Another important change for people 65 or over who receive royalties from copyrights or patents obtained before they reached 65, after 1965, this income may be excluded in figuring your earnings.

If you work after applying for old-age-insurance benefits, your additional earnings may increase the amount of your monthly payment.

There are also certain benefits for divorced women to receive benefits from her former husband's account. To do so she must have been married to him at least 20 years before the divorce and he must have been contributing voluntarily or under court order to her support when he became entitled to social security benefits or died.

Under the new law disability provisions have been changed and this is in large part, the results of long, intensive work, interest, and efforts which I made in pressing with the very distinguished, able chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Mr. MILLS, and his associated very able, distinguished colleagues on that committee, to change the limited, inadequate, disability standard heretofore in effect.

The new law provides that an insured worker whose disability is expected to last for at least 12 months may qualify for disability benefits beginning with the seventh month of his disability. The first month for which payments can be made under this change is September 1965.

Workers whose applications for disability insurance benefits have been denied because their disability was not expected to continue indefinitely, but who are severely disabled, should get in touch with their social security office.

The new law also liberalizes requirements affecting people who are disabled by blindness and this is indeed a blessing.

For more information about the changes in disability benefits, get in touch with your social security office.

The new law also provides social security for doctors and medical and dental interns and this also is a great advance because these groups are obviously entitled to such benefits.

Cash tips you receive in your work for one employer provided they amount to $20 or more a month, will now count toward social security benefits for you and your family.

Beginning in 1966 you will be required to report in writing to your employer the amount of tips you receive and to pay social security contributions on the tips. Your employer will include your tips in his social security tax reports and Form W–2 along with your wages, but he will not have to match your social security contribution on the tips.

The law requires that you report to your employer the amount of your tips

within 10 days after the month you receive them. Your social security office can give you full details concerning this provision.

I recognize that there is a great deal of opposition on the part of waiters and others who receive tips and I am impressed with the fact that many of them have good reasons to be disturbed.

It can be said, however, that the requirement enabling them to put additional money in their social security pool will in many cases add very materially to their ultimate social security benefits.

Under the new law, all clergymen have at least until April 15, 1966, to elect to be covered by social security. The time allowed for the decision had expired for many ministers of the Gospel. Now they have another opportunity to become covered.

There has been a change also in the coverage for farmers. If you are a self-employed farmer and your gross earnings from farming in a year after 1965 are $2,400 or less you may report two-thirds of your gross earnings instead of your net earnings for social security purposes. If your gross income from farming is more than $2,400 and your net earnings are less than $1,600, you may report $1,600 for social security purposes.

Financing the new benefit provisions has also been provided for in the bill by increasing the earning base on which social security contributions are based from $4,800 to $6,600 on January 1, 1966.

In addition, the law establishes a separate payroll contribution to finance the program of hospital insurance for the aged. These contributions are going into a separate trust fund in the U.S. Treasury.

I recognize that these new health and social security programs are not perfect. I also realize that in some respects bitter controversy exists in some areas concerning new health programs. However, it is my feeling, that an overwhelming number of the American people not only desire, but will be greatly benefited, by these new programs, and I am sure that those who for good reasons of their own, have opposed them in the past will realize now that they have become the law, that they must be implemented, and I hope and believe that these groups, good Americans that they are, will now lend their great influence and best efforts to make these enlightened new programs for the benefit of the people work effectively to promote better health, more adequate security and more abundant well-being for all Americans.

Support for the United Nations on Rhodesia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. LEONARD FARBSTEIN
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FARBSTEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Rhodesian question is now before the Security Council of the United Nations. That is the most appropriate place for it.

The civilized world is virtually unanimous in condemning the Rhodesian Government's act of rebellion, engaged in solely for the purpose of perpetuating an indefensible racism.

I regard this as an excellent opportunity for the United Nations to demonstrate its capacity to react against evil influences, the kind that offends the decent opinions of mankind. The United States, standing forthrightly as a member of the world community, will certainly be guided by the Security Council's action.

I urge the United Nations to act with prudence but with firmness.

I urge the United States to give its full support to whatever course the United Nations decides upon.

This is an opportunity for us to stand up simultaneously for the cause of human equality and the cause of world order.

Congressman Dingell's Bill To Expand Water Pollution Control Deserves Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the excellent bill introduced by the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DINGELL], H.R. 11734, deserves support from all of us interested in preserving and reclaiming our Nation's water resources.

This bill raises to $500 million the authorized Federal grants for municipal sewage treatment works.

Recently, Mr. Raymond A. Haik, a prominent Minneapolis attorney and member of the President's Water Pollution Control Advisory Board, voiced concern about the need for cooperation between the public and industry to restore clean water in America.

Mr. Haik said:

The magnitude of effort required for controlling water pollution must be comparable to the type of effort put into building our Interstate Highway System.

Excerpts from his speech follow:

THE PUBLIC AND INDUSTRY—A COOPERATIVE PROGRAM FOR WATER POLLUTION CONTROL

(By Raymond A. Haik)

How, then, have we and do we meet the threat of these pollutants caused by our changing environmental conditions? Except for a few brief years in the 1930's, this country has never spent enough money on public works to do an adequate job of collecting and treating its municipal waste. In the early 1950's, our cities were spending about $220 million a year to build sewage treatment works. This was entirely insufficient, especially at a time when the country was enjoying its biggest building boom and the rush to the suburbs was underway. The first effort to attack the problem on a national scale was the Water Pollution Control Act of 1956. This act authorized grants of up to $250,000 to cities to help them build sewage treatment plants. Over the next 5 years, this raised the level of construction from the previous $220 million to an annual level of approximately $460 million. While this was better, it was still not enough, and in 1961, amendments to the Water Pollution Control Act doubled the funds authorized for construction grants from $50 to $100 million a year and increased the maximum permissible amount for a single project to $600,000. Amendments to the 1961 act now being considered by the Congress authorize $150 million annually for construction grants and $1.2 million for individual projects. A special incentive to encourage area-wide metropolitan projects allows $4.8 million for such projects and an additional 10 percent for metropolitan systems conforming to a comprehensive plan.

Even with these programs providing an incentive to the States, we probably will be doing little more than holding our own in the field of municipal water treatment facilities.

ESTIMATED $20 TO $30 BILLION NEEDED

The total cost for pollution abatement and control will cost billions. Twenty to thirty billion is the cost estimated merely for separating wastes in combined sewer systems. The magnitude of effort required for controlling water pollution must be comparable to the type of effort put into building our Interstate Highway System.

I do not believe it is an established principle that industry has a right to expect to use our rivers as a self-purifier, with the idea being that only the minimum amount of treatment need be given industrial wastes before they are discharged into the receiving waters. Such a notion strikes me as being a double standard in terms of construction practices and a betrayal of the code of the professional engineer or scientist responsible for the design of an industrial plant. The same safeguards that are a part of the cost of construction to insure that a building will not fall under heavy stresses or that a bridge will be able to withstand loads far in excess of what might be expected should be the rule of thumb to guide the engineer and architect in the design of facilities needed to treat the wastes that emanate from an industrial plant. If we are to supply future water needs, the concept of using our streams as open sewers without too much regard to the type of waste being discharged into them is one that no longer can be afforded in this country.

To many of you this public demand for a better quality of water for recreational and other esthetic purposes may come as quite a shock. But the growing attitude in the Nation is that we can no longer pollute our waters and still have the economy we want, the public health standards we want, or the beautiful country we want. Too often the public has looked the other way while our cities, our industries, and our farms have been dumping waste into our waters, or applying chemicals to our lands without regard to the effect on the water quality. There was a time when we could afford to do this, but cities were smaller and our industry and agriculture were not as complex as today's. Yet it is obvious to all, especially to members of your profession, that that time is now past.

This drive for clean water will require that all those who are interested in preserving our water resources must reject the notion that the highest and best use of our waters is as a conveyor of domestic and industrial wastes. We must insist that everyone who uses water return the water to the stream as clean as modern science and technology will permit. This will require new attitudes and opinions by industry, yet in the long run, the industrial user as our major water user will be the principal benefactor.

Water quality is not just a problem for the conservationist, the hunter, and the fisher-

man. Clean water is everyone's problem. It cannot be solved by one neighborhood, by one city, by one county, by one State, or by the Federal Government acting alone. One man's sanitation project is the solution to his neighbor's pollution problem. If we are to be successful in attaining our goal for good water quality in all of our Nation's streams and lakes, we must have the help of industry.

Legislative Accomplishments of the 1st Session of the 89th Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, it is my frank opinion that the 1st session of the 89th Congress will go down in history as one of the greatest in deed and accomplishment. Its legislative accomplishments will affect the lives of every American citizen and future generations. It has laid a foundation for a better world and an improved way of life for the entire world. In this day and age we hear restless youth, misguided adults, foreign elements, some friendly, and domestic groups who have prospered under our system, clamor for a change in our form of government. Smears and accusations were commonplace and used as a tactic by agitators in attempts to influence congressional action. Even the Halls of Congress were invaded by irresponsible elements in an attempt to influence and intimidate Members of Congress.

All these actions were futile and Congress progressed along the steady course of our national interest. Our governmental system is the best the world has ever known. Evidence of this is clear and can be seen at every turn. Under our constitutional form of government the American people have prospered beyond the greatest expectations of our forefathers. Congress fully realized this situation; therefore, instead of changing our form of government, it wisely accepted its responsibilities and worked diligently to improve our system.

This is the course I chose, not a change of our institutions and Government, but a wise and calculated improvement which would enrich and advance the quality of our civilization and improve the lot of every citizen of this great country. I am most proud to be a Member of the 89th Congress and especially the contributions I was able to make to the 1st session of this great Congress. I had the responsibility of being chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality of the House Judiciary Committee. Through arduous work and the cooperation of members of the subcommittee, we were able, after many delays and interruptions, to get an immigration bill passed which was in the best interest of our country.

IMMIGRATION

On January 27, 1965, soon after the 89th Congress convened, I announced that hearings on immigration legislation would begin on February 16, 1965. Members of Congress, the executive branch of Government, private organizations, and interested citizens were invited to testify.

I directed the hearings toward the realities of our immigration policy. The complexities of the law had led to a great deal of confusion and misunderstandings. Both the theories and actual practices had to be clarified and simplified. The first and foremost issue to be examined was the national origins quota system and the motives and meaning behind this system of admitting immigrants.

However, before full scale hearings began, I decided to hear the views of my constituents. On Saturday, February 20, 1965, I provided an opportunity for interested organizations and individuals in Greater Cleveland to express their views on the major issues related to the pending immigration legislation. The results of that hearing and the enthusiastic response to a questionnaire I had prepared were both revealing and encouraging. Results of these hearings provided a sound basis for the hearings before Congress.

The hearings before the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality opened in March 3, 1965. As a direct result of testimony given before the subcommittee, on June 1, 1965, I introduced H.R. 8662, a bill to establish a selective immigration system. This bill was introduced after several conferences with President Johnson during which we examined the full range of problems involved. The provisions of my bill established a new selective immigration system, with qualitative and quantitative controls consistent with our domestic needs and our international commitments.

On October 3, 1965, the new immigration legislation, Public Law 89–236 was signed by President Johnson. The bill, H.R. 2580, as amended, was truly and genuinely bipartisan. In all respects it serves the national interest. Its bipartisanship is reflected in the unanimity by which its basic provisions passed my House subcommittee and the strong vote of confidence given to it by the full Judiciary Committee.

The effective date of the immigration legislation is December 1, 1965. Repeal of the national origins quota system and conditional limitation in Western Hemisphere immigration becomes effective July 1, 1968. As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, I prepared 25 questions couched in the nontechnical language of the man in the street who wishes to know more about the law. These questions were printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of October 7, 1965.

PRIVATE BILLS

During the first session of the 89th Congress, the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality held a total of 16 meetings devoted solely to the consideration of private bills introduced during the session. These included 3,014 private bills introduced in the House, and 151 private bills introduced in the Senate which were subsequently referred to the subcommittee. Of this total of 3,165 private bills considered, final action on 2,792 is still pending. Of the total of 373 bills on which final action was taken, 183 were tabled, 135 became private law, and the remainder of 55 bills are awaiting further action by the House or the Senate.

In addition to the private bills considered above, the subcommittee also took final action on 1,027 suspension of deportation cases referred to the Congress under 244(a)(1) and (2) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, denying suspension for 42 of these cases.

The remaining 27 of the total of 46 meetings held by the subcommittee were devoted to hearings and executive sessions concerning H.R. 2580 in amending the Immigration and Nationality Act. H.R. 2580 became Public Law 89–236 on October 3, 1965.

MEDICARE

I introduced in Congress a bill to provide health insurance and medical care for the aged. I supported and voted for H.R. 6675, which legislation provided for this long awaited action by Congress. The bill in addition to medicare, provided for medical assistance programs for the needy, blind, disabled, and families with dependent children. The bill also provided for changes for which I introduced legislation to: First, increase widow's benefits and benefits to surviving children of deceased insured workers; second, permit payments of child's insurance benefits after the age of 18 years in the case of a child attending school; third, increase allowable earned income by retired workers; fourth, increase old-age survivors and disability insurance benefits.

H.R. 6675 incorporated these changes which I sponsored. It provides for an across-the-board increase of 7 percent in benefits to widows and surviving children and to old-age survivors and disabled persons. It is estimated that 20 million Americans will be the beneficiaries of this increase in monthly payments. The change authorizing payments of child's insurance benefits after 18 years and up to the 22d year, for those attending school, is expected to help 295,000 surviving children of deceased workers. By raising the ceiling on allowable earned income of retired workers, conditions of life for many of our aged citizens will be substantially improved.

VOTING RIGHTS

I supported this all important legislation because I believe that every citizen, regardless of his economic status, his color or his race, should be permitted to exercise the right of franchise. I firmly believed that the Congress of the United States should express itself clearly on this vital issue. In 30 doing we assured every citizen of his constitutional rights and that we would support his efforts to achieve this goal which is rightfully his.

ELLIS ISLAND

On May 11, 1965, President Lyndon B. Johnson requested my presence at the White House to witness the signing of a proclamation adding Ellis Island to the Liberty Island National Monument. This was a moment of great personal satisfaction to me, because the day was exactly 6 years to the day, May 11, 1959, that I introduced H.R. 7054 in the 86th Congress, 1st session, a bill to provide for the establishment of the Ellis Island National Shrine.

WAR ON POVERTY

I supported this legislation because I believe that Congress could do no less than support and strengthen the mobilization of our resources in the war on poverty. On July 21, 1965, and again on September 23, 1965, I called for our local community to galvanize into action and stand for the principle of equal justice under law. Under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 plans were developed in many communities throughout the Nation to provide adequate legal aid to the indigent for all their legal problems.

I am making every effort to see that my home city, with its great tradition and civic pride, would move forward at an accelerated pace in providing legal assistance for the needy.

H.R. 10518—MINIMUM WAGE

On November 2, 1965, I presented to the Congress a petition signed by thousands of Greater Clevelanders, in which they expressed themselves clearly that the present Federal minimum wage law is inadequate to meet the needs of our time. I urged the leadership to schedule this bill for floor debate as early as possible in the next session of Congress.

PORNOGRAPHIC MATERIAL

On October 21, 1965, I introduced House Joint Resolution 781, which proposes that the U.S. Constitution be amended to permit Congress to regulate and control the distribution of pornographic material. I intend to pursue this action most forcibly in the next session, since I believe curbs should be placed on these materials, otherwise their production and distribution will continue to increase in alarming proportions.

DEFENSE

I supported all measures which increased the strength of our armed forces. I supported strong measures in Vietnam and protested the communistic, inhumane treatment of prisoners and civilians. In a major address, I described the reason for, and extent of Communist atrocities and terrorism in South Vietnam. On April 5, 1965, I strongly protested to the Secretary of Defense the "death" of our proud 37th "Buckeye" Division in the proposed reorganization of U.S. Army reserve components.

CLEVELAND AREA PROJECTS

On June 22, 1965, I commended my able colleague, the gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. KIRWAN], for the favorable action taken on my request for an authorization of special funds to continue the work of the Corps of Army Engineers in cleaning up debris in the Cuyahoga River and Cleveland Harbor. I will continue to do all in my power to control pollution of our fresh-water sources in the Cleveland area.

I took the lead in having the Crile Hospital site become a Greater Cleveland educational center. Within weeks the Broadview Heights Veterans' Administration Hospital will be turned over to the Ohio Department of Hygiene and Corrections for use as a diagnostic treatment, training, and educational facility for the mentally retarded. Both of these worthy projects were for the good of the community and will provide needed services for our citizens.

On April 8, 1965, I announced that the Cleveland Army Tank Plant was assured employment until October 1969 by award of a multimillion-dollar contract. This award was made after numerous meetings with Department of Defense officials.

Jobs for the people of Cleveland are of primary interest. Numerous meetings have been arranged on the Ravenna Arsenal project to bring the National Accelerator Laboratory to our area. This $280 million plant will employ over 3,000 people. I intend to pursue this project with increased determination and vigor this coming session of Congress.

RAPID TRANSIT EXTENSION

On April 15, 1965, I accompanied Mayor Locher and party to the office of Housing and Home Finance Agency Administrator, Robert C. Weaver, where a presentation was made of the final application for $9,215,000 in Federal funds for the extension of the existing rapid transit to Cleveland's Hopkins International Airport. This effort came to a successful conclusion and the grant was made to the city of Cleveland. I look forward to working with Mayor Locher and the Cleveland City Council to extend the rapid transit eastward.

COMMEMORATIONS TO FREEDOM

I have made it a firm policy throughout the years to encourage freedom and expose the machinations of the Communist tyrants. Free peoples should fight to retain their freedoms and those peoples behind the iron and bamboo curtains should be given hope. As the strongest and most powerful Nation in the world we have a solemn duty to assure them that they are not forgotten and their resistance is not in vain. To this end the following tributes have been made by me, as an official part of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

On January 25, 1965, the 47th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Ukrainian nation; February 16, 1965, the 714th anniversary of the founding of the Lithuanian state; March 11, 1965, Slovak Independence Day; March 24, 1965, Greek Independence Day; April 28, 1965, Special House Committee on Captive Nations; May 3, 1965, Polish Constitution Day; May 10, 1965, Rumanian Independence Day; June 15, 1965, Red army invasion of Lithuania; September 3, 1965, Captive Nations Week; October 22, 1965, Hungarian Freedom Fighters Day.

"Big Red"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RHODES of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I include herewith an address by Lawrence Mehren, chairman of the Central Arizona Project Association, before the National Reclamation Association, Kansas City:

"BIG RED"

(Address by Mr. Mehren)

This is the story of "Big Red," an affectionate nickname given to the swirling, silt-laden Colorado River by men who stand in respect of its might and its bounties. The river has been much in the news and will continue to be until the sound and the fury over rights to its use one day give way to understanding and peace among the seven States which comprise its great basin.

Congress has before it a series of bills dealing with the Colorado. Another has been in the drafting stage this fall as a suggested alternate, reflecting further progress in the tortuous process of men and political entities coming closer to an appreciation of the problems, rights, and aspirations of others. All of these pieces of prospective legislation, although they revolve around the Colorado, envision a magnificent regional planning concept for the ultimate solution of the water scarcities of the Southwest.

The genesis of this program is most interesting and of vital importance. Today I want to organize the pieces of information you may have acquired from time to time, so that they fall into place and emerge in a cohesive pattern. An important part of the story concerns the central Arizona project, for it has been the irritant, the grain of sand, around which has laminated what I hope will become a major pearl in reclamation history.

Before we examine the developments of recent months, it is essential that we sketch the history of the river, then pinpoint the extent of Arizona's critical problem, and also recognize the water needs of other areas in the basin.

The Colorado and its tributaries drain one-twelfth of the area of the United States and dominate the economy of the Southwest and southern California. Rising in Wyoming and Colorado, "Big Red" marches in varied mood and erratic strides across broad alluvial plains and through some of the most desolate yet fascinating canyon country in the world for a total run of 1,400 miles.

Despite its mysteries, moods, and meanderings the Colorado is indispensable to life in our part of the world. Without it and its tributaries there would be no irrigated wonderland in the Salt River Valley where Phoenix booms, no adequate water supply for Los Angeles and San Diego, no hydroelectric power to turn a million wheels of industry from Tucson to Torrance.

Full well realizing the enormous potential of Big Red, men long ago began contending for its use. With an average annual water yield of something between 14 and 18 million acre-feet, and a tremendous drop from 9,300 feet to sea level for generating energy, the river is an economic gold mine. Almost as if aware of its destiny, the Colorado back in the mists of antiquity set forth on a patient process of erosion, which now, millions of years later, has resulted in a perfect series of canyons and gorges for reservoir and powersite purposes.

Modern history of the controversy over rights to the river dates back to 1922 when the basic and most famous document was formulated. This Santa Fe compact established two divisions of the total basin, made a lump sum allocation of water to each, leaving final determination of individual State amounts to the upper basin (Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming), and to the lower basin (Arizona, California, and Nevada).

The drafters at Santa Fe allocated to each of the two basins 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum for beneficial consumptive use. Remember, there are losses from reservoir evaporation and seepage to consider before water can be put to such beneficial and consumptive use. Estimates are that when all the contemplated projects in the two basins are built, these losses could conceivably run to a total of 1,500,000 acre-feet per year.

The compact also recognized that Mexico is entitled to some of the waters of the Colorado. In 1944, an international treaty set this annual quantity at 1,500,000 acre-feet.

Let us recapitulate for a moment, for here is a cardinal point that will recur later in our discussion. The Santa Fe compact thus envisioned a basic 15 million acre-feet for the seven States—7,500,000 for each basin if both eventually claim their full entitlement—to which must be added potential river losses of possibly up to 1,500,000, and another 1,500,000 acre-feet for the Mexican obligation. And so, a minimum annual average of somewhere around 18 million acre-feet must be available to make the Colorado whole, and today's hydrologists, 40-some years later, insist that such a quantity just isn't there.

Perhaps these few figures oversimplify a complex situation, but I have no intention of tangling with the technicians at this point, and confusing you—and me.

The next basic document is the Boulder Canyon Project Act, passed by Congress in 1928. Aside from providing for the construction of Hoover Dam, the act took on the vital job of apportioning the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the lower basin by the Santa Fe compact. The legislators earmarked 4,400,000 acre-feet for California, 2,800,000 acre-feet for Arizona, and 300,000 acre-feet for Nevada.

The final basic document on the river is the agreement reached in 1948 between the four upper basin States for the division of their 7,500,000 acre-feet.

After the Boulder Canyon Project Act, California progressively completed the projects to consume its agreed-upon 4,400,000 acre-feet—and more, from what was believed at the time to be surplus water, until its current use has reached the 5,100,000-acre-foot figure.

Arizona, too, was anxious to put its share of the river to use, and in the late 1940's the central Arizona project crystallized, envisioning the diversion of 1,200,000 acre-feet for the great central basing of the State. It should be pointed out that this project has always been planned as a rescue program to provide supplemental water for existing acreage and municipalities, and not a single acre of new land is to be brought into cultivation.

We have found, to our sorrow, that planning our central Arizona project and realizing it are two vastly different things. The authorization bill passed the Senate twice in the early 1950's, but met an impassable roadblock in the House because of the determined opposition of California, who insisted that the rights on the river had never been properly adjudicated. We had our own interpretation of the Santa Fe compact and the Boulder Canyon Project Act, Californians had theirs. The House committee agreed that adjudication was necessary, and we then began, in 1952, the long, arduous process of a major suit in the Supreme Court of the United States.

It serves no useful purpose to try that case again today. Suffice it to say that Arizona emerged with clear title to 2,800,000 acre-feet of main-stream water. The day after the Supreme Court opinion was handed down, the Arizona delegation in Congress reintroduced the original central Arizona project bills.

Let us examine now the water predicament in Arizona. In its vast central sector, stretching from the Phoenix area east and south through Tucson, and including the Safford area on the Gila live almost 80 percent of Arizona's people. We consume in that basin about 4,500,000 acre-feet per year.

Our intrastate surface streams yield an average of about 1 million acre-feet a year. The Geological Survey tells us that the ground-water recharge of the basin from rains and streamflow amounts to about 1,250,000 acre-feet. Thus the total yearly water harvest comes to 2,250,000 acre-feet.

Apply this to the water budget of 4,500,000 acre-feet and the simple arithmetic says that there is a deficit of 2,250,000 acre-feet to be met from somewhere. At the moment it is being done by mining residual underground water that has accumulated over centuries. This supply is obviously limited; there inevitably comes the day of atonement. Just when it will be, I can't tell you; but I can tell you from personal experience on my own farm that the underground water level has dropped 373 feet since we wrested the land from desert in 1930. I can tell you that over 350,000 acres of prime agricultural land in our basin have already gone out of cultivation because of insufficient water supply. Our personal problem becomes, "can we possibly hold out for 10 years more, until relief comes via the central Arizona project?"

I can tell you that Arizona metropolitan centers, like Tucson, which has groundwater as its only supply, are equally concerned over their future.

This is an area of meager rainfall which has known water shortage from time immemorial, where the grim struggle to conserve water is part of our daily lives; where the entire basin has progressively been declared a critical area under State law, thus preventing the drilling of wells to bring new land into cultivation; where the lining of canals, laterals and ditches, the installation of pump-back systems, programs of watershed modification, intensive studies of sewage effluent reuse, a brackish water conversion plant for the city of Buckeye, all fit into the pattern of save water.

This is a State where the copper mines, acutely conscious of conservation, reclaim water from their tailings dumps and in some cases reuse it as much as seven times before it eludes them in evaporation or seepage.

Aside from actual conservation practices, economics forces the husbanding of water; with an eye on highly competitive agricultural markets, an Arizona farmer does not go to the tremendous expense of equipping big irrigation wells to pump from depths of over 450 feet in many cases and then pay heavy energy costs to waste groundwater by willy-nilly pumping.

To round out the Arizona water picture, I should point out that against the annual overdraft of 2,250,000 acre-feet on dwindling underground supplies, the central Arizona project envisions providing only slightly more than 1 million acre-feet from the main-stream of Big Red. Obviously this is no complete solution for Arizona's water problem. It would still leave us over 1 million acre-feet short of balancing the water books for our present economy. On top of that, we must look to water requirements for an ever-expanding population in the future. Do you wonder at the intensity of our plea in Washington?

We do not have a corner on water problems. Added to our own concern is the situation in southern California, where the population even with the Owens River Aqueduct, even with the substantial quantity in prospect from the California State water plan, the area still must look to additional supplies for the future.

As a final facet in the problems of the Colorado River States, the upper basin is acutely conscious of its own population growth, its needs for the future, its plans for orderly, uninterrupted development.

This, then, is the great backdrop against which the current drama in Washington is being played. The actors in the central Arizona project affair had long been just Arizona and California. Suddenly, the cast of characters has grown substantially, the stage has broadened tremendously. Let's develop that story.

Flushed with its success in the Supreme Court suit 2 years ago, Arizona confidently looked forward to speedy congressional endorsement of its project. But in the intervening years, Californians had increased their uses of the Colorado, the second tube of the metropolitan aqueduct for the myriad of communities of southern California had been built and was running at capacity. They were understandably no happier over the central Arizona project and the prospect of a cutback to 4,400,000 acre-feet than they had been years before. With a big congressional delegation and considerable influence, their reluctance was a major deterrent.

Into this murky stalemate came a ray of light in the form of Secretary Stewart Udall's Pacific Southwest water plan. It created an uproar, was soundly condemned by many, but without question it was the catalyst that forced us to think, and think big on water problems.

From that seed emerged water statesmanship contrasted to water selfishness. A Lower Colorado River Basin bill began to crystallize, built around several cardinal features. The central Arizona project is to be constructed as the first works. Then a lower basin account is established, to roll into one pot the power revenues from Hoover, Davis, Parker, and the proposed Bridge and Marble Canyon Dams after construction payout periods, the joint fund to be used for the benefit of the entire lower basin.

The bill moves on to recognize that the Colorado alone can never meet the water requirements of the Southwest. Remember, even with the approximately 1 million acre-feet from the central Arizona project, my State would still be short each year over 1 million acre-feet of enough water to maintain its present economy, to say nothing of the future. California's needs are magnified proportionately. With this in mind, the bill directs the Secretary of the Interior to immediately begin intensive investigations of sources of supplemental water from outside the basin to make the Colorado whole.

The proposal then assures California that in years when the main stream is short of water, her right to 4,400,000 acre-feet is to be considered senior to the requirements of the central Arizona project, until a minimum of 2,500,000 acre-feet is actually delivered into the river from sources outside the basin.

This has been a tough one for many Arizonans to swallow. Their agonizing and understandably angry plea has been, "Why do we have to negotiate and give? Why don't we just take our share through a State water plan?"

On the west bank of the river, the cry, although perhaps not openly expressed, has undoubtedly been, "Why give in to a central Arizona project? It will cut us back to 4,400,000 acre-feet and eliminate half the current supply for Los Angeles from the Colorado, and almost the entire supply of the city of San Diego. Why don't we just sit

tight, and try to defeat any projects on Big Red? Then, we can continue to use 5,100,000 acre-feet for a long time to come."

Negative attitudes don't solve anything. I have likened the situation in talks before Arizona audiences to the case of a man who may have bought a 10-acre piece of desert way north of Phoenix 4 years ago. Under basic law and human rights it's his property to do with as he wishes. Suddenly, today, after a lovely residential area of the city has engulfed his property, he decides to build an oil refinery on it. I have news for my mythical friend: he isn't about to build the oil refinery. The rights of his neighbors would definitely be in jeopardy, and he would be hauled into court so fast it would make his head swim.

"No man is an island" to exercise his rights to the disregard of others in modern society, and certainly no State is an island either.

So we had to go through the painful process of growing up on water matters on both sides of the Colorado and achieving a degree of maturity. Each had to give—California had to abandon its traditional opposition to any central Arizona project; Arizona had to recognize certain basic uses and needs in our sister State.

I am proud of the new alliance between California and Arizona. I am proud of the statesmanlike way in which the water leaders of both States have finally settled their problems.

After the lion and the lamb had bedded down together last spring, Arizona's hopes soared once more. But now onto the stage stalked another group of players—the upper basin States. They were as determined in their opposition to the joint plan as California had once been to the original central Arizona project bill. Why?

The answer lies in the figures I sketched for you earlier on riverflow. The Santa Fe Compact confidently envisioned 18 million acre-feet or better. Although only the Almighty knows the future flow, hydrologists are pretty well agreed that, based on performance, we probably have a 14,900,000-foot river—over 3 million acre-feet short of what is needed to take care of all the claimants.

Understandably, the upper basin States have said, in effect, "Hey, wait a minute, fellows; if you build the central Arizona project, and the lower basin puts to use the full 7,500,000-acre-foot entitlement, where do we come in when we want to build all our projects; there won't be enough water; don't forget, we have rights, too, under the Santa Fe Compact, and our rights are valid, too." We in the lower basin are full well aware of these rights and certainly we intend to recognize and respect them.

So back to the conference table again. Out of the discussions this fall has emerged the draft of a new bill, not yet formally before the House committee. But its provisions, hammered out by earnest men from all the basin States—upper and lower—could well bring peace at long last to Big Red.

Without going into all of its provisions, the draft is far broader in scope than the compromise legislation agreed upon by California and Arizona. It retains the key features of the lower basin bill currently before Congress—the central Arizona project, the lower basin account to pool revenues, the assurance of priority for California's 4,400,000 in case of shortage until import water is available, the provision for import water studies.

The draft bill adds several very important things of vital concern to the upper basin States. The import studies contemplate an additional supply of 8,500,000 acre-feet, 2.5 million of which would be used to satisfy the Mexican Treaty obligation and attendant losses, 2 million for lower basin use, 2 million for upper basin use, and 2 million for areas en route from the importation source. Assuming that the import water would be delivered to Lake Mead, the 2 million acre-feet for the upper basin would obviously be handled by the exchange mechanism, allowing greater retention of virgin waters above Lee's Ferry than provided for in the Santa Fe compact. The target date for the planning of this program is set for 1970.

The Mexican Treaty requirements are declared to be a broad national obligation and the Colorado River Basin States are relieved from the burdens imposed on them by the compact. This is an eminently fair provision, since you well remember, for instance, that the requirements of Texas from the lower Rio Grande entered heavily into the negotiations for the Mexican Treaty on the Colorado.

The draft then authorizes a series of upper basin projects upon findings of feasibility by the Secretary of the Interior, so that these works may take their rightful place in the total scheme for the Colorado.

It also involves the determination to build on the lower river not only Marble Canyon Dam, but also Bridge Canyon Dam, which has been suggested for deferment by the Bureau of the Budget. Bridge is vital to the success of the whole program as a revenue producer to make a water import program possible.

This new draft has been approved in principle by California and Arizona. It is the subject of considerable study and debate in the upper basin at this moment. I have only this comment to the water statesmen of these four States: I feel for you, because I know the difficult process you are going through to bring your people to the degree of understanding of "the big picture" which we in Arizona and California have had to reach in the last few years. Compromise is a give-and-take situation, and a negative status quo position will solve no problems nor produce a drop of water to slake the thirst of any of the seven basin States. The moment for greatness is upon us. May we not let it slip away.

Of course we do not know how the House committee or the Congress as a whole will view this new draft bill. But I would venture that if the seven basin States came as a united group to present their plea for the solution of the entire water problem of this vast area, Congress could not help but turn an attentive ear.

One would think that this greatly expended case of characters and stage for the drama of Big Red were big enough as things now stand. But in the wings, poised for their cues, are two other players—the Pacific Northwest States and various outdoor groups opposed to any dams on the Colorado.

With regard to the latter groups, they have been referred to many times as "conservationists," but I don't think this is precisely descriptive. "Conservation" implies wise use, rather than nonuse. You men of reclamation are thus the true conservationists. Perhaps the more accurate designation for these groups is "primitivists"—they want nothing touched.

I do not question the sincerity of the primitivists. But I do deplore the deliberately misleading propaganda which has been pouring from their various headquarters. In an appeal to emotions rather than to reason, they continue to loosely bandy about the charge that we plan to "flood the Grand Canyon" with the Bridge Canyon Dam. The inference to the public is that the reservoir will submerge the great temples of that vast canyon, and that in a high wind the waves will lap over El Tovar. How preposterous can one get?

We are talking about a dam 80 miles downstream from the Grand Canyon you and I know, a structure so insignificant in the majesty of that gorge, and so buried in the inner recess of the chasm, that one couldn't find it even from an airplane unless he know exactly what he was looking for and where it was.

True, the reservoir would reach a very few miles along the western boundary of the national park, it its most inaccessible area. But this was very frankly envisioned by Congress in 1919 in creating the park, for it specifically authorized the Secretary of the Interior to utilize such area for a reclamation project.

Bridge Canyon's reservoir would provide a waterway for hundreds of thousands of Americans to enjoy this fascinating canyon area. Herein lines the real motive of the primitivists. They want to reserve to themselves the exclusive use of this part of America, and other parts as well, and "the public be damned."

In the Phoenix paper a month ago, a primitivist exulted in the former 100-mile boat trip or 13-mile hike over rugged mountains necessary to reach Rainbow Bridge before Lake Powell came into being. He is outraged at the many tourists who now find the trip an easy one, their conduct and litter, their relative lack of reverence for the great arch. He longs for the "good old days."

Something, I suppose, like a trip to Washington this summer to take my young children for their first view of the Nation's Capital. The Washington Monument, Lincoln Memorial, Capitol, Supreme Court Building, Archives, Arlington Cemetery, all were swarming with thousands of Americans. I was swept with nostalgia for my old college days in Washington 35 years ago when the city was a leisurely southern town, without mob scenes. But then I told myself that these Americans had as much right to the halls of Washington as I did, and that if I thought there were too many people in this country, it was just too bad about me.

Nonetheless, the primitivists will raise a powerful cry in Congress, preaching the fallacious doctrine of desecration, and brushing aside the thirst and economy of the basin States. As reclamationists and conservationists we must meet their challenge.

We turn, last, to the concerns of the Pacific Northwest States. Although none of the current bills indicate to the Secretary of the Interior the areas he is to study as possible sources for import water for the Colorado Basin, one obvious potential is the Columbia River. Here a vast quantity of unused water flows into the sea, and the suggestion has been made that a minor portion of this surplus be diverted near the month of the river, after it has flown past any area of possible use.

It is quite natural that any proposal of this sort raises questions, doubts, and fears. I think I can unequivocally state the position of the Colorado Basin States on this matter. First, we fully realize that exhaustive studies must be made of every potential use of the Columbia and its tributaries in the Northwest, and that those uses must be adequately provided for, looking far into the future.

Second, the draft bill itself sets forth the provision that any uses, now or in the future, in those States shall have a perpetual priority of right over any uses of water delivered by exportation works.

The proposal is not an unreasonable one, provided, of course, the studies indicate there is a surplus of water in the Columbia system. The history of our Nation has been that when there is distress in one area, the country musters its resources to help. When a hurricane deals a savage blow to New Orleans and the Federal Government steps in, where does the tax money come from to sustain the effort? Just from Louisiana? Obviously not. When help is needed in Appalachia, where do the Federal funds come from? Just from sources within Appalachia? Certainly not. In exactly the same way, it is

entirely logical to suggest that surplus resources of water in one area be considered to relieve a desperate situation in another.

It is our hope that we may work with the Northwest, or other areas, on this matter of import water in the spirit of full cooperation, fairplay to all concerned, and as water statesmen jointly seeking the solution to difficult national problems.

This, then, is the story of Big Red. It churns and tosses along much of its length, just as have its peoples in their quest for the solution of their problems. Our great river finally achieves peace as it slides serenely into the lakes behind its dams. May the tranquility of those quiet waters be symbolic of the not too distant future as we seek to calm the turbulence along its banks.

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill, S. 2460, to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorials be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New Haven Journal-Courier, Sept. 8, 1965]

A CONNECTICUT RIVER PARKWAY

Many rivers of America are larger or more famous than the Connecticut, but few, particularly its lower reaches as it flows through Rhine-like scenery between Middletown and the open waters of Long Island Sound at Old Saybrook, are more beautiful.

It is in this region of rural countryside and Yankee villages, the rolling wooded hills of the Seven Sisters of Haddam, Gillette's Castle, and Goodspeed's Opera House, and the bustling river towns of Deep River and Essex on the west bank and Lyme and Old Lyme on the other side, that U.S. Senator RIBICOFF has proposed congressional legislation for a national parkway and recreational area.

Under the bill, the Secretary of the Interior would make a comprehensive study of the valley, recommend a plan for a parkway, and administrate the area once it has been established. It is a proposal that has much merit at a time when preservation of the Nation's natural scenic attractions is being given wide support.

As an initial step toward furthering interest in the project Senator RIBICOFF is inviting Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, Governor Dempsey, U.S. Senator DODD, the Congressmen whose districts border on the river, as well as State and local officials from the river towns for a cruise of the Connecticut that will extend from the Sound to the head of navigation at Harford.

The field trip, scheduled for next Monday will not only give the Secretary of the Interior an opportunity to look closely at the river valley but it should show Connecticut officials at firsthand the beauty that lies at their very doorstep.

[From the Willimantic Chronicle, Sept. 20, 1965]

CHRONICLE COMMENTARY—MOST BEAUTIFUL CESSPOOL

"The world's most beautiful cesspool" is the way Katherine Hepburn described the Connecticut River on channel 3 the other night in the documentary "The Long Tidal River," produced by Ellsworth Grant of West Hartford, and narrated by Miss Hepburn, his sister-in-law. The beautifully done film was originally shown earlier this summer and deserved to be repeated.

The film blended the historical with the present, showing the river's once great place in the economy of Connecticut and the low state to which it has been permitted to sink through the stupidity and callousness of human beings. The 407-mile-long river rises in New Hampshire and cuts through Massachusetts and Connecticut on its journey to the sea. The waste of three States is discharged into the river before it enters Connecticut. Then Connecticut dumps its share of every conceivable kind of sewage, industrial waste, heated water, pesticides.

Now there is slowly growing consciousness that the river is one of our great potentials for beautification, recreation, and perhaps someday as a needed water supply for riparian cities and towns. This realization was given impetus last week by the visit of Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall who toured the river at the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF and Governor Dempsey. Udall proclaimed its potential for conservation and recreation "greater than almost any other river in the Nation." And he implied his support of bills introduced in the Senate by Senator RIBICOFF and now in the House by Congressman ST. ONGE to establish the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area. Long stretches of the river in Connecticut are still in relatively natural condition. The idea is to preserve these areas and set aside an appropriate area along the river banks as a national parkway, an unspoiled picturesque roadway to carry more leisurely visitors.

Any plans to make it a national parkway must put pollution at the top of the list of problems. And any plan for ending the pollution (and for a national parkway) must be a cooperative effort between all the States involved.

[From the Bridgeport Sunday Post, Sept. 19, 1965]

THE CONNECTICUT CRUISE

The Connecticut River apparently has sold itself to Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall. It did not take long for his practiced eye to discern the possibilities for a national park when he sailed the river with Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF and Gov. John Dempsey.

Words could not have been as convincing as the dramatic inspection cruise that unfolded a long strentch of unspoiled country. The desired effect was obtained. After making the trip from Old Saybrook to Hartford, Mr. Udall made it perfectly clear that he feels the national park proposal should be given serious consideration.

The river park proposal made by Senator RIBICOFF is an exciting one. Think of the enormous potential there is in this beautiful river that runs nearly 400 miles from Long Island Sound to near the Canadian border. There is scenic beauty, historical interest, wildlife, varied recreation resources.

The urgency of the project must have impressed the Secretary of the Interior as well as the scenes of beauty. Here and there, the riverbank was spoiled by car graveyards. The time has come, it was apparent, to decide which areas lend themselves to park use.

Mr. Udall is aware of the pressing need for developing national recreation areas in the crowded Northeast. The cruise gave him a good idea of how to fill the need.

[From the Bristol Press, Sept. 16, 1965]

SPLENDID PROPOSAL

Connecticut's Senator A. A. RIBICOFF has taken up the cause of water conservation in particular, as well as conservation of natural resources in general. Monday afternoon, during the first real downpour in a long time, he and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Gov. John Dempsey, among others, sailed the Connecticut River from Saybrook to Hartford.

The purpose of the trip was to show Secretary Udall the beauties of the Connecticut River and to enlist his support in behalf of Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to set aside certain areas along the riverbank as part of the national park system.

The proposal has genuine merit, and it is to Senator RIBICOFF's credit that he has advanced it, and is pressing it so vigorously.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union, Sept. 16, 1965]

HOW BEST TO SAVE THE RIVER?

If the Connecticut River were easily navigable north of Hartford, Secretary Udall's trip up from Long Island Sound aboard the *Dolly Madison* might have been a more genuinely interior affair, proceeding through Massachusetts and perhaps into the two upstream riparian States.

But the invitation to join Mr. Udall and Senator RIBICOFF in their Connecticut River national parkway plan is by no means limited to the portions of the Nutmeg State they viewed from a rain-washed deck last Monday. If the plan is to be meaningful, all four States will have a part to play in the joint State-Federal enterprise.

While details are still lacking, the objective goes far beyond securing the still unspoiled sections of the riverbank against commercial encroachment and exploitation, although that is an important part of it. New England's mighty stream, and the conservationists' fond hopes for it, present a more complicated problem than, say, preserving forever the lovely dunes of the Outer Cape, soon to be dedicated as the Cape Cod National Seashore.

Senator RIBICOFF and Mr. Udall are talking in terms of reclamation as well as preservation. It is one thing to seal off the remaining stretches of natural scenic beauty. It is quite another to bring the water itself back from a state of near uselessness so that fish can flourish and swimmers bathe.

Putting it quite simply, the river is filthy despite some significant forward steps in pollution control. Articulate efforts of conservation groups, interstate compacts, State and Federal aid with sewage-treatment costs—all have helped, but not enough. Unless pollution is (1) brought under control and (2) gradually reduced, a national parkway and recreation area would be more of a national disgrace than a national asset.

The clean-water bill finally breaking out of Congress, designed to strengthen (though not make invincible) the Federal hand in curbing sources of pollution, is a big step in a necessary direction. But the fact that its full impact will not be felt for 2 years is just one example of the preliminary character of the Udall-Ribicoff approach as it affects the Connecticut.

Nevertheless, now is the time for Massachusetts to examine itself and the river. Shall we leave the pristine shoreline footage to town zoning decisions or welcome a sort

of perpetualization by nationalization? Would our lovely valley—not just the river but the State parks and reservations already established on the hills beside it—be better publicized as a tourist attraction if it had national status? Would we enjoy it more or less ourselves if some Federal program got the water laundered where other programs have failed?

We have nothing to lose by finding out just what a national parkway would mean. It could mean gaining a lot.

[From the Hartford Times, Sept. 15, 1965]

VIEW, STUDY, ACT

The fact that so large a proportion of the Connecticut valley in this State remains unspoiled is a strong point in argument for the preservation of its natural setting and character. A wrecked valley would be difficult to restore. Ours is still in condition worth saving.

That was evident this week as Secretary of the Interior Udall viewed the river lands as a preliminary to a study aimed at the establishment of a Federal parkway that would include considerable riverfront area.

Secretary Udall, the guest of Senator RIBICOFF who has introduced the parkway legislation in Congress, commented that it would be unfortunate to have the wonderful river region, the appearance of which surprised and attracted him, degraded.

The purpose of a Federal parkway establishment is not primarily connected with highways, though access is one of the features. Essentially, the idea of a parkway is related to a preserve of land, some of which may be private, some publicly owned; in certain places easements for public use may be employed instead of purchase. And the parkway might leapfrog certain sections deemed essential for industrial development.

The aims are to retain and improve the attractive natural characteristics of the region claimed for the parkway and to prevent its decline in attractiveness through speculation or disorderly growth.

While the program and much of the financing stem from the Federal Government, success demands zoning and planning cooperation of towns and cities and coordination with the State government and its natural resources agencies and with the Federal Government.

Until formal survey of the river region is asked by Secretary Udall and a firm proposal is drafted, the dimensions of the project cannot be known. It will be the first one of its sort in the Nation, and evidently great care will be taken to sift over each problem and difficulty seen in prospect.

Impressive to the Secretary is the interest in the river already evidenced by efforts to end pollution, to safeguard its adjacent lands to public use by the establishment along its course in this State of eight State parks, numerous boat launching sites, spots of historic interest and wildlife sanctuaries, together with thorough research on the river and its related values.

He did not need to be persuaded of the public interest in retaining the river region unspoiled.

Senator RIBICOFF and Connecticut are acting just in time. For while our beautiful valley still holds its attractions in larger part, the coming 10 years of population and industrial surge certainly would give rise to encroachments. Signs of them already are to be seen.

Perhaps the upper New England States are not yet interested in going along with the Ribicoff measure for a parkway down the entire Connecticut River Valley.

This State, then, can initiate the plan which, incidentally would become strong leverage for interstate action to clear upstream pollution that flows our way.

Development of the parkway idea is going to take much time. It will have to be explained in detail after details are worked out. It will pose many complicated problems.

But the valley region will support it, for already our people have strongly and repeatedly shown that what they most certainly do not want is deterioration of this part of our natural heritage.

[From the Deep River New Era, Sept. 2, 1965]

CLEAN UP THE CESSPOOL

In his statement on the Senate floor, RIBICOFF briefly traced the history of the Connecticut River. He said:

"Mr. President, since 1614, when the Dutch marine Adriaen Block first sailed up the river, the touch of man's hand on nature has been heavy. At first, the river valley was a route for commerce. Until in the late 1790's, Middletown, then the principal river port, was the largest community in Connecticut. The river carried freight, not only in ships but in great log drives. And it carried passengers—up to 24,000 a year at Hartford, arriving in 2,500 vessels.

"Those days are gone now. Roads, railways, and air travel have long since eclipsed the slow river boat. Now the river is becoming a sewer, running befouled to the sea. One recent observer called the Connecticut River 'the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool.'

"We must clean the Connecticut River up—but we must also preserve the beauty of its banks, the stillness of its quiet coves, its majesty as it winds through wooded hills.

"The Connecticut River and its valley are priceless assets. They have been placed in this generation's care—and we are the stewards for the future. Should we allow the inevitable decline to continue? Should we give free rein to all those impulses and forces which would destroy quiet, tear down solitude, and uproot the beauty of nature?

"The process has already started. It is difficult to reverse—and it will be almost impossible to reclaim what we have lost. But we must make a start. We must preserve what we have before it is too late—before we have lost our heritage and failed in our task as trustees."

[From the Deep River New Era, Sept. 2, 1965]

CONNECTICUT RIVER PARKWAY

We congratulate U.S. Senator ABE RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, for having the foresight to introduce legislation in the Congress which would establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area for all the people of the Connecticut River Valley and the Nation. Legislation of this sort is badly needed.

RIBICOFF's bill would create a recreation area for the public in the Connecticut River Valley in four States: Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire, the four States that share the tremendous natural resource that the Connecticut River can, and should, be.

In a statement on the Senate floor a few days ago, the Connecticut Senator and former Governor said that the river is "for the most part still a thing of beauty but, unless we act soon, it will not be a joy forever." He pointed out that the Connecticut River Valley, "like so many other beautiful parts of our Nation, is slowly but surely being eaten away. The developers are moving in, carving out great chunks of landscape. The junkyards are moving in, the oil tank farms, the powerplants, and all the countless hallmarks of our modern society.

"We are rapidly reaching the point," he continued, "where it will no longer be possible to ask the question 'Should the Connecticut River Valley be saved?' Far too soon we shall be seriously wondering whether any action at all will be able to save what's left."

Designed to preserve the Connecticut River area and appropriate segments of land adjoining it for the public benefit—and for outdoor recreation generally—Senator RIBICOFF's bill would provide for:

"Initial comprehensive study of the Connecticut River and adjacent lands by the Secretary of the Interior;

"A comprehensive review of the study's findings. Public and private officials and groups in the State concerned would be consulted; public hearings on the parkway boundaries could be requested by any of the Governors of the affected States;

"The establishment of the parkway and recreation area;

"Administration of the area, geared to protect natural values. For example, the parkway could include scenic roads, but not high-speed highways. Pleasure driving, walking, and hiking, fishing, riding, picnicking—all could be enjoyed in the new area. Under the bill, the procedures for acquiring land would be flexible and reasonable, with a minimum impact on property owners.

"My bill can give to New England," Senator RIBICOFF concluded, "what the great Western States of our Nation have so long enjoyed—breathing space, protected lands, and a place where man can seek refuge from the crowded city streets.

"As our people become more mobile, and as our population crowds together in growing metropolitan areas, the need for park and recreation space grows. Will we consign our children and grandchildren to a life spent in asphalt playgrounds lit by neon signs? Do we really want a society bounded by concrete highways and filled to the horizon with the debris of an industrial civilization?

"Man needs cities, but man also needs breathing space—peace, quiet—the view of a majestic river, and open skies."

Consumer Protection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, consumer legislation has received preliminary consideration in the first session of this Congress.

Extensive hearings were held by the Senate Commerce Committee on the truth-in-packaging bill. Anyone who has tried his hand at comparison shopping should be encouraged by the testimony before that committee which shows the great need for truth-in-packaging legislation designed to cope with the nonprice competitive factors involved in the retail sale of packaged goods.

The House Domestic Finance Subcommittee, under the dedicated leadership of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PATMAN] threw great light on the myriad of practices by finance companies dealing with our servicemen. These hearings resulted in the Department of Defense issuing a directive aimed at finance companies seeking to deal with servicemen setting forth disclosure requirements similar to those of the truth-in-lending bill.

With this beginning and with the Presidential support that is taken note of in a recent editorial in the Milwaukee Journal, I, as a sponsor of both truth-in-

lending and truth-in-packaging legislation, am encouraged to believe these consumer bills will be enacted in the next session of this Congress.

I commend this editorial to my colleagues and under unanimous consent place in the RECORD at this point:

PROTECT CONSUMERS

One glaring flaw in President Johnson's amazing legislative record is in the field of consumer protection. Several major proposals, all designed to shield the buying public from unscrupulous predators, are stalled and blocked in congressional committees.

The President has just criticized this inaction and has promised to push for passage of his program.

The basic trouble, according to supporters of the measures, is that the voice of the consumer is too weak and unorganized to make itself heard or heeded. At the State level, a few Governors—notably of California, Massachusetts and Connecticut—have appointed boards or special assistants to help consumers. Here in Wisconsin, Attorney Geenral La Follette has been carrying the ball. The other day, the State Assembly passed a bill to give the attorney general new authority in dealing with consumer fraud.

In Washington, however, the story is different. The so-called truth proposals—truth in lending and truth in packaging—have been tied up for years. Basically, the former would require that anyone who lends money or extends credit must supply the would-be borrower or credit user with a statement of the total finance charge in dollars and cents. The latter would forbid deceptions in the size and fill of packages and establish standards so that the buyer could make a reasonable comparison of competing products. Other measures, which would step up enforcement of food and drug protection, also appear to be stymied.

A market economy provides an automatic kind of surveillance against consumer fraud, of course. And, in most instances, buyers' interests are well served. But exceptions and deficiences do creep into the system. It is against these that most of the proposed Federal measures are aimed.

Perhaps, with the President's revived interest, the cause of consumer protection will receive the strengthening it deserves.

Senator Hugh Scott Honored by American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, my distinguished colleague from Pennsylvania in the other body, U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT, was recently commended by the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, for his "cooperation with and interest in the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who attend Keystone Boys State and Boys Nation." Under unanimous consent I place in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of the Legion's resolution commending Senator SCOTT:

(Submitted by: Dr. Joseph P. Gavenonis, director, Keystone Boys State)

Whereas Keystone Boys State affords to the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania the opportunity to gain additional knowledge to aid him in achieving responsible and mature citizenship and to further his leadership capabilities and,

Whereas two of the boys attending Keystone Boys State are chosen to attend Boys Nation where additional knowledge about government and politics is experienced and,

Whereas the American Legion seeks the aid and cooperation of elected officials, government employees and professional people in bringing this knowledge to the youth of our Commonwealth and,

Whereas U.S. Senator HUGH SCOTT has congratulated, by letter, each boy who has attended Keystone Boys State and has given his personal attention to our representatives at Boys Nation; Now, therefore, be it.

Resolved, That the American Legion, Department of Pennsylvania, executive committee, meeting in Harrisburg, Pa., August 13 and 14, 1965, express its deep appreciation to the Honorable HUGH SCOTT, U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania, for his cooperation with and interest in the youth of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania who attend Keystone Boys State and Boys Nation and, be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, prepared suitably for display purposes, be transmitted to Senator SCOTT.

An Experimental Program of Job Development by Private Industry To Employ Disadvantaged Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. DONALD M. FRASER
OF MINNESOTA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, we recognize that making maximum use of our human resources is one of our Nation's greatest challenges. President Johnson has stated our goal in these words:

Each individual must have a fair chance to develop his abilities and to engage in productive and rewarding activity. In the Great Society, all men must have the self-respect and economic security that flow from full use of their talents.

For that part of our labor force with the least opportunity, skill, and education, we continue to develop programs which help match the man and the job. But still there are quite a number not reached by these programs, largely because our effort is directed at a special age group or type of disability or is of limited size.

For example, on-the-job training under the Manpower Training and Development Act, the work experience program under title V of the Economic Opportunity Act, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, private operation of sheltered workshops, and other programs, have built-in limitations.

By introducing H.R. 11815, I have proposed greater involvement of private enterprise in the task of job development. This would be an experimental program of payroll assistance payments to make economically possible the employment of workers unable to meet the standards of the existing labor market.

Designing the job to fit the abilities of the worker is a sensible and necessary approach to employment of a portion of our potential work force. The conventional approach of designing jobs to match technology or tradition or according to efficient layout alone must be supplemented by a willingness to create a certain number of positions that can be handled by persons who do not possess otherwise marketable skills. To a large extent this means jobs for the unskilled laborer who cannot be, or is not likely to be converted to a semiskilled or skilled status.

I do not suggest that plants should not use modern efficient procedures and techniques that increase the productivity of their workforce. But I do believe that with a payroll assistance program, many companies could afford to have work done which is not now being done because it is uneconomical for the firm to hire anyone to do it.

It seems to me that the vast resources of private enterprise could be harnessed in this way to absorb thousands of men, women, and youth who are willing to work but find themselves unwanted in today's labor market.

The text of H.R. 11815 follows:

H.R. 11815

A bill to establish an experimental program for employment of workers unemployable in existing labor markets

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

PURPOSE

SECTION 1. It is the purpose of this Act to increase opportunities for long-term gainful employment in private or public establishments by providing payroll assistance payments to employers of workers whose productivity at the time they are hired will be less than the minimum required to meet the standards of the market.

ESTABLISHMENT OF PROGRAM

SEC. 2. To carry out the purposes of this Act, the Secretary is authorized to establish a program for—

(1) contracting with employers for their employment of individuals referred as eligible under the program,

(2) selecting, counseling, and referring individuals for employment under the program,

(3) reimbursing employers for any excess of wages and other designated costs of employing workers under this program over the fair value of goods and services estimated to have been produced by these workers, and to prescribe rules and regulations and make necessary arrangements for administration of the program.

STATE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary is authorized to enter into an agreement with each State, or with the appropriate agency of each State, pursuant to which the Secretary may, for the purpose of carrying out his functions and duties under this Act, utilize the services of the appropriate State agency and, notwithstanding any other provision of law, may make payments to such State or appropriate agency for expenses incurred for such purposes.

(b) Any agreement under this section may contain such provisions as will promote

effective administration, protect the United States against loss and insure that the functions and duties to be carried out by the appropriate State agency are performed in a manner satisfactory to the Secretary.

(c) Each agreement under this section shall require counseling interviews and on-the-job inspections by competent personnel of the State agency at least once during each three months of employment of each individual employed under the program. Interviews and inspections shall be directed to ascertaining whether each individual under the program is being employed properly, productively, efficiently, and effectively in a suitable occupation and at an appropriate and reasonable rate of pay; whether the employer is providing adequate supervision, on-the-job instruction, safe and suitable working conditions, and is endeavoring to prepare each individual for continuing employment in a suitable occupation; whether the employer and the worker are complying with requirements of this Act and of rules and regulations applicable thereunder; and other pertinent facts.

(d) Each agreement under this section shall provide for a quarterly report to be filed with the Secretary by the participating State agency not later than forty-five days after the close of the calendar quarter covered in the report. Each report shall contain information about the operation of the program in the State in such detail as the Secretary may prescribe. Each report for the quarter ending with June of each year shall be accompanied by an annual report covering the full year in such detail as the Secretary may prescribe. The annual report may include recommendations from the participating State agency relating to future conduct of the program.

SELECTION OF ELIGIBLE INDIVIDUALS

SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary shall formulate, and the appropriate agency of each State which has entered into an agreement shall administer, a program for identifying, counseling, and selecting for employment under this Act those unemployed or underemployed persons who cannot reasonably be expected to secure continuing full-time employment without payroll assistance payments to employers.

(b) Priority in selection shall be extended to unemployed persons who have been unemployed for six months or longer at the time of selection or have exhausted their entitlement to unemployment compensation benefits. Persons in families with less than $1,200 net family income in the preceding year shall be considered to have been unemployed for six months or longer.

(c) Participation in the program shall be limited to permanent residents of the United States who have attained age eighteen at the time of selection.

(d) Employment subject to payroll assistance payments under the program shall ordinarily be limited to eighteen months for any one individual. The Secretary may prescribe in uniform rules and regulations that a State agency referring individuals for employment under the program shall give preference to persons who have not previously held employment under the program. Such rules and regulations may specify terms and conditions under which renewed eligibility may be accorded to an individual who has completed eighteen months of employment subject to payroll assistance payments under this Act or to an individual who, under the rules and regulations promulgated by the Secretary, has been discharged with cause before completing eighteen months of such employment.

CONTRACTS WITH EMPLOYERS

SEC. 5. (a) Under the agreements with the Secretary, the participating State agency in each State may enter into contracts with cooperating employers. Cooperating employers shall undertake to employ in their usual and customary commercial, industrial, a specified number of individuals selected service, or other activities within the State from those referred for employment under this program.

(b) The number of persons concurrently employed under this program in any single establishment or by any employer shall not ordinarily exceed one person in each establishment plus one additional person for each fifty persons regularly employed in the establishment or by the employer on the average during the six months preceding the date of the contract. The Secretary may, however, provide by regulation for exceptional cases in which the number of persons employed under this program may exceed this allowance.

(c) Contracts with cooperating employers may provide for payroll assistance payments measured by the excess of the sum of wage payments and other direct expenses incurred by the employer in employing individuals under the program over the estimated fair value of goods and services produced by these workers. Contracts with employers may specify procedures for determining and revising the amount of payroll assistance payments to which each employer will be entitled, subject to regulations promulgated by the Secretary.

(d) Each contract shall be for a term of not to exceed eighteen months, subject to renewal during continuance of this program upon a determination by the participating State agency that the employer has cooperated effectively and the program has resulted in useful gainful employment for one or more persons who otherwise might not have been employed.

(e) A contract under this Act shall not operate to exempt an employer from requirements of any other Federal, State, or local law or of any collective bargaining agreements. However, under proper safeguards established by the regulations and with agreement by representatives of the union affected, a contract may provide that individuals employed under this program may be compensated at rates below those established by a collective bargaining agreement for similar employment in the same participating establishment, business firm, or place of employment.

(f) A contract may not provide for payroll assistance payments with respect to employees covered by special certificates (for waiver of minimum wage restrictions) under section 14 of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938.

(g) Contracts may provide that payroll assistance payments may be made monthly or quarterly on the basis of claims submitted by the cooperating employer to the participating State agency and reviewed by that agency.

(h) Each contract shall provide assurances that (1) employment of individuals under this program will not result in the displacement of any employed worker or impairment of any existing contract for services, (2) rates of pay and other conditions of employment will be appropriate and reasonable in the light of such factors as the type of work performed, geographical location, and prevailing rates of wages and other conditions of employment in the establishment, business firm, or place of employment, and (3) the employer will make all reasonable efforts to prepare individuals hired under this program for regular employment and to retain them in such employment after the period for which payroll assistance payments are applicable with respect to any such persons.

(i) Each contract shall provide for on-the-job visits and inspections to be made by personnel of the State agency to the place of employment of each individual placed in employment under the program, and for time off, if necessary, for a periodic counseling interview with personnel of the State agency.

(j) Each contract shall include such other provisions as the Secretary deems necessary or appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 6. In planning and supervising the program under this Act, the Secretary shall seek recommendations and suggestions from the National Advisory Committee appointed under section 205 of the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (Public Law 87-415, section 205; 42 U.S.C. 2585), as amended. The Secretary may, to the extent that he deems appropriate, utilize any labor-management-public committees and similar groups organized under that section, or other existing groups organized for similar purposes.

APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORIZED

SEC. 7. (a) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for payments to States $20,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and $50,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 3, 1968, to be available for payroll assistance payments to contracting employers and for administrative expenses of participating State agencies under agreements entered into with the Secretary. Amounts appropriated for any fiscal year shall remain available beyond the end of that fiscal year to pay obligations incurred under contracts and agreements entered into prior to the end of that fiscal year.

(b) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for administrative expenses of the Secretary in administering the program authorized by this Act $300,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $400,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, and $500,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1968.

ALLOTMENTS TO STATES

SEC. 8. (a) From the amount appropriated for payments to States, the Secretary shall make available to each State agency which has entered into an agreement under this Act such sum for administrative expenses as may be necessary to provide an average of 25 cents monthly for each one thousand inhabitants of the State, but in any event not less than $1,000 monthly for any State agency.

(b) From the remainder of the amount appropriated for payments to States, the Secretary shall make payments to each State agency as required to make payroll assistance payments to employers under contracts in effect within the State. The amount payable for this purpose to any one State agency in any fiscal year shall not exceed 12½ per centum of the total sum available for payments to all States in that fiscal year.

ANNUAL REPORTS

SEC. 9. Within ninety days following the close of each fiscal year, the Secretary shall make a report to the President, for transmittal to the Congress, reviewing and evaluating the operation of the program under this Act. Each annual report shall list the States which have entered into agreements and name the participating State agencies and shall also report for each State the number of contracts entered into or in effect during the fiscal year, the number of individuals who applied for employment in the program, the number referred to cooperating employers, and the number actually employed, together with State, industry, and occupational totals of their man-hours of employment, remuneration paid to them by employers, other direct expenses of their employment as reported by employers, and the amount of payroll assistance payments to employers; the amount paid to each State for administrative expenses of the program; frequency distributions of hourly or other rates of remuneration paid to such employees and of hourly or other

rates of payroll assistance payments; and other pertinent information about the program. The first annual report may and subsequent annual reports shall include the Secretary's findings respecting the efficacy of the program and his recommendations for legislation or other measures for termination, continuance, or improvement of the program.

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 10. As used in this Act—

(1) The term "State" means a State or the District of Columbia. It does not include Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and the Virgin Islands.

(2) The term "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor.

Support for the Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS
OF
HON. ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF
OF CONNECTICUT
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, October 22, 1965

Mr. RIBICOFF. Mr. President, since mid-August, when I introduced my bill—S. 2460—to establish a Connecticut River National Parkway and Recreation Area, many newspapers in my home State of Connecticut and throughout New England have published editorials concerning the project. The editorials have been unanimous in their support for the proposal, and indicate the basic need for a park of this kind in New England.

Mr. President, under unanimous consent I place the editorials at this point in the RECORD:

[From the New Britain Herald]

INTEREST IN THE RIVER

Some day, in the not too distant future, the sewage of New Britain, Berlin, and Cromwell will be discharged in the Connecticut River—but it will not pollute anything.

Indeed, the planning that has gone into the Mattabassett Sewer District could well serve as a model for other communities and even private firms which have turned the beautiful Connecticut into the "best-landscaped cesspool" in America.

Secretary of Interior Udall was deeply impressed with what he saw along the Connecticut on Monday. His visit, at the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF, might well be a turning point in the long fight to clean up the Connecticut. Indeed, so much attention has now been focused on the future development of the river that it would be foolish not to take advantage of it.

Udall's visit was in connection with Senator RIBICOFF's bills to make portions of the Connecticut River Valley, along its 160 mile, four State length, part of the national park system.

It is a splendid idea. One need not have wandered away from his TV set on Tuesday night to see the virtue of the proposal. First on TV that night was Katharine Hepburn's narration of the marvelous film, "The Long Tidal River." It told about the Connecticut River in a fair, beautiful, inspired way. And it made the very sensible point that there must be "balance" in the development of the river—balance between progress and retention of beauty.

Interestingly, immediately after the film on the Connecticut, a network program discussed the encroachment of man on his natural environment. Secretary Udall was quoted on that program as saying that there must be more parks or the ones which we already have will be destroyed simply from overuse.

Well, Secretary Udall said that. And he also saw "The Long Tidal River" during his Connecticut visit. Perhaps the combination will provide the best possible incentive for the Interior Department to look to the Connecticut River as part of the national park system.

[From the Meriden Record]

THE SENATOR, THE SECRETARY, AND THE RIVER

Connecticut's Senator A. A. RIBICOFF has taken up the cause of water conservation in particular, as well as conservation of natural resources in general. Monday afternoon, during the first real downpour in a long time, he and Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall and Gov. John Dempsey, among others, sailed the Connecticut River from Saybrook to Hartford.

The purpose of the trip was to show Secretary Udall the beauties of the Connecticut River and to enlist his support in behalf of Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to set aside certain areas along the river bank as part of the national park system.

The proposal has genuine merit, and it is to Senator RIBICOFF's credit that he has advanced it, and is pressing it so vigorously. The eastern United States has few national parks, but it has the greatest concentration of people, and the population is increasing. More national parks are needed.

True, such parks as Senator RIBICOFF has proposed will not embrace the acreage which is usually associated with national parks, but what such tracts lack in size, they more than make up for in beauty. The Connecticut River is still one of the most beautiful rivers of its size anywhere, and it is still unspoiled for long stretches. But this unspoiled condition will not last long. Within the last few years industrial and commercial enterprises have encroached upon its banks, installations ranging from an atomic powerplant to an increasing number of marinas, useful in their way, but certainly no additions to the beauty of the shoreline: quite the contrary, in fact.

Senator RIBICOFF's proposal to incorporate areas along the river into the national park system has much to commend it, as does his companion proposal to increase the Federal Government's support of research into water conservation primarily through developing new methods of water reuse. With a boost from Secretary Udall, water conservation in Connecticut may go forward hand in hand with the preservation of the Connecticut River. Both objectives are worthy of support, not only for immediate purposes, but for the long-range advantage of future generations for whom we now hold these resources in trust.

[From the New London Day]

THE RIVER TRIP

When Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall was piloted along the Connecticut River to Hartford on an inspection tour Monday, the weather was uncooperative. In fact for this time of year it would be hard to imagine a more unpleasant day. But the Secretary, here at the suggestion of Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF, of New London, and Governor Dempsey, was nevertheless greatly impressed by the conservation and recreational potential of what he saw.

Pollution, of course, has long been a problem in the river, although Connecticut has made considerable strides toward halting it, correcting some of the contributing conditions. With it, though, there is always the obvious fact—that long stretches of the river in Connecticut are still in relatively natural condition, and definitely unspoiled.

The Senator's proposal is not only to preserve these areas but to end the pollution, develop the recreational potential of the river, and to open the banks to appreciative citizens not by high-speed dual highways but by picturesque roadways to carry more leisurely visitors.

Involved in this program—the hope that the Federal Government will set aside an appropriate area along the river banks as a national parkway—is necessary similar enthusiastic response in the other four States involved. For the Connecticut River rises in the Connecticut lakes system in upper New Hampshire, divides New Hampshire and Vermont the full length of these abutting States, and passes through western Massachusetts before it reaches Connecticut. A cooperative effort to save and develop the river would doubtless be called for if the Federal parkway idea is to get anywhere.

Secretary Udall seemed very favorably impressed, so much so that false hope may be raised when actually far more earnest effort in Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire is what the project urgently needs at this stage. A tremendously valuable asset is at stake and the time to get in on the effort and help is right now.

[From the Springfield (Mass.) News]

CONNECTICUT RIVER, EVERYWHERE SALUBRIOUS?

The Connecticut River, about which, in the last century, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale University, wrote that it was "everywhere pure, potable, everywhere salubrious," just isn't that any more, but it may be again. And if this objective is attained, in which we here are keenly interested, U.S. Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, of Connecticut, can, in large measure, be thanked for it.

The junior Senator of the Nutmeg State has embarked on a personal crusade to restore the Connecticut River to its one-time splendor, to erase pollution, to retain unspoiled at most notable points the character of the landscape and to preserve historic landmarks. To this end, Senator RIBICOFF has filed in the Congress two bills: One to establish a national parkway and recreation area along the shoreline, preferably as a four-State project, with the Federal Government acting jointly with Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire; and the second bill to increase the Federal contribution to antipollution programs. Under the legislation proposed, a study of the Connecticut River Valley as a national parkway would be authorized with Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall enabled to move ahead if the study justifies action. U.S. Representative WILLIAM ST. ONGE, of Connecticut, plans to introduce similar bills in the House later this week and has indicated he expects strong support in the lower Chamber.

Senator RIBICOFF moved his program a long step forward Monday by conducting Secretary Udall on a 60-mile cruise along the Connecticut River to give the latter a firsthand look at what some have called "the world's most beautifully landscaped, cesspool." It was not the best day, weatherwise, for the cruise, which began with showers at the winding river's mouth at Saybrook, and proceeded north in pouring rain to Hartford, but Secretary Udall was impressed, nevertheless. He disembarked from the river boat *Dolly Madison*, saying, "I come off this boat with a feeling of enthusiasm." He went on to note that the conservation idea is moving eastward and that Connecticut is one of the few States in which the Federal Government has not taken a part in project developments. "It makes the Ribicoff project most timely," Secretary Udall said. The long streches of the river relatively unspoiled, came as a surprise to him. "There is an opportunity to do a model job with the river—to make it a scenic centerpiece," he observed. He praised the leadership in Connecticut and declared: "You have a running start. This is a great opportunity for Connecticut to set an example for the East in terms of con-

servation. But population is crowding in and time is running out. What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

With this encouragement, the Ribicoff bills and the matching House bills by Representative ST. ONGE, merit wide support in Congress and, especially from the Massachusetts delegation. For this is something in which we have a vital stake. Although Connecticut dominated the scene Monday, we have a strong interest and should be counted in on any national parkway program. There are now nine national parkways projected or in existence, including such locations as the Natchez Trace, the Colonial Parkway at Williamsburg and the George Washington National Parkway leading to Mount Vernon. By every test of history and attractiveness, the inclusion of the Connecticut River Valley in the national program certainly seems appropriate.

[From the Hartford Courant]

A GRAND RIVER

The slowly growing consciousness among the people of Connecticut that in its principal river we have an immensely valuable resource, was given impetus this week by the visit of Secretary of Interior Stewart L. Udall. At the invitation of Senator RIBICOFF, Mr. Udall made the trip from Saybrook to Hartford, and was suitably impressed. He saw its potential for conservation as greater than almost any other river in the Nation."

According to Mr. Udall, the conservation idea is moving eastward, and Connecticut is one of the few States in which the Federal Government has not taken part in project development. He implied strongly that the Government would be happy to collaborate in plans for the rehabilitation of the Connecticut River. "There is an opportunity to do a model job with the river to make it a scenic centerpiece," he said.

The bills introduced by Senator RIBICOFF are steps toward having the river declared a national parkway by the Secretary of the Interior, as a prelude to its joint development by State and Federal Government. To be fully effective, however, in the fight against pollution, it must be a four-State effort. There are great stretches of the river that are still scenically unspoiled; and Mr. Udall was impressed by its beauty. But the river is dirty, so dirty in fact that it will not support the fish that once swarmed its length.

It has already been described as the best landscaped cesspool in America. Any plan to make it a national parkway must put pollution at the top of the list of problems. The river must be cleaned up so that it can be used fully by the people as a recreation facility. Fortunately the people are again looking to the river, after having turned their backs on it for so long. In the earliest days people settled along the river because it offered not only a water supply but a good source of food. But later the river receded in importance, and industries, located on it, used it as a conduit for carrying off waste materials.

Let us hope that this visit by Secretary Udall marks the turning point and that the river will once more be given back to the people in usable condition. An American essayist, Russell Conwell, once wrote a famous treatise: "Acres of diamonds in your own backyard." This could be aptly applied to the Connecticut River as a potential source of pleasure, recreation, and beauty.

[From the Waterbury Republican]

THE STATE'S RIVER

Even in the rain Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall could see the possibilities of developing parts of the Connecticut River as a national park.

It poured all during the boat trip from Saybrook to Hartford Monday, but the excursion arranged by Senator ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF was still profitable, and ultimately may prove successful in the Federal annexation of river land as a national park.

Senator RIBICOFF is the author of a bill to set aside parts of the Connecticut River throughout its interstate length for conservation and recreation purposes. Secretary Udall would be one of the key men to make the decision, and if the idea wins the support of the Johnson administration it would be Mr. Udall who would go to Congress for the funds.

The Connecticut River has been neglected, polluted, and ignored. But its potential for boating, and fishing; as a wildlife preserve; as an open-spaces asset can be realized. It would, as Senator RIBICOFF sees it, be a patchy development. Existing industry and towns would not be affected, but unspoiled stretches would be protected.

Secretary Udall seems receptive to the idea, and it was especially reassuring to hear that the executive branch is in favor of developing more national recreational areas in the East, such as the Cape Cod National Seashore. Hitherto the Government has bent its efforts toward the vast, and usually virgin territories in the West, where there is plenty of nature, but not too many people. Densely populated areas in the East neither possess large areas for such purposes, nor can the majority of working people in the Eastern States afford to travel to the open skies country in the rest of the Nation.

A national recreation area doesn't have to be 50 miles long; enclose 70,000 bison, or be 100 miles from a major city. Connecticut has more people than many of the States with the most parks, and Connecticut pays more than its share of Federal taxes, but Connecticut is one of the few States which does not have national conservation or recreational project.

If Senator RIBICOFF prevails on Secretary Udall, we may.

[From the New Haven Register]

OUR CONNECTICUT RIVER, POTENTIALS, REALITIES

The Connecticut River, as it flows through our State, has been called by no less a personage than Senator ABRAHAM RIBICOFF as still a thing of beauty.

It also has been called the world's most beautifully landscaped cesspool.

It must therefore be clear that somewhere between the river's potentials and its realities must lie its future.

Perhaps its potentials were best described as this week began by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, in a VIP river tour party, in these words:

"We have a chance here to do a model job of conservation. You already have a running start (eight State parks along the shores). But population is crowding in and time is running out."

In this last sentence the clash of the potential and the practical is all too discernible.

Time is running out. A further drain upon it is certain to come in the action or, more properly, inaction of the current Congress.

Senator RIBICOFF is author of a bill to establish a national parkway and recreation area along the river's shoreline, possibly as a four-State project with the Federal Government. It is much to be doubted that this bill will come to any committee hearing this session.

Secretary Udall, after the river excursion-inspection, commented that "What we do in the next decade will be decisive for the river's future."

It took no prophet to so state. But the immensity of the corrective needs becomes staggering on consideration. For some 50 years, because of industrial waste and human waste swimming in the river was deemed unwise. Today it stands as sheer folly. Yet the cause for conservation is not a lost cause in its entirety. Steps, kept within 20th century bounds of practicality, can be taken. There are places and parts of the river's shores where virgin beauty remains, or could rather readily be restored. There are other parts where the task of restoration would take on fantastically costly proportions, if not the proportions of impossibility.

But the firt step of the proposed bill calls for a comprehensive study of the four-State river area involved. Such a study, if made by men of vision who are not visionaries, might well chart a way for preserving stretches of the waterway's adjacent land areas, if not for purifying its waters.

[From the Deep River New Era]

WELCOME, SECRETARY UDALL

We join with Senator RIBICOFF, Governor Dempsey, and others in welcoming U.S. Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to Connecticut next Monday, the day on which Udall is scheduled to make a personal inspection trip up the Connecticut River, from Old Saybrook to Middletown, to see for himself why Senator RIBICOFF has proposed that the Connecticut River and adjoining land be designated a national parkway and recreation area.

Secretary Udall, we understand, has never sailed on the Connecticut River before. We believe the trip will, for the most part at least, be a pleasant surprise to him. Although the river is no longer as "unspoiled" as it was a century or even a decade ago, there is still much natural beauty here, especially below Middletown, and the Secretary will have to agree, we believe, that the beauty that is left is well worth saving.

Stewart Udall is a busy man and it is another feather in ABE RIBICOFF's senatorial cap that he was able to persuade the Secretary to make this personal inspection tour. There can be no question but that Senator RIBICOFF's bill will have a much better chance of success, if Secretary Udall, as the official spokesman for the Johnson administration on such matters, can be convinced of its merits. And what better way to convince him than to show him in person and on the spot, what the Ribicoff bill is all about?

Incidentally, we know that Secretary Udall is an avid mountain climber, having scaled Mount Fujiyama, in Japan, and other major peaks. We can't, unfortunately, offer him any mountain-climbing challenges on his visit to Connecticut, but the boat that takes him up the Connecticut River might pause for a "climbing break" at Hadlyme to let the Secretary climb up to Gillette Castle, if he so desires. The climb itself probably wouldn't take his breath away, but we'll wager that the view from the top of the castle would.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE SUBSEQUENT TO ADJOURNMENT

BILLS APPROVED AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President, subsequent to the sine die adjournment of the Congress, notified the Clerk of the House that on the following date he had approved and signed bills of the House of the following titles:

On October 28, 1965:

H.R. 1409. An act for the relief of Louis W. Hamm;

H.R. 5167. An act to amend title 38 of the United States Code to authorize the administrative settlement of tort claims arising

in foreign countries, and for other purposes; and

H.R. 9220. An act making appropriations for certain civil functions administered by the Department of Defense, the Panama Canal, certain agencies of the Department of the Interior, the Atomic Energy Commission, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Delaware River Basin Commission, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, and for other purposes.

TRANSACTION OF SENATE BUSINESS SUBSEQUENT TO SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

APPROVAL OF SENATE BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTION AFTER SINE DIE ADJOURNMENT

The President of the United States, subsequent to sine die adjournment, notified the Secretary of the Senate that on the following dates, he had approved and signed the following Senate bills and joint resolution:

On October 20, 1965:

S. 306. An act to amend the Clean Air Act to require standards for controlling the emission of pollutants from certain motor vehicles, to authorize a research and development program with respent to solid-waste disposal, and for other purposes.

On October 22, 1965:

S. 32. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to construct, operate, and maintain the southern Nevada water project, Nevada, and for other purposes.

On October 27, 1965:

S. 2300. An act authorizing the construction, repair, and preservation of certain public works on rivers and harbors for navigation, flood control, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 32. Joint resolution to authorize a contribution to certain inhabitants of the Ryukyu Islands for death and injury to persons, and for use of and damage to private property, arising from acts and omissions of the U.S. Armed Forces, or members thereof, after August 15, 1945, and before April 28, 1952.

On October 30, 1965:

S. 337. An act for the relief of F. F. Hintze;

S. 343. An act for the relief of Paride Marchesan;

S. 374. An act for the relief of Dr. Guillermo Castrillo (Fernandez);

S. 516. An act to amend the joint resolution entitled "Joint resolution to establish the St. Augustine Quadricentennial Commission, and for other purposes," approved August 14, 1962 (76 Stat. 386), to provide that eight members of such Commission shall be appointed by the President, and that such Commission may continue in existence until December 31, 1966.

S. 711. An act for the relief of Mrs. Hertha L. Wohlmuth;

S. 1735. An act relating to the use by the Secretary of the Interior of land at La Jolla, Calif., donated by the University of California for a marine biological research laboratory, and for other purposes; and

S. 2039. An act for the relief of Den Allen Keene (Yasuo Tsukikawa).

On November 7, 1965:

S. 619. An act for the relief of Nora Isabella Samuelli.

On November 8, 1965:

S. 149. An act for the relief of Benjamin A. Ramelb;

S. 919. An act for the relief of Lt. Col. William T. Schuster, U.S. Air Force (retired);

S. 1004. An act to amend the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949, to make ttile III thereof directly applicable to procurement of property and services by executive agencies, and for other purposes;

S. 1320. An act to amend certain criminal laws applicable to the District of Columbia, and for other purposes;

S. 1647. An act for the relief of Kim Sung Jin;

S. 1758. An act to provide for the right of persons to be represented in matters before Federal agencies;

S. 2092. An act to amend the Agricultural Marketing Agreement Act of 1937 to permit marketing orders applicable to various fruits and vegetables to provide for paid advertising;

S. 2118. An act to amend sections 9 and 37 of the Shipping Act, 1916, and subsection O of the Ship Mortgage Act, 1920;

S. 2150. An act to discontinue or modify certain reporting requirements of law;

S. 2542. An act to amend the Small Business Act; and

S. 2679. An act to amend the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act, as amended.

APPOINTMENTS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

Pursuant to the provisions of Senate Resolution 161, agreed to October 23, 1965, the Vice President, on November 15, 1965, announced the appointment of the following Senators to be members of the Select Commission on Western Hemisphere Immigration: Senators EASTLAND, HART, KENNEDY of Massachusetts, HRUSKA, and DIRKSEN.

To attend the Second Special Inter-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro, convening on November 17, 1965: Senators CHURCH and SCOTT;

To be members of the Parliamentary Conference in Tokyo and New Delhi, convening on November 24–December 21, 1965: Senator HARTKE;

To attend the Council of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, from November 23 to December 3, 1965: Senator KENNEDY of Massachusetts.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. No sale shall be made on credit (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on House Administration of the House of Representatives or the Committee on Rules and Administration of the Senate, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: *Provided*, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, with Mr. Raymond F. Noyes in charge, is located in room H–112, House wing, where orders will be received for subscriptions to the RECORD at $1.50 per month or for single copies at 1 cent for eight pages (minimum charge of 3 cents). Also, orders from Members of Congress to purchase reprints from the RECORD should be processed through this office.